

MĀORI MEDIA

A STUDY OF THE MĀORI “MEDIA SPHERE” IN AOTEAROA / NEW ZEALAND

A THESIS

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ELIANA TAIRA

TE WHARE WĀNANGA O WAITAHA / UNIVERSITY OF CANTERBURY

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Ki oku matua

To my dearest friend and husband Rolando and to our little tama, Marco who
has brought a new sense of purpose and meaning to our lives.

TE WAITARA

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines Māori media use and participation in Aotearoa/ New Zealand. A number of news media formats are examined and consideration is given to what the most effective formats for Māori communications are.

It is argued throughout the thesis that the commercial imperatives of mainstream media compromise the potential for Māori participation and content. It is asserted that the ideal media model for Māori communication is a combination of big and small media, with Māori active partnership and inclusion of Māori content in prime-time slots within mainstream media and with Māori-controlled media serving the diversity of Māori cultural needs and the demands for local communication.

The thesis argues that Māori participation in the news media is vital for Māori self-identity and self-determination because both printed and electronic media are major sources of information about local, national and global issues.

It describes how the European colonisers defined Māori people as “the Other” and denigrated their language and culture, and it argues that the current Pākehā-dominated media have continued this process. In view of this, the thesis contends that the advances in electronic media now make it possible for Māori people not only to access the media, but to control their own media, redressing this cultural disadvantage by setting their own information and cultural agendas, producing new cultural forms and methods of distribution.

At the same time, the thesis notices how political rhetoric about the media being used for te reo Māori regeneration and Māori education and development, in practice lacked adequate complementary policies and funding. Finally, the thesis details the commitment of Māori broadcasters and publishers in Aotearoa/ New Zealand to using radio, television, online and print publications for Māori communication despite this lack of support.

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HE PAPA KUPU

GLOSSARY

Aranga	Easter
Aroha	Love, affection, benevolent
Haka	War dance
Hāpu	Sub-tribe
Hikoi	March, walk
Hōhā	Bore
Hui	Meeting
Iwi	Tribe
Kaihautu	Advisor
Kaimoana	Shellfish
Kaiwhakahaere	Chairman
Kaitiakitanga	Stewardship, custodian
Kanohi	Face
Kapa	Performance
Karakia	Incantations
Karanga	Call
Kaumātua	Elder
Kaupapa	Philosophy, theme, ideas
Kaupapa mahi	Procedure
Kaupapa Māori	Strategy based on Māori philosophy
Koha	Contribution
Kōhanga reo	Language nest

Kōrero	Conversation, talk
Koroua	Age
Korowai	Cloaks
Koutou	You
Kuia	Age
Mana	Authority, command
Manuhiri	Guest, visitor
Marae	Meeting place, courtyard
Matariki	Pleiades
Mātou	Us
Mauri	Life principle
Moko	Tattoo
Mokopuna	Grandchild
Noa	Common
Paepae	Foyer
Pākehā	European, Non-Māori people
Powhiri	Welcome
Putea	Budget, finance
Rangatahi	Youth
Rangatiratanga	Sovereignty
Ringawera	Kitchen hand
Rohe	Region, area, domain
Rūnanga	Assembly, board
Taha Māori	Māori perspective
Tamariki	Children
Tangihanga	Wake
Tangata Whenua	People of the land, local people
Taonga	Something of value, treasure
Tapu	Sacred

Tātou	We, everyone
Tauīwi	Foreigner, other [non-Māori] people
Te ao	World
Te iwi Māori	The Māori people of Aotearoa/ New Zealand
Te reo Māori	Māori language
Tikanga	Culture
Tino rangatiratanga	Absolute sovereignty
Tipuna	Grandparent, ancestor
Tiriti	Treaty
Titiro	Look
Tohunga	Expert, professional
Tumeke	Astonish
Waiata	Chant
Waka	Canoe
Wānanga	Institute
Wehi	Afraid
Wahine	Woman
Whakapapa	Genealogy, cultural identity
Whakarongo	Listen
Whakatauki	Proverbial sayings
Whānau	Family
Whanaunga	Relatives
Whare / wharehenui	House, meeting house

* Translated using the Ngata English/Māori - Māori/English dictionary, published by Learning Media Limited, Te Pou Taki Kōrero, Wellington, New Zealand.

Te reo Māori usage

Because te reo Māori is one of the official languages of Aotearoa/ New Zealand, together with English, as declared by the Māori Language Act 1987, Māori words have not been italicised throughout this dissertation.

The Māori Orthographic Conventions that the Māori Language Commission (1995) recommends be observed by writers and editors of Māori language texts, which can be found at http://www.tetaurawhiri.govt.nz/english/pub_e/conventions2.shtml, relating to the use of macrons, word divisions, capitalisation, punctuation and metalinguistics terms have been followed. Only in quotations in which early printers and typesetters had difficulty inserting Māori macrons into their texts, the original text as printed, in most cases without macrons, has been reproduced.

Moreover, it is common not to pluralise Māori words with the addition of an ‘s’. The word “Māori”, for instance, refers to both the individual and the people. This will always be clear from the context of the sentence.

KO TE REO TE HĀ TE MAURI O TE MĀORITANGA.
Language is the very life-breath of being Māori.

WHAKAPOTONGA

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

2LD	Second Level Domain
AMIO	Aotearoa Māori Internet Organisation
ATN	Aotearoa Māori Television Network
BCNZ	Broadcasting Corporation of New Zealand
ccTLD	Country Code Top Level Domain
CPI	Consumer Price Index
CRoC	Crown-owned Company
CWIS	Center for World Indigenous Studies
Domainz	The New Zealand Internet Registry Ltd
DSIR	Department of Scientific Research
FoMA	Federation of Māori Authorities
gTLD	Generic Top Level Domain
IANA	Internet Assigned Number Authority
ICANN	Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers
InternetNZ	Internet New Zealand
ISOCNZ	Internet Society of New Zealand
ISP	Internet Service Provider
KTR	Kāwea te Rongo
MBAC	Māori Broadcasting Advisory Committee
MTS	Māori Television Service
NZ On Air	New Zealand On Air
NZMIS	New Zealand Māori Internet Society

NZRS	<.nz> Registry Services
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PSA	Public Service Association
RNP	Radio Ngāti Porou
RNZ	Radio New Zealand
SFO	Serious Fraud Office
SOE	State Owned Enterprise
SPADA	Screen Producers and Directors Association of New Zealand
SRS	Shared Registry System
TMP	Te Māngai Pāho
TPK	Te Puni Kōkiri
TRONP	Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Porou
TSL	Time spent listening
TVNZ	Television New Zealand
UHF	Ultra high frequency

WĀHANGA TUATAHI
PART ONE

BACKGROUND AND GENERAL ISSUES

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

All societies spring from the communication established among their members...to cut communications within a human group is equivalent to annihilating that group. To cut communications between it and other groups, to prevent it practically from expressing itself is tantamount, as in the case of the individual, to destroying its personality. For society as for the individual, there is undoubtedly a specific right to communicate. What is important is to win the recognition of this right.

D'Arcy, Jean 1981, p.119.

1.1 AIMS OF THE RESEARCH

This dissertation examines Māori media use and participation in Aotearoa/ New Zealand. Its central theme is the need of Māori people for an active partnership with mainstream media and to choose and operate their own media so that they can produce Māori media content. This, it will be argued, furthers Māori cultural, developmental, educational and political objectives. The study explores these issues by examining a selection of media used by Māori as well as their participation in mainstream media.

Through a study of different Māori media formats, the thesis examines which ones are the most effective for Māori communication and for the revitalisation of te reo Māori me nga tikanga Māori (Māori language and culture) and what conditions and resources are necessary to make Māori media viable and effective.

Although radio and television have been the most sought after media formats by Māori –being both spoken mediums and akin to the rich Māori oral tradition– the study also includes other Māori media formats: printed and world-wide-web based publications.

The underlying argument of this thesis is that communication, information and media participation are crucial for the empowerment of tangata Māori, te reo Māori me nga tikanga Māori because communication is the lifeblood of society. Carey’s view that “communication is not just the act of imparting information, but the representation of shared beliefs because communication is linked to terms such as ‘sharing’, ‘participation’, and ‘the possession of a common faith’, which have, in turn, been derived from ‘commonness’ and ‘community’” (Carey, 1989, p.18) will be explored. The purposes of communication are therefore linked to the needs of all people, both material and non-material, and are seen as vital for self-reliance, cultural identity, self-determination, respect for human dignity, and mutual aid and participation in the reshaping of the environment (MacBride, 1980).

The thesis emphasises the role of electronic media in particular as major sources of daily communication, covering local, regional, national and international information. Seeing and hearing this information is vital for Māori individual and collective identities and Māori sense of place in society. As such, these media fill a basic human need:

The need of people to understand who we are, how we get where we are, why we are of value, and what we are of value to, in other words, to have goals and ends which make life meaningful (Fore, 1988, p.2).

However, it will be argued that the mainstream media are at present failing in their responsibility to their ‘many publics’ by presenting a highly selective view of the world, one that confers authority to certain groups and marginalises others. The thesis details how mainstream media do this by framing their content from a Western or Pākehā perspective which largely excludes alternative views thus disadvantaging Māori people.

Furthermore, the research argues that these media reinforce this disadvantage by defining Māori in opposition to the dominant Pākehā public. It will be shown that as a consequence of this, Māori people are mainly portrayed negatively in the mainstream media and that this has serious ramifications for Māori self-identity and development. At the same time, it will also be argued that the perpetuation of these negative stereotypes does little to educate non-Māori people about te Ao Māori (the Māori world), and that the mainstream media, in the end, reinforce existing xenophobic attitudes towards Māori people.

The thesis also details how the lack of Māori participation in the mainstream media, particularly as producers and managers, marginalises Māori people by further eroding their culture and lifestyle, “generating a feeling of alienation in members of particular groups” (Jakubowicz, 1988, p.11). It is for these reasons that the dissertation supports Kamira (2003) belief that mainstream – Pākehā– media are yet another form of ‘invader’ or coloniser being imposed on Māori, continuing a historic process which began with the denigration of Māori language, culture and history during the period of Aotearoa/ New Zealand colonisation.

The study therefore stresses the need for Māori to control and produce their own media content, as well as having access to a range of non-Māori media. This, is seen as vital if te reo Māori me nga tikanga Māori are not to be bounded by what Martin-Barbero (1988, p.459) described as a “populist and romantic notion that identified the indigenous with the original, and that in turn with the primitive and the static.”

It will be asserted that Māori needs should be reconceptualised, and that the various media formats are important vehicles for this process as they can be used by Māori to reclaim and regenerate its culture and language, signifying its viability and place in modern society. The media’s ability to ‘authorise’ people and ideas is an important aspect of this, because by featuring Māori-produced cultural and political content, the media can give legitimacy to the Māori culture, thus increasing Māori self-esteem, while at the same time, improving the understanding of te Ao Māori among non-Māori.

The thesis also points out that Māori-controlled media enable Māori people to set their own media and information agendas, and to produce Māori content to either counteract or to complement the views presented in the mainstream media. This can further the aims of Māori self-determination and it is certainly crucial for Māori development as defined by Hedebero:

A process through which a society achieves increased control over the environment, increased control over its own political destiny, and enables its component individuals to gain increased control over themselves (Hedebero, 1982, p.34).

At the same time, it will be argued that ‘Māori development’ is something which Māori people determine for themselves; it is not imposed on them by Pākehā or Western institutions. Therefore, the exact nature of development

will vary from individual to individual, from whānau (family) to whānau and from iwi (tribe) to iwi.

Throughout the dissertation it will be stressed that increasing Māori media participation depends not on communications technology and the media as such, but on the social uses made of technology and the media. The dissertation will show that the mere availability of communications technology does not guarantee greater media participation by Māori people. Rather, Māori participation in the media is dependent on the democratisation of media institutions. This in turn is related to the degree to which various structural obstacles to Māori participation, such as the lack of resources for Māori media, education, employment and training policies which favour Pākehā, are addressed and overcome.

Finally, one of the central aims of this dissertation is to bring Māori media in from the margins. Māori media have to a large extent been marginalised, both in their operation and in communications research. There are several studies detailing mainstream media coverage of Māori (i.e. the portrayal of Māori youth, the coverage of Waitangi Day celebrations by the –mainstream– media and Māori and Crime statistics), yet very little research specifically about Māori media is found.

In addition, the few pieces of research available on Māori media usually focus on the study of one aspect or media format (i.e. Iwi radio stations' audience, Māori broadcasting). This type of research has somehow reinforced the impression that Māori media are isolated developments, involving less significant 'alternative' media rather than being part of much larger national and global trends. Also, most communication research seems to regard the genesis of Māori media to be linked with the Māori cultural renaissance movement of the early 1980s, when in fact, Māori print has a long history in

Aotearoa/ New Zealand and it is a history which has evolved without the significant funding that has flowed into the broadcast sector. This dissertation intends to fill that information and research gap by detailing the range of Māori media in Aotearoa/ New Zealand as a whole and how they interconnect and complement with mainstream media.

It will be argued throughout the study that while Māori media do generally take the form of 'alternative' media, this does not mean they are less important or less influential than the 'mainstream' media. When properly planned and resourced, the influence of these alternative Māori media is far from marginal.

The thesis shows how Māori people use mainstream and alternative media for Māori communication. By taking this general approach, it is hoped that the thesis will dispel the notion that Māori media are only a series of isolated developments.

1.2 METHODOLOGY

Several methods were employed throughout this dissertation: literature review, case studies, formal interviews, surveys, participant observation and content analysis. The methods were chosen in line with Tuchman's (1980) urging that the method of research one should choose when approaching any topic, including news, depends on the question one wants to answer.

All methods have been extensively used in the study of the news media. Each research method has both strengths and weaknesses and the use of several methods helped minimise the limitations of research which employs one method only.

1.2.1 Participant observation

Participant observation is an observational methodology that, as Te Awa explains, “is conducive to the Māori oral traditions, as knowledge is gained through watching and talking to the participants” (1996, p.168). Traditionally, Māori information and knowledge resided in the memories and minds of the people (Royal, 1992) and was passed on by watching and listening to waiata, whakataukī, karanga, he kōrero pūrākau and haka.

Royal (1992) recommends that when you consider researching Māori history you start with speaking to elders or, in this case, the people who hold the knowledge. Participant observation was used in the study of *Te Kāea* and *Te Hēteri*, Māori Television’s news and current affairs programmes. The field research was completed during the last week of August 2004.

The method of observation and documentation used was that identified by Frey, Botan, Friedman and Kreps (1991), who suggest that to observe and then document participant observation the researcher needs to move from the general to the specific. They described three levels of note taking in participant observation: descriptive observation which is the general description of the situation and components; focused observations during which specific activities are noted; and the final stage, selective observation, in which particular attributes or characteristics of those specific activities are noted. Participant observation allowed the researcher to gain an in-depth knowledge of the working practices of the newsroom, and to explore the decision making processes and values in the newsroom that are not always apparent in the end-product.

1.2.2 Content analysis

Content analysis was used to examine the editorial output of four Māori magazines and one newspaper in order to provide an insight look into the political voice of the Māori. The scientific study of news content requires the use of content analysis methodology because a viewer, reader or listener's selective exposure, perception and recall make it impossible for news consumers to have a broad and accurate overview of all the news (McGregor, 1995).

The magazines examined were *Mana Magazine*, *Pikiao Pānui*, *Te Karaka* and *Tū Mai*. The newspaper studied was Te Runanga o Turanganui a Kiwa's *Pipiwaharuroa*. The sampling covered a four-year period (January 2000 to December 2003) and the unit of analysis used was all editorials because most publications were monthly, bimonthly or seasonal. The content categories formulated consisted of both substance categories and form categories to obtain a complete picture of the attitude in the Māori printed media towards government policies, and of its political message and how it shows daily life affairs. Descriptive categories were also formulated for the basic identification of editorials comprising (1) title, (2) media type, (3) year, (4) date, and (5) issue number.

Four major sets of categories were used to examine editorials. The first group consisted of five focus categories: (1) social, (2) economic, (3) political, (4) human interest, (5) other. The second group consisted of seventeen theme categories¹: (1) Land and resources, (2) Human rights, indigenous rights, (3) Judicial, crime, (4) Self-development, participation, representation, (5) Environment, (6) Discrimination, race relations, (7) Health, (8) Education, (9)

¹ The sub-categories were tested according to the themes appearing in Māori printed media editorials content and later defined.

Language, (10) Cultural survival, being “Māori”, intellectual property rights, (11) National government, (12) Social and economic conditions, (13) Arts, entertainment, (14) Sports, (15) Mainstream media, (16) Māori media, and (17) Other (non-Māori-related). The third group consisted of three types of editorial: (1) argumentative, (2) informative, and (3) story-telling. The fourth group consisted of a set of directional categories developed by Lasswell (1947): (1) favourable, (2) unfavourable, and (3) neutral.

The content analysis system was tried out numerous times with preliminary tests prior to the categories being defined, following the Dominick & Fletcher (1985) recommendation that the best way to pre-test the content categories is to select some randomly chosen material from the sample group and test the coding instrument. Some categories were changed appropriately before the final content analysis was run.

1.2.3 Case studies

According to Cohen and Manion (1991, p.125), “at the heart of every case study lies a method of observation”. The case studies for this research involved non-participant observation, in which the researcher did not become involved in the activities observed. These were carried out in *Mana News* newsroom and *Mai FM* studio.

Case studies are often thought to involve qualitative rather than quantitative data and analysis. Although a preliminary content analysis to generate quantitative data was employed in the case of *Mana News*, a qualitative analysis was achieved by “reflecting upon and trying to interpret” the data (Allwright and Bailey, 1991, p.65).

As explained by Denny (1978), an important underlying principle of case studies is that they must go beyond mere description and the presentation of an objective account. Case studies present a point of view as a result of data interpretation. This principle separates case studies from mere examples in this thesis.

1.2.4 Interviews

Several interviews were conducted during the process of collecting and corroborating information. When feasible, most interviews were conducted face-to-face, following Mead's (1996, p.221) suggestions of "Aroha ki te tangata" (a respect for people), "kanohi kitea" (the seen face, that is to present yourself to people face to face) and "titiro, whakarongo...kōrero" (look, listen...speak) when conducting kaupapa Māori research.

At the beginning, most interviews were planned as *topical interviews* as a product of the researcher background and journalistic training. These are usually narrowly focused on a particular event or process, and are concerned with what happened, when, and why. However, after a number of 'failed' semi-structured interviews, as the predetermined questions were unanswered, or so the researcher thought, disappointment and a questioning of her ability to tackle the topic usually followed.

The realisation that listening at length to the extended tales through which Māori cultural lessons are shared, offered more information than a simple answer to the presented questions, and changed the "researcher approach" to interviewing. A more relaxed 'cultural interview' was then pursued which focused on the norms, values, understandings, and taken-for-granted rules of behaviour. With no pre-set agenda of issues to cover, there was no reason to rush through material or to steer the interviewee in particular directions.

Similar experiences were described by non-Māori journalists, such as the one documented by Gilbert Wong, in *Metro Magazine* ('Utu', February 2003, p.33-34),

To an outsider, the world of Māori is a parallel universe that looks familiar but ultimately defies easy explanation. In pursuit of this story I turned up for appointments to find nobody there. Phone message after phone message would go unreturned. I began to wonder if some of the people I was assured I should speak to even existed. At other times I knocked on strange doors hoping for an interview and ended up invited to feast on the freshest skipjack tuna, prepared raw, Tahitian-style, a strong red and spirited conversation.

Those who did speak were generous and patient, as if explaining things to a child. The trouble was that the explanations often escaped the easy question-and-answer patterns of journalism. My subjects could not help but tell long stories that digressed at every point, like water running down the countless channels and runnels gouged into an ancient hill. After hours of discussion, I would have barely a word to publish.

A 'cultural interview' involved a more active listening than aggressive questioning. For instance, interviewees were asked to describe a typical day or ordinary occurrence in the newsroom or radio studio, allowing the conversational partner to define what was important. Any questions put forward sought examples of cultural premises, norms, and common behaviours. The example itself became less important than how well it illustrated the premises and norms. Interviews were frequently repeated with the same interviewees.

1.3 CHAPTER OUTLINE

The following chapter outline details the main areas covered in this dissertation and how these are developed.

In *Part One* background information, the literature review and considerations for research on Māori issues are given. *Chapter Two* examines the emergence and development of Indigenous media, the goals Indigenous media set up to accomplish, Indigenous concerns about mainstream media content, and assesses some of the issues facing Indigenous media –including Māori media.

Part Two comprising *Chapter Three* to *Chapter Five* examines Māori printed media. *Chapter Three* details the value of the Māori print culture and the way the Māori people has developed its own writing protocol and literary style in printed news media. It also describes the different stages of Māori print journalism that are found throughout the analysis of Māori publications in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. *Chapter Four* discusses some of the issues that current Māori printed media are facing. Among them are shortages in resources, skills, retail outlets, advertising revenues and inadequacy of government policies and support. It is argued that lack of resources for independent Māori publications and for adequate training has held up the development of Māori printed media, and marginalised many Māori writers, reporters and journalists. Some examples of Māori publications are also provided. *Chapter Five* presents an editorial content analysis over a four-year-period (2000-2003) of selected Māori publications. It shows the major foci, themes, actors and direction found in those editorials.

Part Three focuses on Māori participation and use of the World-Wide-Web. *Chapter Six* provides a historical account of the introduction and development of the Internet in Aotearoa/ New Zealand, focusing on the Māori participation within the general structure as illustrated by the establishment of the New Zealand Māori Internet Society (NZMIS), the inception of the Māori-related Second Level Domains (2LD) <iwi.nz> and <maori.nz> and some examples of Māori websites. It also discusses some of the issues that arise when

Indigenous peoples' culture is placed in a digital networked environment. Among them, the reinforcement of individualism and Western ways of thinking and values, loss of control over Indigenous information, intellectual and cultural property rights, commercialisation of information and access issues. Furthermore, it makes an appraisal of the range of uses that Māori are making of the Net, following the Alexander and Tate (1999) classification of WebPages as: advocacy sites, business/marketing sites, informational sites, news sites and personal home pages.

Part Four focuses on Māori Radio from *Chapter Seven* to *Chapter Nine*. *Chapter Seven* examines the development of Māori broadcasting in Aotearoa/ New Zealand since its beginnings in 1925, when pioneer Māori broadcasters and programmes opened the airwaves to te Ao Māori. *Chapter Eight* focuses on the development of iwi-based radio model and discusses why it has developed into the major medium of communication for Māori use. *Chapter Nine* expands on the use of te reo Māori and Māori news in mainstream and commercial radio. It details the constraints of Māori programming in Radio New Zealand (RNZ), such as the lack of resources, personnel and equipment.

Chapter Ten and *Chapter Eleven* on Television and Māori are grouped in *Part Five*. *Chapter Ten* examines Māori programming in mainstream television, in particular the work of Television New Zealand (TVNZ) as a public service television broadcaster. *Chapter Eleven* explores the establishment and operation of the Māori Television Service (MTS) and what its impact on Māori programming has been.

In *Part Six*, general conclusions are pulled together in *Chapter Twelve* with the lessons learnt about Māori media use and participation in the course of the dissertation, making some recommendations for further Māori media research and development.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

INDIGENOUS PEOPLES AND THE MEDIA

The media, and especially television, has helped to fashion the way we perceive ourselves as a society. The dearth of high quality Māori programming, most especially News and Current Affairs, is a disservice to Māori and Pākehā alike. Māori broadcasting should be given every opportunity that Pākehā broadcasting has enjoyed.

*Report of the Māori Broadcasting Advisory Committee
(MBAC), September 2000, p.3.*

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This literature review is divided into four sections: (a) discussions of issues related to the wider context of mass communication theories and Indigenous media, (b) reasons for the emergence of a separate Indigenous media, (c) purposes of Indigenous media and, (d) assessment of issues related to the Indigenous media, examining the particular interest area of Māori media. Although these sections contain interrelated themes and do not sit isolated, for revision purposes they have been treated in separate sections.

An examination of the Māori media, such as the one carried out in this dissertation, cannot be dissociated from the issues related to the general media environment in Aotearoa/ New Zealand, the Māori portrayal on mainstream media and their participation –or otherwise– in such media. Similarly, it is thought this study will benefit by looking at the issues other Indigenous peoples around the globe are facing in relation to the establishment and development of their own media to see whether common patterns emerge from this analysis. Therefore, a contextual literature review is presented in the following section.

2.2 THE EMERGENCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF INDIGENOUS MEDIA

2.2.1 Communication Theories and Indigenous media

When beginning to discuss such subjects as the influence that majority or mainstream media “models” might have on Indigenous media, it is useful to relate this to theories such as cultural imperialism or hegemony. Although, as Krippendorff (1993) said, theories of human communication are not objective; rather, they are constructed out of our own cultural, social, linguistic, and perceptual systems, they do serve a suggestive role in underpinning Indigenous media to the wider society they are part of.

Popular with mass communications researchers such as Golding and Murdock (1973 and 1978) and Bagdikian (1983), the **political economy theory** focuses primarily on the relation between the economic structure and the dynamics of media industries. It directs attention to the structure of ownership and control of media and to the way media market forces operate (McQuail, 2000, p.82). From this point of view, the media has to be considered as part of the economic system, with close links to the political system. The underlying economic interests can influence such things as different kinds of media

content, under market pressure. The political forces can influence for instance the relative strength of a country's film industry through legislation, import restrictions, and funding agencies. According to Bowne (1996), this theory could prove helpful if applied to a comparative analysis of Indigenous media in different countries and it "were to reveal the presence of certain economically based political policies in some countries, but not in others, and a strong correlation between the presence or absence of those policies and the relative strength or weakness of the indigenous media" (p.9).

The proponents of the **hegemony theory** consider media products as transmitting the values of one part of society termed, by Mills (1963), the "power elite" –those members of a community who possess power and influence, to society in general. This 'hegemonic control' is based not upon coercion and force, but resulting from successful persuasion or enculturation and through the enforcement of a loosely interrelated set of ruling ideas permeating a society, but in such a way as to make the established order of power and values appear natural and legitimate (McQuail, 2000, p.97).

Gramsci (1971), to whom many attribute this theory, argued that a state of hegemony could only be sustained by the won consent of the dominated. Dominance is accomplished at the unconscious as well as the conscious level (Hall, 1982, p.95) and the media is generally perceived to be the most powerful tool of hegemonic control. Society in general, absorbs the values of that "elite" segment of society, making it difficult for alternative approaches to gain any recognition as any opposition to the status quo is seen as dissident and deviant.

Among the academics that applied the hegemony theory to media studies is Lins da Silva (1986) in an analysis of media development in Brazil. He

concluded that the nature and agents of hegemony change over time through the interaction of numerous “contesting groups” within Brazil society. This interpretation might help explain some of the Indigenous experiences described in the succeeding sections.

The essence of the **cultural imperialism theory** is that Western nations, who are the major producers of the media (film, news, comics, etc.) because they have the money to do so, become exporters of their own cultures, values and lifestyles. The rest of the world purchase those productions because it is cheaper for them to do so rather than produce their own. As a result, audiences in other countries ‘absorb’ Western ways of thinking, values and lifestyles as ‘ideals’ (McQuail, 2000).

On Schiller’s (1989) view that Western culture ‘colonises’ the cultures of other countries, thus tending to pollute and displace Indigenous cultures, Watson (2003) cited Thompson who described this as ‘a somewhat romantic view’,

The issues addressed by Schiller should be placed...in a much broader historical perspective. Rather than assuming that prior to the importation of Western TV programmes etc. many Third World countries had indigenous traditions and cultural heritages which were largely unaffected by external pressures, we should see instead that the globalisation of communication through electronic media is only the most recent of a series of cultural encounters, in some cases stretching back many centuries, through which values, beliefs and symbolic forms of different groups have been superimposed on one another, often in conjunction with the use of coercive, political and economic power (John Thompson, in Watson, 2003, p.23).

Stam and Shohat (1994) explored how the dominant media contributed to cultural imperialism and the dissemination of Eurocentric discourses. They noted that from the onset of cinema, the most prolific film-producing countries (England, France, the United States and Germany) also happened to be among

the leading imperialist countries in whose clear interest it was to laud the colonial enterprise. Furthermore, they emphasised that the dominant European/American cinema not only inherited and disseminated a hegemonic colonial discourse, but also created a powerful hegemony of its own through monopolistic control of film distribution and exhibition around the world.

A situation in which colonized Africans and Asians went to European-owned theatres to watch European and Hollywood films thus encouraged a kind of spectatorial schizophrenia in the colonized subject who might, on the one hand, internalise Europe as ideal ego and on the other resent (and often protest) offensive representations (p.303).

The **cultural dependency theory** focuses on the receivers of imported material. According to this theory, a given country's broadcasters actually may seek to produce more of their own programmes, but it is quite possible that they will have been so influenced by the "models" supplied through a heavy diet of imported material over the years that the "new" self-produced material will embody the cultural characteristics of the imported material that it replaces.

Indigenous electronic media were rarities before 1970s by which time the majority culture electronic media –radio and television– were well established. Most indigenous peoples had never heard or seen anything else. Bowne (1996) asked in that regard,

Is it possible that they have become so dependent on the model of media performance exhibited by the majority culture media that it's difficult for them to conceive of alternative approaches? Might indigenous media staff (who, if they have prior experience with media operations, almost certainly would have attained it by working with majority culture media, at least until quite recently) face similar difficulties in conceiving of alternative approaches? Or, even if they can see other ways to communicate, might they assume, rightly or

wrongly, that the indigenous audience would reject or question such approaches? (p.12).

If any theory guides this work on Māori media, it is cultural dependency theory. Nevertheless, the material that appears in this dissertation is not a test of that theory, being out of the scope of this research.

2.2.2 Reasons for the emergence of Indigenous Media

The emergence and proliferation of Indigenous media, like many other minority groups' media, respond to several reasons. Most of them are direct criticisms to mainstream media, to either its work or the values it represents. Other motives can be found in the need to challenge society's structural inequalities.

The first and possibly the most obvious cause for setting up a separate Indigenous media is that despite the arrival and rise of several formats of media, Indigenous peoples were essentially ignored and left unserved by publishers and broadcasters. Keith (1995) cited Cook, executive director of the Indigenous Communications Association, illustrating the United States case:

In the United States there were no attempts by mainstream commercial radio to produce programs for Native audiences. Let me clarify this by saying that if you're looking for programs that were produced to empower Native communities to help them achieve control over their own destinies and realities, I can safely say that before 1972, when the Native broadcasting was launched with the first Indian owned and operated station going on the air, there were no efforts to provide sustaining programming anywhere in the U.S. That is, nothing that served the needs of Indigenous people, or for that matter even entertained them (Ray Cook, in Keith, 1995, p.3).

Fox expressed similar views when referring to the media in Aotearoa/ New Zealand. "The Pākehā controlled mass media have demonstrated their inability

and/or unwillingness to provide a service for Māori” (1988, p.501). He added that the only way for Māori children to dream Indigenous dreams was have separate Māori control of some of the country’s radio and television resources.

Since mainstream media caters mainly for the majority culture public, it relies on majority culture commonsense when interpreting Indigenous actions and issues. As a result, as Abel (1997) pointed out referring to the New Zealand mainstream media, Indigenous –Māori– “issues are more likely to be covered when they encroach on and affect Pākehā people” (p.23). She further quoted a senior reporter reasoning in this regard, “You take the angle you think will be most relevant to your viewers [and] the viewers are seen as predominantly Pākehā...” (p.23).

A recurring criticism found in the literature reviewed is the creation and perpetuation of stereotypes by the media and negative portrayals of Indigenous peoples. These misrepresentations –deliberate or not– are attributed to a number of issues, such as minority groups generalisations, media customary practices and values, differing historical perspectives, and ignorance of media workers. In the end, Indigenous peoples are portrayed “...as tragic victims speaking only broken English, as pitiful alcoholics, as angry militants, and as mythical spiritual beings...” (Peggy Berryhill, in Keith, 1995, p.152) or “are shown as a European stereotype of Plains Indians, mounted warriors with feathered headdresses living in the 19th century” (E. B. Eiselein, in Keith, 1995, p.20).

Although under different settings and circumstances, there are accounts of similar experiences around the world where Indigenous peoples resent mainstream media portrayal. For instance, DeVillar (1998) revealed the struggle of an Indigenous group –The Zapatistas– in Chiapas, Mexico, through

Cockburn and Murray (1994) accounts describing how the Zapatistas opposed media negative representation through censure, at least for a while:

Most Mexican get their news from TV, particularly the Televisa Network, owned by Emilio Azcárraga, one of the five richest men in Latin America, which captures ninety per cent of the viewing public...Azcárraga is a major supporter of the government...Televisa's news programmes presented grotesque misrepresentations of the [Chiapas up] raising. The [insurgents] responded by disinventing the TV giant from the peace negotiations, and judiciously selecting friendly newspapers and other TV channels for its communiqués. Meanwhile, angry crowds in Mexico besieged Televisa's headquarters (Cockburn and Murray, in DeVillar, 1998, p.192).

In the New Zealand context, Stuart (2003) argued that mainstream media, through “news stories about poor achievement in education, poor health, high crime rates, mental health, prison populations, unemployment and so on” (p.50) have helped create a Māori identity separated from mainstream New Zealand, though based on negatives. He cited Walker who called these negatives stereotypes re-enforced by the mainstream media “a periodic recitation of Māori failings” (1989, p.43).

The report *The Portrayal of Māori and Te Ao Māori in Broadcasting: the foreshore and seabed issue* (New Zealand Broadcasting Standards Authority, BSA, 2005), by the Media Research Team of Victoria University of Wellington provided a comprehensive analysis on the portrayal of Māori and te ao Māori in both broadcast and print media. Among its findings they observed frequent stereotyping and negative portrayals of Māori in mainstream media and highlighted the media construction of opposite patterns ‘Good Māori/ Bad Māori’ and ‘Tame Māori/ Wild Māori’ initially identified by Nairn and McCreanor and Abel, respectively.

The perpetuation of stereotypes by mainstream media is also found in the way language is utilised when covering Indigenous issues. Dodson, a member of the Australian Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation, argued “if someone call you a ‘back C’ or you call someone a ‘white C’ or something, immediately it sends off the antennas – and it sets up the barriers to any worthwhile dialogue and communication about the issues of substance” (Dodson, 1996, p.24). Other authors such as Stuart (2005) –referring to the national media– have criticised the naming of particular groups as a catch-all, third person because it becomes a mechanism of exclusion. “The continued use of the third person ‘Māori’ conglomerates the indigenous people of Aotearoa/ New Zealand into a single category, which the news media then separates from the rest of the community” (Stuart, 2005, p.17). He further criticised the use of ‘Māori’ as an adjective:

...the position Pākeha is normal and need not be named, but the position Māori is marked as “outside” normal society... News writers do this by using ‘Māori’ as a general adjective whether the appellation is appropriate for the person’s role, or not. This is clearly evident in the commonly used constructions ‘Māori leaders’, ‘Māori activists’ and ‘Māori MPs’. Having constructed Māori as ‘them’ outside the public sphere, the media then use such appellations to ensure that Māori who are allowed to speak in the news media are firmly identified as member of the ‘other’ group (Stuart, 2005, p.16-17).

A history of suspicion and distrust on mainstream media is another of the reasons, which have encouraged Indigenous people to seek their own media. Smith, a Native American broadcast scholar and public station manager, commenting on America’s media environment believed that this distrust is widespread in Native communities rather than an isolated phenomenon.

Mainstream broadcast media have often been perceived as negative forces in Native communities. Broadcasting bombards Native communities with the sights and sounds of Western culture, overwhelming Native languages and traditions. For example, Inuit

[Eskimo] people of the North once feared that the introduction of television would further marginalize, rather than modernise, their people. One linguist, fearful of the impact of television, went so far as to call it a “cultural nerve gas” (Bruce Smith, in Keith, 1995, p.48).

Meadows (1996) research on Indigenous Australians added another layer to the ignorance and/or marginalisation of Indigenous peoples by mainstream media. His findings confirmed that indigenous voices were very consistently kept out of the mainstream media and that white voices outnumbered indigenous voices by up to ten times. Therefore, it revealed that is very difficult for Indigenous people to gain a space in stories that deal with issues of crucial importance to them, leaving them voiceless and without the opportunity to express their opinions.

Several researches point to the use of journalistic news values, a criteria by which a story is considered newsworthy or otherwise, as a reason for Indigenous peoples moving into their own separate media (Abel, 1997; Keith, 1995). Hartley and McKee (2000) noticed that “...news prefers action and event over background and structure, likes personification and leaders, sensationalism, conflict, binarism, and the like, and commits the occasional inaccuracy or distortion” (p.275). Therefore, they argued that by abiding to these values the distortion of Indigenous peoples and issues was inevitable.

Media coverage of Indigenous issues raises questions about core values and processes for the whole society, and the way Indigenous issues are covered does not result from racism or from poor journalism, but precisely from journalists and other media story-tellers doing their job well (Hartley and McKee, 2000, p.7).

Stuart (1996) cited as one of the reasons behind the establishment of a separate media for Māori the style of reporting practiced and taught in Aotearoa/ New Zealand which failed to voice Māori stories properly. Stuart argued that the New Zealand media has followed the American interpretive style of reporting

telling the readers and listeners what to think about events and issues rather than simply presenting both sides of a debate and cited professor Curran, of London University when he described the news within a market-oriented system as

Information which is simplified, condensed, personalised, decontextualised, with a stress on action rather than process, visualisation rather than abstraction, stereotype rather than human complexity (James Curran, in Stuart, 1996, p.103).

Moreover, Dodson focused his attention on the programmes' format and agenda setting. He pointed out that many news stories on Aboriginal issues were not covered because they did not fit the mainstream programmes' format therefore the Aboriginal fundamental challenge for justice and equality did not get across to a wider public (Dodson, 1996, p.24).

Journalism practices and the structural factors (i.e. economical use of airtime and fixed duration of programmes) by which the media works –from selection, gathering, construction and then broadcast– were also seen as detrimental to Indigenous peoples, by several authors (Meadows, 1996; Abel, 1997; Keith 1995). An observation by Shown Harjo, an experienced Native American radio broadcaster, illustrated that short sound bites do not accommodate Indigenous peoples way of expression in which, “...there is a traditional rhythm that values the poetry of silence for punctuation and completion of thought...” (Suzan Shown Harjo, in Keith, 1995, p. xii).

In the New Zealand context, Abel's (1997) case study of television news coverage of the 1990, 1994 and 1995 Waitangi Day events showed similar issues, “...whereas Pākehā interviewees would answer questions with a direct, reactive reply, people in Māoridom were far more careful about wording statements, particularly if their comments reflected on someone else” (p.21-

22), making it difficult for reporters and editors to select from interviews with Māori short sentences to fit the brief space allowed for opinions. Meadows (1996) argued that despite the efforts of some journalists trying to showcase Indigenous voices in a culturally appropriate way, without distortions created by the cutting and editing, he commented that “often it comes down to a question of whether journalists want to get their stories published or not” (p.90).

The literature reviewed suggests as another reason for the creation of separate Indigenous media to the lack of Indigenous language spoken in mainstream media. Keith (1995) cited Smith and Brigham on American Natives fears “that if the languages die the culture will slip away as well” (p.20). Indigenous media was perceived not only as a way to help retain their language but also as a method for communicating to Indigenous peoples who spoke an Indigenous language exclusively, to Indigenous peoples living outside their native region and to promote their culture. “Many Native tribes ran the risk of becoming overassimilated into mainstream culture, thus losing touch with their own history and heritage, and Native radio was seen as a possible means for slowing and possibly reversing this trend,” admitted Keith (1995, p.19).

Molnar and Meadows (2001) study of the media in Australia, the South Pacific and Canada expressed similar fears about the impact of non-Indigenous dominated media on the survival of Indigenous cultures and languages.

For decades the South Pacific has relied on Western news agencies for news about itself and other countries. As a result, Pacific Islanders, like Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island peoples, have learnt about themselves largely from the perspectives of others (Molnar and Meadows, 2001, p.xxiii).

From the preceding accounts and observations found in national and international scholarly works a set of reasons –by no means inclusive of all causes– for the emergence of Indigenous media can be outlined:

- Indigenous peoples were ignored or left unserved by mainstream media. No information that serve the need of Indigenous peoples was provided;
- Indigenous peoples were stereotyped, negatively portrayed in mainstream media. The use of language and journalists lack of understanding of Indigenous issues, protocols, culture and values contributed to the misrepresentation;
- Lack of Indigenous voices and opinions were found in mainstream media, even on issues that directly concern or involve them;
- Eurocentric commonsense was used in mainstream media, looking the world through Western eyes and dismissing Indigenous perspectives;
- Distrust on mainstream media was found among Indigenous peoples as its news values, programming format, journalism practices and workers attempted against Indigenous interests;
- Lack of use of Indigenous language in mainstream media;
- Indigenous peoples felt losing touch with their own culture and heritage and felt bombarded by Western cultural influences.

2.2.3 Purposes of Indigenous media

By creating their own separate media, Indigenous peoples try to preserve their cultures and their languages. While Shown Harjo saw it as medium “ideal for the revitalization and preservation of Indigenous languages and for the presentation and documentation of oral history and storytelling” (Suzan Shown Harjo, in Keith, 1995, p. xiii), Ginsburg (1991) saw it as a means for

“reproducing and transforming cultural identity among people who have experienced massive political, geographic, and economic disruption” (p.94).

Browne (1996) argued that most Indigenous wanted to see the language ‘restored’ to everyday use but when developing new terminology to deal with technology, science, medicine and other fields he asked whether that was possible given the predominance of majority culture media. Even if the indigenous language media resort to “indigenisation” of majority language terminology, “the indigenous language itself will have become a little more than a version of the majority language” (p.60).

Many of the Indigenous media share a common purpose of combating stereotypes and redefining existing images and beliefs, many of them conveyed by mainstream media for decades or even a few centuries and accepted as more or less true not only by members of the majority culture but also by indigenous peoples themselves. Browne (1996) found controversy on this point,

First, the minority feel that, due to decades or centuries of misrepresentation by the media, by religious and educational institutions, and by public officials, the task of “image modification” is impossible, so why attempt it? A second and related reason would be along the lines of “They (majority culture) have their own media, which symbolize their own values. Now we have ours, so let’s treat it as ours and let them be happy with theirs.” (p.65).

Browne also found contradictory the need to restore use of the language to the attempt to reach majority culture audiences “to explain ourselves to them” and the feeling of some Indigenous media that, in order to reach the majority successfully they would have to become more like the mainstream media, losing much of their Indigenous character in the process (p.65).

Stuart (2003) pointed out that the negative portrayal of Māori by mainstream media was one of the factors that motivated Māori to establish their own media and the growth of a new generation of Māori voices. “These new voices were previously only able to speak to Māoridom through the Pākehā-controlled mainstream media. The mainstream media distorted the message by interpreting it and filtering it through Pākehā eyes,” (p.51) adding radicalism to the long list of Māori negatives.

Another purpose of Indigenous media is to provide news and information for indigenous peoples since mainstream media has, for the most part, ignored the need to serve Indigenous peoples. In some cases, as is the Indigenous radio stations in the Pacific, Indigenous media became the primary source of communication (Molnar and Meadows, 2001).

By creating their own media, Indigenous peoples try to take control over their own images, speak in their own voices and set up their own agenda. These ideas are conveyed in Remedio’s address about Indigenous media in Australia, “...we are out there telling our story in our own voice. We are no longer letting others do the talking for us or telling the story as they see it. We now sing the songs again. We tell the stories. We show the images as we see them and we show them to ourselves and to the rest of Australia and indeed to the rest of the world” (Remedio, 1996, p.107). By representing themselves in the media, Indigenous peoples are also challenging misleading mainstream and official state narrative.

Many Indigenous groups have recognised the potential of the media for intragroup communication and as a means to develop a greater sense of cohesiveness or as Bowne explained “to rebuild a unity that had once existed but had vanished in the wake of colonization” (1996, p.67) therefore gaining cultural and political recognition in the wider society. Possibly not to the

extent of radio and television networks operated by the Basque group Euskadi ta Askatasuna (ETA), divided between France and Spain, which demand full restoration of sovereignty, there are a number of movements working towards Indigenous improvement of economic, cultural, societal, and political status. These groups have the potential benefit of coverage by Indigenous media, whereas in the past they were ignored or misportrayed by mainstream media.

Another purpose for the establishment of Indigenous media is to offer Indigenous historical perspectives. Therefore, media is used to “rethink history,” even to address “the ignorance of the dominant culture” about past history and contemporary culture (Weatherford, 1990, p.59).

Many see Indigenous media as essentially a contested site involving struggles between opposing ideologies and competing logics for control of the agenda. Stam and Shohat (1994) described that Indigenous media are not a pristine “truth” for European “lies”, but that they propose countertruths and counternarratives informed by an anticolonialist perspective, reclaiming and reaccentuating the events of the past (p.307).

In the United States, Native Americans have been actively involved in making their own media based on an initial focus of “helping to enhance the survival of their own communities,” in their own production facilities and through coproduction arrangements with non-native media (Weatherford, 1990, p.59).

As well as intending to promote Indigenous culture through culturally relevant programmes, many Indigenous media saw the need to provide an outlet to showcase Indigenous artists therefore establishing a point of difference from mainstream media.

They're going to hear Aboriginal music –first release stuff...you don't get that on commercial stations. The commercial stations in my town in Victoria are still playing 'Goanna's Track' –and that's their contribution to Indigenous music. You'll hear tracks from ten years ago" (Remedio, 1996, p.109).

Some researches attribute to the Indigenous media the growth of Indigenous recording industries, leading mainstream stations to pay more serious attention to indigenous artists and the revival or reinvention of Indigenous art forms such as poetry, mythology, dance, drama, crafts and vocal or instrumental music (Browne, 1996, p.68-69).

Additionally, Indigenous media is seen as an extra source of employment for Indigenous peoples. Before the advent of these media outlets Indigenous peoples' only source of work –within the media– was either public broadcasting or commercial ones because “that was where the jobs were” admitted Shown Harjo (Suzan Shown Harjo, in Keith, 1995, p. xi).

Browne (1996) suggested two reasons as to why Indigenous media provided employment for the Indigenous community. First, the governmentally supported employment and training programmes (such as Australia's Department of Education, Employment, and Training) allow Indigenous media outlets to employ larger number of staff than would be possible within the station's own budget. Browne found a second reason in the media's ability to attract young indigenous people providing not only training but also bringing purpose and organisation to their lives. He noted after speaking with young staff members at Indigenous stations in Australia, New Zealand, the United States, and Canada that in some cases, they already were becoming alcoholics or engaging in petty crimes before becoming involved with Indigenous media (p.70-71).

A more subtle purpose of developing a regional and international networks with other Indigenous groups was found in the words of Jim Remedio, chair of the National Indigenous Media Association, “Our vision is to have the voice of Indigenous Australia being heard internationally –all around the Pacific and our South-East Asian neighbours, as well as through the networks we are forming though the worldwide body of international broadcasters” (1996, p.109).

2.2.4 Indigenous media: Some Issues

As with the reasons for the emergence of Indigenous media and the goals they set up to accomplish, the issues facing Indigenous media do not apply to them all. However, the literature reviewed shows some common patterns that affect many Indigenous media.

Lack of funding seems a universal dilemma in the Indigenous media sector (Keith, 1995; Remedio, 1996; Edgar, 1996; Browne, 1996; Molnar and Meadows, 2001). A survey conducted by Keith (1995) to managers of all known Native American stations revealed shortage of funds topped their concern list. Acute financial deficits are the root of many of the difficulties that Native stations face, according to him (p.114). The obvious consequence of funding shortages is substandard facilities and equipment. Deficiencies in this area affect the quality of service that Indigenous media can offer their audience.

Keith (1995), referring to the Native American stations, commented that “most of the stations now rely on a single source for the majority of their operating funds: the tribal government, the tribal business council, or the tribal school board. In all cases, the source of funding for these bodies is federally-based”

(p.35). When federal cutbacks occur, funds are withdrawn from the stations to be used for other, more pressing needs.

When analysing the media in the South Pacific, Molnar and Meadows (2001) argued that the geographic configuration of Pacific Island countries which consist of scattered islands spread over large distances, differing literacy rates among countries and the existence of several hundreds of languages within one country (i.e. Solomon Islands have 120 languages and Papua New Guinea around 850 languages) have made the Indigenous press languish in favour of radio broadcasting and that such small advertising markets make them vulnerable to the whim of government and overseas donations.

Another problem facing Indigenous media is inadequate staffing and training. Browne (1996) argued that it was due to lack of money and deeply ingrained majority culture perceptions. The first point is apparent as most indigenous media operate on very modest budgets and cannot afford competitive salaries for experienced personnel. This situation not only affect staff hiring and retention but also affect unpaid volunteers; “after they’ve gained experience and confidence, they often find themselves much more employable, and at jobs that pay decent wages” (p.98). Consequently, Indigenous media face a high turnover rate.

The second problem Browne pointed out is that some potential Indigenous media staff are attracted by the prospect of working within the media because they think the job is similar as to what they have listened to and watched in mainstream media. These preconceptions sometimes are too powerful to break to the point that staff cannot see any other possibilities in the medium and leave (Browne, 1996, p.98).

Sommer, an Alaska broadcaster of station KIYU admitted to Keith in a letter “recruiting Natives to broadcasting is our biggest problem. It’s almost impossible to recruit a Native male. They look at radio as ‘indoor work’ and ‘unmanly’. They are the hunters and providers, and as such they must work hard at an outdoor job” (Bob Sommer, in Keith, 1995, p.116).

Indigenous station managers also find that many of the young people they recruit have been overassimilated into mainstream culture, a condition that has left them ignorant of tribal traditions and language. These individuals are unable to assist in Indigenous-language programmes or those that contain traditional themes, and this inability means that a station’s efforts in these areas may be significantly compromised (Keith, 1995, p.117-118).

The provision of adequate training is another issue facing Indigenous media. Potential Indigenous staff are able to receive training in short or long courses created for them and run generally by experienced broadcasters, training provided by the national public service broadcaster, and in mainstream educational institutions. However a frequent complain voiced by Indigenous stations is that these sort of training fail to address the working conditions in the stations and might produce “trainees who aren’t able to function very well with poor equipment or under the time constraints faced by most stations, much less when up against cultural restraints” (Browne, 1996, p.101).

In an article examining issues of Māori journalism training, Stuart (2002) asked which media are Māori journalists training to be journalists for and if working within the mainstream media, “are Māori required to report Māori issues for Pākehā or for Māori?”(p.43). The article identified some of the key differences in news approaches between the Taiwi [mainstream] and Māori media. It then argued that a different teaching approach is needed in journalism schools to allow these differences to emerge and develop.

Some Indigenous broadcast services have developed in-house training programmes as well, as most Native stations in the United States. Keith (1995) pointed out that this situation make stations an educational establishment as well as a station giving them a double responsibility (p.116).

In the Pacific context, Molnar and Meadows (2001) contended that Western influence has been continually reinforced by their dependence on Western aid donors to provide equipment and training. “Western characteristics are apparent in the studio design and in the type of equipment used, as well as the accompanying program formats and divisions of labour. These characteristics combine to constrain the potential of Indigenous broadcasting by imposing programming standards and expectations that the stations cannot always meet” (p.81).

Station governance, especially when the licence is awarded to a tribe, is also seen as a prominent issue. Stations wish to operate with a measure of autonomy in order to perform effectively as a mass medium, but tribal councils and boards sometimes impose strictures that make independence difficult (Keith, 1995, p.119-120). Tribal interference can be politically motivated by using the station to express tribal leaders views only. In other stations, the interference is not political as observed by Maria. “Problems sometimes occur when tribal governments want to tell stations what they should be playing...what songs, what features, and so on. It’s very difficult if a station is in this situation...” (Barbara Maria, in Keith, 1995, p.121).

Although as mentioned earlier, one of the proclaimed purposes of some Indigenous media was to promote Indigenous culture through culturally relevant programmes, Indigenous programming is not abundant because it comes from the efforts of the local stations. The easiest –and cheapest– way to fill broadcasting hours then is with music. “The primary fare at Native stations

is music –Anglo music. Country music is more prevalent on most Native stations than any other element of programming”, reported Keith on Native American stations (1995, p.122). Browne agreed in the predominant use of music by Indigenous media but not in the choices they make, arguing they offer a multiplicity of styles:

Music is a staple element for indigenous stations, and it often displays considerable variety, mixing in a single program an indigenous rock band, an indigenous singer of legends, an indigenous choir performing in nineteenth-century religious or secular tradition, ‘protest’ songs from indigenous and other minority groups (especially Afro-Caribbean and African-American) in other countries, and majority culture popular and semiclassical music (1996, p.86).

The lack of Indigenous programming is attributed to resources’ limitations and to the organisational structure of Indigenous media, as in the case of stations in the Pacific. “National public service radio models are the dominant media...however, the centralised nature of these services, along with their organisational structure, can compromise broadcasters’ ability to produce diverse and relevant Indigenous programming” (Molnar and Meadows, 2001, p.76).

Many of the Indigenous media share mainstream media concerns about competition from other sources for funding and audience. Although most Indigenous media stations have the biggest lifestyle connection to those Indigenous living on the area, some are not the exclusive or even primary choice of media for Indigenous peoples. Schader, Native American KGHR station general manager noted, “local businesses targeting Navajos advertise on off-reservation stations because they know they [Navajos] are tuned into these non-Indian stations” (Stu Schader, in Keith, 1995, p.123).

Keith pointed out other concerns were mentioned in his survey such as racism by non-Indigenous, particularly when fund-raising campaigns; the production of programmes due to lack of staff; and the lack of connectedness between Indigenous media with little unity or link between individual stations (1995, p.124-125). Browne also concurred in the latter concern. “In many countries, there are a number of significant ways in which the mass media interact: through the influence of radio and TV critics writing for newspapers, through the appetite of television for movies, through journalistic competition between newspapers and the electronic media, and through cross ownership of print and broadcast media. There is little interaction of that sort where the indigenous media are concerned” (1996, p.128-129).

2.3 MĀORI MEDIA

While research concerning the analysis of mainstream media and their coverage of Māori is extensive, particularly from the last decade, remarkably little research has been done on Māori media specifically. Furthermore, researches on Māori media, by and large, have been focused on the study of one aspect of it (i.e. iwi radio audience, Aotearoa Television)¹ and have generally been commissioned by some of the government’s departments for strategic policy direction for Māori language revitalisation, broadcasting and Māori development.

Among the few academic writers focusing on Māori media has been Stuart (1996, 2000, 2002, 2003, 2005). In his 2003 paper, *The construction of a national Māori identity by Māori media*, he defined the Māori media as a developmental media based on its objectives of promoting the Māori language

¹ See, for instance, on Aotearoa Television, Burns, Derek A. (1997), ‘Public money, private lives: Aotearoa Television, the inside story’; on broadcasting, Te Māngai Pāho (1995), ‘Māori television: a consultation document’; and on iwi radio, Grant, Allan (1998), ‘The voice of iwi radio’.

and culture. He added, “the Māori media also actively seeks to promote positive images of Māori and to provide a Māori view of events and news, all roles assumed by a developmental media” (p.46).

Robie, editor of the journal *Pacific Journalism Review* and one of the most authoritative and prolific writers on Pacific media and Pacific journalism education, instead classified the Māori media according to its news values. In the mid-1990s Robie modified Lule’s (1987) “Three Worlds” news model into a “Four Worlds” news values concept, which more readily applied to the South Pacific media (Robie, 1995, p.11). This revised model was particularly relevant when relating to Fourth World communities, Indigenous and ethnic minorities absorbed within larger, dominant states (Robie, 2006, p.72) and living within the boundaries of the “imperialist nation” (Russell, 1996, p.57).

“Objectivity”, “collective agitator” and “nation building” are seen as leading ideals for First, Second and Third Worlds media, respectively. News values reflecting ‘timeliness’, ‘proximity’ and ‘personality’ are associated with the First World. In contrast, the news values of ‘ideological significance’, ‘party concerns’ and ‘social responsibility’ are linked to the totalitarian Second World. Third World news values prioritise ‘development’, ‘national integration’ and ‘social responsibility’ (Lule, 1987, pp.23-46). For the Fourth World, the main concerns are ‘independent [political] voice’, ‘language’, ‘culture’, ‘education’ and ‘solidarity’ (Robie, 2001, p.13).

Robie argued “both Australia and New Zealand have thriving Indigenous media applying Fourth World news values, although news editors may not see it in quite those terms” (Robie, 2006, p.73). He accounted there were 21 Māori or iwi radio stations, three Māori printed media (one bilingual Māori newspaper and two well-established magazines) and the national Māori Television Service (MTS) using Fourth World news values.

Hodgetts et al (2005) article explored the increased media production by Māori as a way to challenge mainstream media framing of Māori issues that tends to promote Pākeha perspectives while addressing the civic or public journalism approach where journalists are not a 'detached observer', as traditional notions of journalism will dictate but instead, they become a 'collaborator' who works with groups to make the news. The analysis focused on the documentary *Hikoi – Inside Out* (TV1, 21 July 2004), which featured two Māori women's journey from the far north to Parliament.

Hodgetts et al (2005) considered the significance of Māori media as an alternative site for dialogue and representation,

Recent increases in Māori media production have proved crucial for providing direct links within Māori communities, for nurturing a sense of community, for education, and for fostering a shared agenda necessary for continued advocacy for social justice (Stuart, 2003). As a site for social intervention, Māori media have also provided a training ground for Māori media professionals, and a wider understanding of news media processes among Māori. Such understandings are crucial for civic participation (Couldry & Curran, 2002; Walker, 2002) (Hodgetts et al, p.193, 194).

However, despite having such positive features, they noted that Māori media have often been marginalised and under resourced, and have not shifted the power held by Pākeha institutions. Instead, they considered "the existence of Māori media may contribute to mainstream media sidestepping their obligations to represent indigenous concerns in an equitable manner" (p.194). A similar concern was expressed by Stuart when he argued the development of a separate Māori media has the potential to lessen cross-cultural communication as both cultures become isolated within their own communication system (Stuart, 2000, p.8).

In *Māori and mainstream: Towards bicultural reporting* (2002), Stuart applied Todorov's five stages of a narrative (status quo, disruption, deterioration of conditions, working through the issues, restoration or establishment of a new status quo) when comparing Pākehā and Māori narratives to depict the Pakaitore/Moutoa Gardens protest. This case study evidenced that Pākehā perspectives of events were at variance with Māori perspectives. Furthermore, Stuart argued that Māori ideas of what makes news are radically different from Pākehā ideas. "Māori will choose different newsmakers, different angles and give events different emphasis and interpretations. The stories Māori reporters will want to write will be very different from the stories Pākehā reporters will write about the same events... But they are still legitimate selections" (p.54).

In terms of the skills used, Stuart observed that Māori media have adapted the concept of objectivity. Because Māori writers accept that objectivity is impossible and do not try for it, Māori media news are written discursively. There is no pretence at objectivity and no use of the inverted pyramid. Māori writing styles can also be written in narrative styles, a culturally appropriate way of presenting information, which has been used for hundreds of years by Polynesian cultures (Stuart, 2002, p.53-54).

In *The Māori public sphere* (2005), Stuart focused on the different form and processes it has when comparing it to the Pākehā public sphere. Mainstream news media reports all discussion, especially conflicts, leading up to the decisions. Instead, the Māori media do not report all discussion at a hui, but report the final decision and, more importantly, "ask people's reactions to the decision, rather than commenting on the decision itself" (Stuart, 2005, p.22).

Stuart noted that outside the social space of the marae the Māori media is acting more like the mainstream media running public debates, challenging and questioning leaders and holding up decisions and ideas to public scrutiny.

Nonetheless, “this is still tempered by Māori approaches to conflict and discussion, which remain different to, though not uninfluenced by, mainstream media and Pākeha cultural approaches” (Stuart, 2005, p22).

2.4 SUMMARY

This literature review shows a wide variety of ideas and arguments regarding Indigenous media –including Māori media. Indigenous peoples’ struggles for the right to their self-identity and cultural self-determination; the right to participate in political ventures and thereby have a say in the country’s overall development; and the right to use their own voices and images to express and develop themselves appear as strong reasons for the emergence of a separate Indigenous media.

The literature reviewed shows that whatever the initial reason for its creation, most of the Indigenous media were established with a number of purposes or set of goals. Obviously, not all of the purposes apply equally to all Indigenous media and even the relevance of any single purpose might shift over time, as staff, management style, audience and the overall media climate change. The following list represents some of the objectives found in the literature:

- Preserve language and culture
- Combat negative images of Indigenous peoples
- Challenge mainstream media and official state narrative
- Develop a greater political influence
- Control their own images and agenda
- Rewrite their own histories
- Enhance survival of Indigenous communities
- Provide information for Indigenous peoples
- Provide an outlet for Indigenous artists (music, poetry, storytelling)

- Provide a source of training and employment for Indigenous people
- Network with other Indigenous groups

Looking at the Māori media in particular, the literature reviewed defined it as a developmental media, using Fourth World news values and sometimes using civic journalism, where journalists are not simple observers but collaborators of the groups making the news. Some characteristics of the Māori media emerging from the review were:

- What make news differ from Pākehā media
- There is no pretence at 'objectivity'
- There is no use of inverted pyramid
- Use of discursive and narrative writing styles
- Different form and processes of public sphere than Pākehā

The ways in which Māori people use and participate in the media will be explored in more detail in the following chapters.

WĀHANGA TUARUA
PART TWO

MĀORI PRINTED MEDIA

CHAPTER THREE

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MĀORI PRINT JOURNALISM

*Me i matau ana i ahau
 Nga korero e takoto i te puka
 Me tuhituhi atu ki te pepa
 Ka tuku ai ki a Ihaka
 Kia panui a Te Uruti.
 E hine tena koe, ka nui taku aroha.*

*If only I could understand
 The words printed on the page
 I would write a letter
 And send it off to Ihaka
 So that Te Uruti could read,
 Greetings, my daughter, my love for you is great.*

Mihi-ki-te-kapua (?-1872,80?) waiata

** Translated by Kāretu in Rere atu, taku manu! Discovering history, language & politics in the Māori-language Newspapers (2002:1, p.10)*

3.1 MĀORI PRINT CULTURE

The people in Aotearoa/ New Zealand first encountered written language in 1769, when Captain James Cook wrote down the Māori words he heard.¹ Māori rapidly understood the value of this new skill of writing, as expressed in the chapter's opening fragment of a waiata. Indeed, printing and its attendant literacy proved a boon to the Māori culture. Once they mastered the art of writing as well as an introduced orthography, they became very prolific correspondents; numerous letters to government ministers and to the Māori-language newspapers are proof of that.

In their correspondence with each other and to the newspapers –whether about land, politics, daily events or personal matters– Māori developed its own written protocol, a convention that Kāretu (2002:1, p.1) asserts is based “largely on the etiquette and protocol of the *marae* or tribal meeting-ground, and particularly on that of *whaikōrero*, the formal speech-making”.² This theme was also taken up by McRae in her article ‘‘E manu, tena koe!’ ‘O bird, greetings to you’: The Oral Tradition in Newspaper Writing’ (2002), in particular the poetic modes of expression which Māori used in writing for the newspapers, the ways in which they combined oral and written usage, and the effects of literacy on their writing and thinking.

According to McRae, it was not uncommon in the nineteenth century for the use of “the poetic mannerisms of the oral tradition, in which rhetoric and metaphor prevailed”, when Māori wrote for the newspapers (2002:3, p.42-43). Kāretu, for instance, exemplifies how early Māori writers almost personified a letter by using phrases such as, “Nau mau, haere atu e taku reta ki te kawē

¹ See Parkinson, P. (2003). ‘Our infant state: the Māori language, the mission presses, the British Crown and the Māori, 1814-1838’; and New Zealand Academy for the Humanities (1997). ‘History of print culture in New Zealand: interim bibliography.’

² An example of a *mihi* or welcome is illustrated in a letter to *Te Wananga* by Kāretu (2002:1, p.1-2).

mihi, ki te kawē kōrero (Welcome and farewell my letter, on your way to convey greetings and news)” (2002:1, p.2). Allied to such traditional remarks in letters was the use of allusion to the Bible, to waiata, haka and other forms of traditional song and chant, to whakapapa, whakatauki and mythology– as writers knew that the recipient of the missive would be familiar with the allusion and thereby comprehend the writer’s intention. This minimised the need to write at length on some issues because the reference would suffice (Kāretu, 2002). Early Māori-language newspapers also document “loanwords” used by Māori as a result of contact with European immigrants (Moorfield and Paterson, 2002).

The newspaper forum also became a new setting for public debate that was very much part of traditional Māori society; the printed word became the voice. Many of the topics debated at length in newspaper columns had very complex references to cultural traditions and philosophy. Normally, this type of exchange would have taken place on the marae or in the wharenuī in open forum and face-to-face so the issue could be fully debated. With the advent of printed media, these were discussed in print in the columns of newspapers. Those wishing to discuss or debate any issue were able to do so from far away because of the magic offered by literacy and print (Kāretu, 2002).

As Kāretu points out, the introduction of the written word into a Māori world in which a person’s good reputation depended on his command of the spoken word, must have been both liberating and confining.

Liberating in the sense that one no longer needed to commit to memory long genealogical tables and tribal histories but could commit them to writing or print to be referred to when necessary –and the newspapers played a role in this happening. Confining, however, because once written a version of a text tended to become *the* version and errors captured in print were often perpetuated in use, whether in tribal history, genealogy, or lyrics of chant. Also, the Māori oral tradition,

that had been spontaneous, situational and flexible became categorical, emphatic and less flexible because it was written down. (Kāretu, 2002:1, p.11).

Despite any negative impact of this new skill on Māori mana or prestige, and on Māori respect for the traditional paragons of knowledge (and on their control of, and views on that knowledge), some benefits of the written word are evident. The newspapers, for instance, retained a remarkable record of Māori opinion at that time and they show glimpses into Māori rich oral heritage. Were it not for the nineteenth-century print culture much knowledge of Māori lives and feelings at the time would have been lost or 'explained' by the very select few Pākehā and their versions, whether slanted or not.

3.2 EARLY MĀORI PRINT JOURNALISM

One of the most distinctive features of the New Zealand printed record has been the sustained presence of Māori voices, writing in English and te reo Māori. From the earliest missionary presses to the current *Huia Publishers*, Māori has been an essential printed and spoken element of New Zealand culture. While the defining assumptions of a print-based society fit uneasily with the strong oral tradition of Māori culture, printing has also often offered Māori a means of resisting Pākehā cultural dominance. The development of early Māori print journalism can be described broadly in three phases, according to its purpose:

1. Colonising journalism
2. Kaupapa Māori journalism
3. Niche journalism

These different stages in which a specific style of news writing was developed are related to the three main types of colonial newspapers described in the

‘Niupepa: Māori newspapers 1842-1932 Collection’, made available online by the New Zealand digital Library Project of the University of Waikato found at <http://www.nzdl.org/cgi-bin/niupepalibrary?e=p-0niupepa--00-0-0-014-Document-text---0-11--1-en-50---20-preferences---001-001-0utfZz-8-0&a=p&p=about>³ and also in Curnow (2002), as government-sponsored, Māori-initiated, and religious.

The first phase, beginning in 1842 with the advent of the first Māori-language newspaper, was the result of the written style used by those newsletters published by government for colonising purposes, Māori being “the only language available in which colonial authorities could exploit the power of print” (Rogers, 1998, p.182, quoted in Curnow 2002:2, p.17). Many of the church and philanthropic papers belonging to this period were also to a degree allied to government, although giving a greater emphasis to scriptural and religious material.

The second phase, starting from 1862 when Māori-owned newspapers flourished, saw the development of a written style in accordance with the kaupapa Māori. During this time, print media were used to appraise government and Pākehā of Māori opinion in regard to land, and to educate Māori about their own society and the world. There was some overlap between these two periods as government papers continued until 1877 opposing the views represented in Māori-owned newspapers (Curnow, 2002).

3 The Māori Niupepa Collection is a collection of historic newspapers published primarily for a Māori audience between 1842 and 1932. There are 34 separate publications in the collection, most written in the Māori language, although about a third are bilingual (with facing translations), and a handful are in the English language. Some of the newspapers were initiated by Māori, some were government sponsored, and a third group were primarily religious. English abstracts are being added to the online collection.

The newspapers may be browsed or searched. Results return the transcribed text, or facsimile images, of a particular edition of a newspaper. There is an extended commentary on each paper, providing bibliographic details, information concerning the newspaper’s background, focus, and rationale, its typical subject matter, and its availability.

After 1913, in the third phase, Māori-language newspapers that covered a broad range of subjects almost disappeared and were replaced by a proliferation of specific interest papers mostly religious, many of them ephemeral, in which Māori writers were either employed by or were members of the denomination. Many researchers and historians see as a reason for the reduction of Māori publications the fewer proficient writers in Māori after 1890, when the 1867 Act, decreeing that English was to be the language of instruction, was fully implemented⁴ (Curnow, 2002).

3.2.1 Colonising journalism

This type of written journalism started with the monthly issuing of *Ko te Karere o Nui Tireni*, The New Zealand Messenger (1842-6), “so that the Māori people would come to know the laws and customs of the Pākehā and the Pākehā would also come to know the customs of the Māori people” (Editorial introducing the principal purposes of the newspaper, January 1, 1842, Niupepa Collection, background).⁵ Governor Hobson, recognising both the power of print for colonising purposes, and the high literacy rate among Māori, instructed George Clarke (Hori Karaka), Government-appointed “Protector of Aborigines”, to produce a paper for ‘the instruction of the natives’ (Native Affairs Department, 1A1, 1841 / 1627, filed at 1842 / 1627). A small periodical in Māori and English was then established at Auckland within two years of the Treaty of Waitangi. Contents of this paper included notices from government, both proclamations and appointments to

⁴ This Act stated, ‘instruction is to be carried on in English language as far as is practicable’, but allowed the Māori language to be used at the discretion of the Inspector of Māori Schools (*Statutes of New Zealand*, 1867, p.469). The Act was interpreted practically and liberally for some time after.

⁵ Unless otherwise stated, all translations in this chapter of historic Māori-language newspapers headlines and texts are extracted from the *Niupepa: Māori Newspapers Collection*, bibliographic commentaries and English abstracts which summarise the main subjects of long items, such as editorials, articles, and letters, and record, sometimes by a complete translation, small items such as notices, advertisements, and short news reports.

government positions, taken from the *New Zealand Gazette* and translated into Māori; explanation of laws; notification of land sales; events in Auckland and other parts of New Zealand; and some letters from Māori (Niupepa Collection, subject matter). Written in Māori, the paper was edited for the Government by George Clarke, Thomas Spenser Forsaith and Edward Shortland (Niupepa Collection, bibliographic details). Brodie, a contemporary Pākehā, in his daily life chronicles, considered the publication of *Ko te Karere* “one of the few good acts” of the government, noting how on publication day one Māori would read from the paper to a circle of others sitting on the ground, listening and later discussing the contents (Brodie, 1845, p.110). The paper ceased its publication in January 1846 when war broke out in the North. Altogether there were 49 issues (Niupepa Collection, bibliographic details).

The Māori Messenger, Ko te Karere Māori (1849-54) issued fortnightly was “printed and published for the Local Government by Williamson and Wilson” (Imprint reading, Niupepa Collection, bibliographic details). Charles Davis, who was appointed to the Native Office as clerk and interpreter in 1842, edited material supplied by the Native Secretaries. The paper was written in English with Māori translation and aimed “to afford instruction and amusement to a strange people, scarcely over the threshold of civilisation” (Translation from newspaper by Curnow, 2002:2 p.18) thus reflecting the condescending attitudes of the time towards Māori. Material in *The Messenger* included various issues from a Government point of view; correspondence from Māori people throughout New Zealand to the Governor and his replies; reports on districts throughout New Zealand; descriptions of British expeditions; and articles on law, farming and other British customs (Niupepa Collection, subject matter).

Published under the auspices of the Native Department, the next two titles, both bilingual and usually fortnightly, can be considered as one continuous

serial of colonising journalism. The first of these papers, *The Māori Messenger, Te Karere Māori* (1855-61) described itself as “an old friend in a new dress” (Translation from newspaper January 1, 1855, p.1 by Curnow, 2002:2, p.19), thus referring to its predecessor. Its contents included political announcements, correspondence, informative and commercial material. The second title was *Te Manuhiri Tuarangi and Māori Intelligencer* (March-November 1861), sent forth “to instruct and enlighten you [the Māori] in all matters affecting your welfare, and to afford you a medium for the full and free expression of your opinions on all questions that may concern or interest you” (Translation from newspaper March 1, 1861, p.3-4, Niupepa Collection, background), and contained letters to and from the Governor, speeches and meetings between the Governor and Māori, and public notices, biographies and news (Niupepa Collection, subject matter).

All of these previously mentioned papers correspond to early government-sponsored or private publications that were created with the main objective of controlling Māori through the ‘educative and civilising’ information provided in them. They had irregular careers, with recurrent suspensions because of funding issues. Māori were employed as clerks or translators by newspapers but were not allowed to publish their opinions or concerns. Nevertheless, amidst these newspapers are many very valuable and revealing elements of straightforward reportage about events and experiences of living conditions at that time in Aotearoa/ New Zealand.

There is a second cluster of colonising journalism papers, which had the added purpose –apart from that of instructing Māori on government and law and order procedures– of opposing the views of the Māori-owned press. The first of those was *Te Pihoihoi Mokemoke i runga i te Tuanui* (The Sparrow that sits Alone upon the Roof) (February-March 1863). Governor Grey, deciding that he must counteract the ideas published in *Te Hokioi* (see below, page 49), a

contemporary Māori-owned paper, appointed John Gorst, Resident Magistrate for Waikato, as editor of *Te Pihoihoi*. The antagonism between the two papers became evident from the first issue of *Te Pihoihoi*, where an editorial by Governor Grey mocked the opposing war-bird (*Te Hokioi*), “That bird flies high in the heavens beyond the clouds; while I fly close to the ground. That bird’s screech is an omen, predicting warfare and bloodshed; I, on the other hand, do not screech; I sit alone on the rooftop, singing merrily.” (Translation from newspaper February 2, 1863, p.1, Niupepa Collection, background). Also, an article entitled “Te Kino o Te Mahi Kingi” (The Audacity of setting up a King) (Ibid, p.2) declared the King Movement ludicrous. There were four issues of *Te Pihoihoi* but the fifth did not come out. On March 24, 1863, a party of warriors, acting under direction from Rewi Maniapoto, sacked the school building and carried off the press, the type and all the printed sheets. According to the editor of *Te Hokioi*, neither the Māori King nor Pātara Te Tuhi had consented to this action, and later the press was returned (Gorst, 1864, p.336-343). There were no further issues of *Te Hokioi* after May 21, 1863 either, probably because of Grey’s invasion of the Waikato (Curnow, 2002:2, p.22).

Te Waka Māori o Ahuriri, The Māori Canoe of Hawke’s Bay (1863-71), of which there were 136 issues, was edited initially by James Wood, editor of the *Hawkes Bay Herald* and appeared fortnightly. Because the newspaper was published in Napier, where Donald McLean was the Provincial Superintendent and Member of the House of Representatives (MHR) for Napier 1866-76, he exerted considerable influence over the paper. Some issues were delayed due to “the editor’s absence in connection with Māori land purchases” (Williams, 1975, p.81). McLean was also the Chief Land Purchase Commissioner for the Crown.

Te Waka passed increasingly into government hands, as James Grindell, an employee of the Native Department, took over editorship, possibly as early as 1864 (Curnow, 2002:2, p.22). The paper's declared purpose was to improve understanding between Māori and Pākehā by bringing forth the views of each, so 'then goodwill will grow between us' (Translation from newspaper, June 13, 1863, p.1-2, Niupepa Collection, background). It carried news of events in New Zealand; reports of meetings; the wars in Taranaki, Waikato and Ōpōtiki; Land Court matters; births, deaths and marriages; and shipping news (Niupepa Collection, subject matter). *Te Waka* did not appear for a few weeks before it relocated to Wellington. Once there, *Te Waka* continued its publication from the government printer, with a change of name to *Te Waka Māori o Niu Tirenī*, The Māori Canoe of New Zealand (1871-7).

Edited still by Grindell, the paper contained news, and letters and accounts of meetings (in which formal speeches incorporating traditional songs, incantations and proverbs were often recorded), but its greater part was devoted to pressing government views on land purchase and Native Department policy under McLean, who was Native Minister from 1869 to 1876 (Curnow, 2002:2, p.22-23).

Te Waka had a rough existence as it was involved not only in a constant conflict with *Te Wananga*, a contemporary Māori-owned newspaper, but also amid a political struggle between Government and Opposition and various libel actions against it. *Te Waka*, as a government paper, ceased in 1877 but was revived in August 1878 privately sponsored and published by the shareholders at the Gisborne Māori Newspaper Company until October 1879, when the shareholders decided to place the company in the hands of a liquidator, probably because so few Māori had subscribed (Curnow, 2002:2, p.23-24).

A number of short-lived independent Māori newspapers were produced in the late 1840s and in the 1850s, chiefly by philanthropic and church interests but

equally inducing Māori acculturation to Western ways through using colonising journalism's writing style. *The Anglo-Māori Warder*, published in Auckland by Williamson and Wilson between April and October 1948, is another example of colonising journalism. Williamson established the English language newspaper *The New Zealander* to "champion the rights of Māori" (Scholefield, 1958, p.80) and Wilson, according to Scholefield, believed that it was in the best interests of Māori people for the Government to assert its supremacy in New Zealand as promptly as possible. To foster this process they combined to print instructions in Māori: "for farming and gardening after the English fashion; for keeping bees and taking honey; for making things useful to man –such as different kinds of food, soap and candles, and things of that kind, together with some simple directions about clothes and physic, and matters relating to health" (Translation from newspaper, April 25, 1848, p.2, Niupepa Collection, bibliographic details).

Three independent newspapers were promoted by Charles Davis (Hāre Rēweti), and were supported by donations. The first, *Te Waka o te Iwi*, The Canoe of the People (October and November 1857?), was intended to be a press for Māori to "obtain knowledge of Christianity, farming, growing crops, cleanliness and the evils of drink, greed for money and violence" (Niupepa Collection, subject matter). Wiremu Tamihana of Ngāti Haua (Waikato) assisted Davis. Tamihana, who was instrumental in establishing Pōtatau Te Wherowhero as the first Māori King, gathered local Waikato support for the newspaper (Niupepa Collection, bibliographic details). The newspaper shows the keen desire of Māori to air their opinions in this public forum and the willingness of Davis to allow them to do so. Correspondence from Waikato, Hauraki, Kaipara and Turanganui, several concluding with waiata filled three of the four-page issues (Niupepa Collection, subject matter).

In 1858 *Te Whetu o te Tau*, The Star of the Year (June-September 1858) was published, like its predecessor, at the office of the Southern Cross in Auckland (Curnow, 2002:2, p.20). Māori people continued to forward donations to support the publication of the newspaper and to establish a Māori press. Unlike *Te Waka*, which printed mostly letters, *Te Whetu o Te Tau* published mostly articles, probably written by Davis (Niupepa Collection, bibliographic details). *Ko Aotearoa or the Māori Recorder* (January 1861 and January 1862) was produced in Māori and English and strongly criticised the Government's actions in initiating war over land in Taranaki (Niupepa Collection, background) but again it failed, through obvious lack of financial support. Among its contents are letters to the editor, waiata and hymns, notes on horticulture, sheep farming and money and its use in the purchase of goods (Niupepa Collection, subject matter).

Te Karere o Poneke, The Messenger of Wellington (1857-8) produced 58 weekly issues. It was edited by Walter Buller and printed by McKenzie and Muir who, in 1845 set up the *Wellington Independent* (Scholefield, 1958, p.28, quoted in the Niupepa Collection, bibliographic details). Its contents and topics were practical, informative and instructive such as market prices for foodstuffs; lost property; entertainment; lectures to be held; rewards for the capture of runaway sailors; an English calendar; and correspondence on issues of the time (Niupepa Collection, subject matter).

Te Haeata, The Dawn Streaks of Light (1859-62) was a religious newspaper edited by the Reverend J. Buddle (Te Patara) at Onehunga. It was established by the Wesleyan missionaries to “convey the good news to people desiring knowledge, particularly of the church, and to instruct them in the good customs of the Pākehā” (Niupepa Collection, bibliographic details and background). It contained scriptural lessons; correspondence mostly from Waikato; instructions on bringing up children; moral tales; accounts of the war

in Europe and of the warfare at Taranaki and the increasing tension in the Waikato (Niupepa Collection, subject matter). After three years of regular monthly issues the paper ceased. Curnow suggests that “Buddle hinted in the final issue at the decline of Māori interest in church-generated literature” and “the Māori-Pākehā conflict and reorientation of Wesleyan activity” as probably accounting for its cessation (2002:2, p.21).

3.2.2 Kaupapa Māori journalism

In this second phase of the development of Māori print journalism, the production of written materials now reflected what Māori themselves saw as worthy of publication, usually confronting Government interests. It begins with the publication of the first entirely Māori-owned and produced paper, *Te Hokioi o Niu Tirenī e Rere atu na*, The War-bird of New Zealand who flies out (June 1862-May 1863). At the invitation of Ferdinand von Hochstetter, a geologist on the Austrian scientific voyage of the *Novara*, in 1859, two young Waikato chiefs, Wiremu Toetoe Tumohe and Te Hēmara Te Rerehau Paraone of Ngati Maniapoto, went to Vienna with the express purpose of learning the art of printing and were presented with a “printing press and types” by the Austrian Emperor (Gorst, 1864, p.336). The press was brought to the King’s rūnanga at Ngaruawahia where Pātara Te Tuhi, a cousin of Pōtatau, assisted by his younger brother Hōnana Maioha (Cowan, 1922 Vol. I, p.238, quoted in the Niupepa Collection, bibliographic details), edited *Te Hokioi*. The contents of the paper included mostly letters and reports regarding the Māori King movement (Niupepa Collection, subject matter).

Te Wananga, The Forum (1874-8) was the first of a series of influential Māori newspapers of Tai Rāwhiti, the East Coast. The newspaper, “owned, printed and published by Māori people” carried news; proceedings of Māori land Court cases; questions; grievances and possible means of redress (Translation

from newspaper, August 7, 1875, p.125, Niupepa Collection, background). The paper, associated with the Repudiation (of land sales) Movement of Hawke's Bay was published by Hēnare Tōmoana, the proprietor of this newspaper (Niupepa Collection, bibliographic details and background).

Te Wananga aimed to: "...do justice to both races; allay any irritation that may arise; and engender mutual feelings of forbearance and goodwill/ Ko ta matou hiahia kia puta te pai ki nga iwi katoa o enei whenua, ahakoa Māori, ahakoa Pākehā, a kia he amuamu a aua tangata kia ratou" (Translation from newspaper, August 7, 1875, p.124, Niupepa Collection, background). It had no illustrations and initially no advertisements; these commenced from July 26, 1875. John White was employed by *Te Wananga* and wrote and translated for it. The first four issues were all in Māori but later issues were mostly bilingual. It supported the retention of the provinces, extension of the vote to Māori and increase in the number of Māori seats in Parliament. There was a running battle between *Te Wananga* and *Te Waka*, the former subsequently publishing the letters libelling Henry Russell (Curnow, 2002:2, p.24). Soon after publishing five annual volumes the newspaper ceased publication due to lack of financial support (Niupepa Collection, bibliographic details).

Three short-lived newspapers followed. There were two issues of *Te Matariki*, Pleiades (April and May 1881), two of *Takitimu* (8 and 22 May 1883) and 16 issues of *Te Waka Māori o Aotearoa*, The Māori Canoe of Aotearoa (January-November 1884). *Matariki* was a supplement to the *Auckland Free Lance* and was concerned with land issues in the Gisborne district strongly advocating the retention of land against sale (Niupepa Collection, background).

Te Waka Māori o Aotearoa, The Māori Canoe of Aotearoa (January-November 1884) was the fourth *Te Waka Māori* and an attempt to refloat the previous *Waka*, "this newly built vessel was afloat on which to load the many

words and thoughts of the people, and to report the news of the world so that the people throughout our young land do not remain ignorant of events in other places” (Translation from newspaper, February 29, 1884, p.2, Niupepa Collection, background). The father of Sir Apirana Ngata, Paratene Ngata started the newspaper in January, 1884. When he contracted typhoid fever, the first numbered issue, which was the second published, was delayed as it was difficult to find another editor. Ngata was replaced by G. H. Wilson (Niupepa Collection, background). Topics of this paper included mostly Tai Rāwhiti local news, reports of Land Court hearings at Uawa (Tolaga Bay) and laws relating to Māori land (Niupepa Collection, subject matter).

Te Korimako, The Bellbird (1882-8), “a newspaper presenting news of the whole world, customs of the Faith and other things” (Translation from newspaper, March 1882, Niupepa Collection, background), was published by Henry Brett in Auckland and again Charles Davis was its editor with the support of the Americans, Mr. and Mrs. Snow.⁶ There were 83 issues, many with supplements, either religious or giving extended coverage of meetings and speeches. Although the paper had a religious character, it also had a varied coverage of regional news from Hokianga, Wairoa, Rotorua, Napier, Waikato, Auckland, and Wharekauri (Chatham Islands) as well as overseas news (news from Egypt, Italy, Hawaii, England and from America are found on its pages) and obituaries, alongside Parliament news, religious and anti-liquor messages (Niupepa Collection, subject matter). After Snow’s death in 1885, a Māori Press Association, Komiti o Te Korimako was formed. Its prime objectives were: “to spread the Gospel among all people, to encourage temperance, hygiene and habits of industry, and to educate their people and supply general news of current events”, likely to be of interest to Māori people (Niupepa

⁶ In 1870, Brett founded the Evening Star (later the Auckland Star) newspaper beginning more than 50 years as a newspaper proprietor (See, the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography at <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/dnzb/>). Davis had previously edited *Te Karere Māori*, *Te Waka o te Iwi*, *Te Whetu o te Tau*, and *Ko Aotearoa* (Niupepa Collection, bibliographic details).

Collection, background). Curnow suggests that its wider readership –which reached more than 1000 by 1883– could be attributed to it being the only Māori-language newspaper for most of that decade (2002: 2, p.26). It ceased without prior notification after the last issue of May 1888.

The following year the Rev. George Maunsell (Te Manihera), attempted to revive *Te Korimako*. It was published in Ōpōtiki by the *Bay of Plenty Times*, had similar aims to those of its predecessor though the contents reflected local interests, and included more church matters. The last issue appeared on September 1890 (Curnow, 2002:2, p.26).

Curnow asserts that three titles were published by the King Movement press at Kauhanganui Maungakawa (Cambridge), the first two carrying the Royal Coat of Arms of the King Movement (2002:2, p.26). *Te Paki o Matariki*, Pleiades or Seven Stars (1892-1895) carrying the motto, “The Independent Royal Māori Power of Aotearoa” (Translation from newspaper, Niupepa Collection), was characterised by varying format, page size, numbering and frequency. Contents included proceedings of and reports to the Great Council, King Movement policy statements (including discussion of the King Movement unity document of allegiance) and notices (Curnow, 2002:2, p.26-27). *Ko te Paunui [Pānui] o Aotearoa*, Notices of Aotearoa (1894-6) was the gazette for the independent Māori Land Court established by the King Movement on April 27, 1893. Three of the five issues contain dates of Land Court sittings, boundaries and claims (Curnow, 2002:2, p.27). *Nga Hiiringa i te Whitu*, The Sealing by the Seven (1896) was the local gazette for the first circle of authority of the King Movement, which took in Waikato, Pātere and Piako. It contained mostly resolutions passed by the committee and statements of purpose and distribution (Curnow, 2002:2, p.27-28).

Although *Aotearoa* (June 4, 1892), published by the *Evening News* and *Hawkes Bay Advertiser*, appeared only once, it was a precursor to a number of important Māori-owned newspapers (Curnow, 2002:2, p.28). Its first editorial explained that the paper was for the benefit of Māori only and not for Pākehā. Moreover, that it will respond to issues of government, legislation, the Native Land Court and other courts that defined Māori practices and customs, and also act as a newsletter for gatherings, schools, public events, agriculture and all other matters relevant to Māori. (Translation from newspaper, 4 June 1892, p.1, Niupepa Collection, abstract). Failure to attract advertisements caused its collapse (Curnow, 2002:2, p.28).

Huia Tangata Kotahi, *Unite the People* (1893-5), printed in Hastings, records the origins and development of Te Kotahitanga (Unity movement) with extensive coverage of Māori Parliament proceedings and Kotahitanga meetings, containing also letters and notices, as well as items of local and foreign news, and advertisements. After 67 issues the paper ceased in February 1895 (Curnow, 2002:2, p.28).

Te Puke ki Hikurangi, *The Hill at Hikurangi* (1897-1913) was published initially in Papawai, then Greytown, and after 1911 in Carterton, replacing *Huia Tangata Kotahi* as the official newspaper of Te Kotahitanga. The newspaper had a committee of five and district coordinators to collect subscriptions and news (Niupepa Collection, bibliographic details). *Te Puke*, of which there were 180 issues, covered a wide range of matters including the proceeding in the Māori Parliament; North and South Island news; foreign news from English newspapers; notices of births; deaths and marriages; letters; traditions; farming; health; church; and parliamentary news from Wellington (Niupepa Collection, subject matter). Its closure was due to lack of finance, probably exacerbated as Ballara (1996, p.323) suggested, by the

publication of a second Wairarapa paper, *Te Mareikura*, and that “two competing newspapers were too much for the market”.

The Jubilee, Te Tiupiri (1898-1900), named in honour of the Queen Victoria’s Jubilee and published at Whanganui, had 25 backers, headed by Tōpia Tūroa. R. Riweti was elected secretary and H.T. Whatahoro as editor (*The Jubilee*, Vol.1, No.1, 4 January 1898, p.4, Niupepa Collection). It was planned to publish 1500 copies weekly, with a small portion of the paper being in English. Its first editorial asserted that, “We are fully aware that there are two chief possessions of the European nation whereby it increases on the earth, and they are schools and newspapers; these two things teach great knowledge, the school opening the door and the newspaper to keeping it open” (*The Jubilee*, Vol.1, No.1, 4 January 1898, p.4-5, Niupepa Collection). It listed failed newspapers of the past, naming lack of support as the cause of their failures. The paper carried reports of the Māori Parliament, parliamentary news from Wellington, local news, traditions, land matters and sport, racing and theatre items.

According to Curnow (2002:2, p.30), two other significant papers were published in the Wairarapa, *Te Matuhi*, The Fern-bird (1903-6), which carried news of the Church of the Seven Rules of Jehovah, Māori Council activities, local events, meetings and sports, and *Te Mareikura*, The Women of Heaven (1911-13), which was published by the Mareikura Company Limited and was linked to the Kotahitanga movement, but carried a range of topics.

Te Matakokiri Taima, The Meteor Times (1911-14?) was published by the Voice Printing Company, Auckland, for its proprietor, Pēkamu Te Rua. All in Māori, it covered news from many North and South Island districts, from other parts of the world, and Native Land Court matters, and also contained some advertisements (Curnow, 2002:2, p.32).

Te Manukura, The Leader in Council. *The Māori Recorder* (variant title: *Te Reo o nga Morehu* – The Voice of the Survivors) (1916-23) was edited and published in Auckland by A.F. McDonnell, a bookseller and philanthropist supporting Māori concerns. The paper, in Māori mostly with parallel English text, included current events, traditions and support “for the just claims of the Māori people” (translation from newspaper, November 1916, p.2, quoted in Curnow, 2002:2, p.32).

3.2.3 Niche journalism

This type of written discourse that is used to explain, describe and give information sometimes covering specific topics or reaching specific audiences was mostly used by religious organizations. These had the primary objective of communicating the particular concerns of the denomination.

Among them, there is a succession of monthly newspapers, produced by the Māori clergy of the Church of England from 1898 until 1933 (Curnow, 2002:2, p.30). The first of the papers was *He Kupu Whakamarama*, Words of Enlightenment (March-December 1898). *He Kupu* was edited by the Rev. F.A. Bennett in Nelson, “because there are many tenets of the Christian Church that are not very clear to most people *He Kupu Whakamarama* is sent to the marae [meeting-grounds] of your districts” (Translation from newspaper, March 1898, p.1, quoted in Curnow 2002:2, p.30). The paper carried explanations of scriptural and religious matters, some miscellaneous news, accounts of meetings, letters and obituaries. After 10 issues the paper became *Te Pipiwharaura*, The Shining Cuckoo – *He Kupu Whakamarama* (1899-1913) and were numbered continuously from *He Kupu*. The editor remained the same until issue seventeen, after which the Rev. T. Mōkena Kōhere took over as editor until 1908 and printing was moved to Te Rau Press in Gisborne. *Te*

Pipi contained scriptural and Church of England matters but also general, local and foreign news. In addition, it published traditions, songs, proverbs and genealogies, particularly those of the Tai Rāwhiti, and long informative and instructive letters from Āpirana Ngata (Curnow, 2002:2, p.31).

After 1913 there were fewer general Māori-language newspapers. Four major exceptions were those published by the Māori clergy of the Church of England, by the Ratana Church and two by individuals. When *Te Pipi* folded due to financial difficulties, the Waiapu Diocese of the Church of England established *Te Kopara*, The Bellbird (1913-21). It was edited by Wī Paraire Rangihuna of Ngāti Porou. Through two whakatauki the editor suggested that the smaller newspaper, *Te Kopara* would carry only the most essential items:

You may complain of my small basket – for it is like the ‘small basket of the constant traveller’. Take note that my basket holds only the best food (birds preserved in their own fat)...there is another saying of old, ‘Strip the sapwood, so that only the heartwood stands clear’. (Translation from newspaper, October 1913, p.2, Niupepa Collection, background).

The subjects covered mostly concerned Anglican Church activities and explanations of tracts of scripture. However, reports from districts throughout New Zealand, obituaries, letters to the editor, some overseas news particularly of the war (World War I) and the Māori soldiers fighting there, local news, historical accounts and waiata were included.

It was announced in *Te Kopara*'s issue of July 1921, that the Rev. F.A. Bennett would move to Napier, where he would edit *Te Toa Takitini*, The Legion (1921-32). This paper had a fluctuating imprint due to the financial difficulties of Te Rau Press but most of its 130 issues were printed in Hastings. Later issues were edited by the Rev. Pēni Hakiwai and P.H. Tōmoana. Its first issue gave a history of the succession of these Church

papers, and promised to serve, “body, heart and spirit”, as “the survivor, the relic of our ancestors” (Translated from newspaper, August 31, 1921, p.2, quoted in Curnow, 2002:2, p.31). It contained mainly church matters, some traditions, and educational and political items. Lack of support, the economic depression of 1929-35 and, more immediately, the Napier earthquake of 1931 led to its disruption (Curnow, 2002:2, p.31-32).

The “new member of the family...that has emerged in times of great difficulty” (Translation from newspaper, November 1, 1932, p.2, quoted in Curnow, 2002:2, p.32) was *Te Reo o Aotearoa*, The Voice of New Zealand (1932-3). It was edited by the Bishop of Aotearoa, Rt Rev. F.A. Bennett, with the assistance of Rev. Pēni Hakiwai and Paraire Tōmoana in Hastings. It contained mainly church and parish matters. Only five issues of this last member of the family of Church of England newspapers were published (Curnow, 2002:2, p.32).

Te Whetu Marama o te Kotahitanga, The Shining Star of Unity (1924-) was, and is published at Ratana Pā, Wanganui. Early issues show a predominance of political concerns, particularly the developing relations between Ratana and the Labour Party, candidates for the four Māori seats, election issues and petitions concerning the Treaty of Waitangi, as well as religious and organisational matters. Later issues contents narrow to Ratana Church matters (Curnow, 2002:2, p.32).

In addition to church papers with exclusively religious material, numerous other papers were produced for specific groups. For instance, *Te Reo o te Hokowhitu-a-Tu* (The Voice of Tū’s Warparty) (1919-20?), a Māori battalion newspaper published in Auckland, which included items concerning Parliament, elections and land matters (Curnow, 2002:2, p.32-33).

Māori-language and Māori-owned newspapers were affected by the decline of Māori writers and speakers in the twentieth century as well as by financial difficulties. However, their eventual demise should not be measured only against their limited subscribers and financial resources, but also against the not infrequent failure of English-language papers, especially in provincial towns.⁷ Māori owners realising the financial difficulties sought to increase circulation and advertisement revenue through committees and area distributors. Readers undoubtedly exceeded subscribers, one paper often being read by or passed around whānau, hāpu and iwi groups. Voluntary workers and unsophisticated production probably reduced costs for religious and specific-interest groups in this later period (Curnow, 2002:2, p.33).

3.3 SUMMARY

The first phase of Māori written journalism history developed amongst Pākehā colonising and missionary procedures and attitudes and, perhaps more interestingly, of Māori interest in reading and writing. Much of the content seems in hindsight unattractive, even for journals that intended to ‘improve and instruct’ their readership. However, accounts of events as they unfolded, and letters from Māori reveal the language and circumstances of the time. Although the government papers were a product of the Native Department and were used particularly by Grey, McLean and Bell for furthering government policy, their officials were enthusiastic and philanthropic, according to their lights. The cessation of government papers after 1877 was partly due to the problems associated with presenting political material anti-government (so clearly demonstrated in the case of *Te Waka*) and to government needs being supplied by *Te Kahiti o Niu Tireni*.

⁷ Curnow (2002:2) notes for instance the collapse of the parent papers, *The Anglo-Māori Warder*, *Hawkes Bay Times* and *Poverty Bay Standard*.

The phase of Kaupapa Māori journalism developed amid the proliferation of Māori-owned newspapers and was characteristically highly political and for that reason provided new insight into Māori views on the events and society of their times. *Te Hokioi*'s association with the King Movement and the New Zealand wars of the 1860s, that of *Te Wananga* with the Repudiation movement of the 1870s, of *Huia*, *Te Puke*, *Te Paki* with the Kotahitanga movement of the 1890s and of *Te Whetu Marama o te Kotahitanga* with Ratana's connections with the Labour Party, give Māori perspectives hitherto little explored.

Niche journalism was mostly used by religious newspapers communicating their particular news and concerns. These publications were interested in promoting their members' spiritual life, family life, Christian education, social concern, general knowledge of the faith, the church, and the world –all these things in varying proportions, depending on the denomination. Often these preoccupations were combined with political concerns, Native Land Court matters and local and overseas news. The kind of mix and emphasis provided were up to the editor.

All these papers contain many traditions, songs, genealogies and speeches. Many items were taken from contemporary English-language newspapers and not infrequently echoed their views. Among Māori publishers, editors and writers, commitment, perseverance and unpaid effort were common. These papers demonstrate Māori literacy and belief in the written word and newspapers as a medium to educate, inform and reform as well as the rich history of Māori print journalism little explored by historians and mass communication and journalism writers in Aotearoa/ New Zealand.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONTEMPORARY MĀORI PRINTED MEDIA. ISSUES AND EXAMPLES

He iwi tino pai matou ki te korero pukapuka, a, i nga ra e tae mai ai nga korero Māori o etahi korero hou; anoka korerotia e matou nga kupu o taua nupepa...no te nupepa nei te wairua tino nui.

We are a people who take great pleasure in reading, and in the days when Māori articles in newspapers would come to us, we would blink with delight at new information. How we read the words in the newspaper!...great spirit came from those newspapers.

*Nga Hua o te Mohiotanga ma nga Tangata Māori
correspondent, 23/10/1874:403.*

(Translated by Curnow 2002:2, p.34)

4.1 INTRODUCTION

What can be considered contemporary Māori-controlled newspapers and magazines started to be published from the late-1970s onwards (Stuart, 1996; McGregor, 1991). However, their size, scope, quality and regularity varied according to the resources of the publishers and the print journalism skills of

the editorial staff and contributors. Some newsletters, and even newspapers, were typewritten; or they were roughly laid out and reproduced, had a small circulation and did not appear for long. Others were more ‘professional’ in appearance and had relatively regular publication dates, advertisements and at least some form of organised local distribution.

Many of the publications in the 1980s and early 1990s had a tone and style set up by Black Power groups active in that period in Aotearoa/ New Zealand. Among the various notable Māori print publications launched at this time were *Te iwi o Aotearoa* (Oct 1987-Aug 1991), and *Kahungunu* (Feb 1991-May 1995). Although the first issue of *Te iwi* asserted the newspaper was set up to “help establish a bicultural understanding so that tau iwi (other people) have a clearer view of the issues surrounding Māori people”, as a whole, Walker’s (1987) comments published in the same first issue, saw it as an unambiguous chance for the Black Power group to “right the distorted perceptions, of what they are doing today”, clearly linking the newspaper with the Black Power group.

The *Kahungunu* newspaper kaupapa stated that “It will have a strong *Kahungunu* flavour, be pro-Māori, proactive, controversial, informative, humorous, educative and of course non-sexist!” Hence, the labelling made by Stuart (2003) of the newspaper as ‘collective agitators’, “promoting information with ideological significance” among New Zealand’s developmental media is not surprising. A number of small newsletters were also launched in this period. Several of these publications lasted for only short-periods of time.

By the early 1990s, a blossoming Māori print media saw 13 newspapers and magazines in the Aotearoa/ New Zealand marketplace. These included *Mana* magazine, *Pikiao Pānui*, *Pū Kāea*, *Pipiwaharuroa*, *Kia Hiwa Ra*, *Te iwi o*

Aotearoa, Tui, Kahungunu, Mana Tangata, Maunga Kōrero, Te Māori News, He Kōrero, and Kia Ora. However, survival of iwi-based newspapers has often been a precarious process –a balancing act. The difficulties of sustaining a commercially viable operation and the lack of financial means eventually caused the closure of many of them. A decade later, only five –*Mana* magazine, *Pū Kāea*, *Pikiao Pānui*, *Te Māori News* and *Pipiwaharauoro*– remained. In 2004, *Pikiao Pānui* went into recess after its winter issue (No. 57); it had lasted 10 years.

The remaining four publications, together with new ventures such as *Te Karere Māori News*, *Nga kōrero o Aotearoa*¹ (2004~), successor of *Te Karere news: national Māori community newspaper* (2002-2004), *Te Karaka* (1995~), and *Tū Mai* (March 1999~) shape the current Māori print media environment (as at 2005). There are some small, community-based newsletters in te reo Māori, but not significant in numbers.

4.2 MĀORI PRINTED MEDIA: SOME ISSUES

Research into the issues that affect the current Māori printed media was undertaken with the cooperation of Māori publications’ editors and journalists and selected academic commentators. They were interviewed face-to-face when practicable and consulted by phone or written communication over a period of two years (2003-2004). The factors they considered important – whether internal or external variables that shape the current situation of the Māori print media– are discussed in this section.

¹ Its designation varies. The masthead title of most of its issues reads “Karere news, Māori news”. The masthead title of volume 4, no. 146 reads “Karere Māori news & employment: Nga huihui ngā kōrero o Aotearoa”. Others lack designation and the title from the caption reads “Māori community news publication”.

Although everyone seems to recognise the integral role Māori printed media play in Māori social politics, maintaining a Māori publication appears to be difficult for a host of reasons, notably stark shortages in resources, skills, retail sales and more importantly, advertising revenue. Other factors such as content, style, target audience as well as variations in the general economic climate might partly explain why so many Māori publications struggle and fail in a relatively short time. In addition, the whole Māori print media environment lacks support from government level. Some of these issues are examined below.

4.2.1 Lack of funding sources

Māori print media financial difficulties are attributed to a series of issues. Generally, they do not have funding sources (unless from their iwi authority or a small support group), have a small or niche readership and therefore limited retail sales, lack of capital base and of advertising revenues.

Differing from Māori radio –at least the Iwi radio network– and television that have been established and are largely sponsored by government to offer regional and national services, the Māori printed media –with the exception of government and church publications– are mostly privately-owned and financed and therefore dependent on advertising and at the mercy of the free market.

In Aotearoa/ New Zealand there are today around 650 magazine titles, four metropolitan dailies, 23 provincial newspapers, two Sundays and two weekly business papers, and about 100 community publications plus a number of small newspapers published in languages other than English. All ‘share’ an

advertising expenditure of approximately NZ\$1.5 billion annually.² Despite this large number of publications for a country with four million people, print media ownership is concentrated in the hands of only two corporations, APN News and Media Ltd. and Fairfax NZ Ltd. Between them, these corporations share around 90 percent of the national market and have successfully cornered most of the advertising revenues as well.

One of the reasons for the difficulties in attracting advertisers revenues is not unique to the Māori media but to all niche products serving a limited market. Iwi publications are set up to serve the specific needs of a community or region; the nationally distributed Māori printed media offer a Māori perspective on issues different from that presented in mainstream media coverage. Either way, they both are niche products –for those who seek news and information about their communities or those who want a different perspective from what the mainstream media has to offer. This limits retail sales and they are harder to maintain, as advertisers seem reluctant to spend in publications that have a small readership.

Another explanation given by some Māori publications' editors for the apathetic attitude of advertisers towards expending in the Māori media is that advertisers see Māori at the lower end of the socio-economic spectrum and low-income audiences are generally not highly valued by them, if at all. According to the editors, advertisers are not interested in targeting Māori as consumers of their products and hence not attracting business propositions to the Māori print media.

Furthermore, an editor has argued that some potential advertisers do not like to be associated with the pro-Māori messages produced by the Māori media –

² Figures taken from “Information about newspapers” (2001). The Newspaper Publishers Association of New Zealand.

whether newspapers, magazines, radio or television. “These are seen as the decolonising, empowering, Tino Rangatiratanga and collective agitator messages which are seen unconsciously as contrary to the best interests of the colonising culture and its ruling establishment.”

In addition to limited circulation and meagre advertising revenues, Māori print media face yet another financial restriction. Often Māori publications have been set up by iwi authorities and they have very limited resources to spend on a variety of activities. Those publications generally lack a good capital base to adequately function and in some cases to even pay the people who run the publication. Such was the case of *Kia Hiwa Ra* newspaper which closed in 1998 after its owner, the Maniapoto Trust Board, unsuccessfully tried to sell it. The lack of advertising meant the board was subsidising its production and finally was no longer prepared to do so.

The demands of getting a return on the investment through advertising revenues or getting a sponsor to subsidise the costs, at least partially, are issue-to-issue worries for Māori publications. But working with sponsors translates a financial problem into an editorial control dilemma. On the one hand, sponsors could use their influence to have editorial say as to what stories are worthy –or otherwise– of running. On the other hand, financially troubled publications for survival’s sake could be induced to offer ‘extra’ attention in their news section in return for buying advertising space. At least one editor of a Māori newspaper acknowledged to have crossed into what mainstream journalists regard as dangerous ethical territory by approaching government departments, ministries and organisations who might want to get their messages to Māori to sponsor or to buy advertising space in exchange for a news story written by a staff journalist. The editor of the paper said this was one way the newspaper increased its income and remained afloat.³

³ An example is given in 4.3.4.

Others, such as *Te Māori News*,⁴ tried different strategies to survive. It published other niche magazines and newspapers, such as *Tama Toa*, primarily aimed at young people, and *Takaroa*, a sports magazine, to attract advertising revenue to support what former editor Andrew Tumahai of *Te Māori News* saw as the core business –publishing *Te Māori News* as an information system for Māori. Even so, *Tama Toa* and *Takaroa* did not find sufficient backing by advertisers and eventually had to stop publishing and *Te Māori News* has undergone many transformations itself forced by the needs of economic survival.

4.2.2 Lack of government support

Over the years, several unsuccessful approaches have been made to Te Puni Kōkiri (TPK), the Ministry of Māori Development, from Māori print media people representing different publications asking for some kind of government support towards developing a Māori print media strategy. “Compared with Māori television and broadcasting whose budgets often fall short of the mark, Māori print media has always felt miffed by zero funding from the government”, grieved a story published in *Tū Mai* (August 2000, p.14).

At the 2000 hui in Rotorua for Kawea Te Rongo (the National Māori Journalists Association) *Pū Kāea* editor, Whare Akuhata, made public a proposal, which he had already forwarded to the Labour MP Parekura Horomia. In it, he suggested that if the Government was serious about ‘Closing the Gaps’⁵ then it had to support Māori print media. “The Puni Kōkiri need to take an active role in developing a Māori print media strategy,”

⁴ Predecessor of *Te Karere Māori News*

⁵ The Budget 2000 had a package of social service and employment initiatives named “Closing the Gaps” targeted at Māori and Pacific communities. Prime Minister Helen Clark said the initiatives were in response to the strong voice from Māoridom urging that it be able to take control of its own destiny, determine its own strategies, and devise its own solutions.

read Akuhata's submission. "We are not necessarily asking for handouts...what we would prefer is to gain access to some of the Government's huge advertising budget."

In a *Tū Mai* piece on Ngāti Awa iwi newspaper *Pū Kāea*'s struggle to survive (it ceased publishing in May 2000 due to financial difficulties and relaunched again later that year after finding some sponsorship), the lack of government support towards Māori publications was raised. "Media is an important part of the 'information age'. Māori publications have, with little assistance from the Government, realised this power and tried to create a print media voice for Māori. It has been sad to see so many publications fold," read *Tū Mai*'s article. (August 2000, p.14)

In the year 2000, another request was made to the then Minister of Māori Development, Dover Samuels, according to Ata Putaranui, *Tū Mai* magazine editor. He was asked to endorse *Tū Mai* magazine to government departmental staff as a valuable resource. It drew a written response, which said Samuels could not be seen to be endorsing a new⁶ Māori business such as *Tū Mai*; otherwise it might open him up to similar requests from others. "I thought that might not have been such a bad look for someone heading the Ministry of Māori Development", Putaranui commented in an interview.

To former *Te Māori News* editor, *Māori Television* publicist, Vanessa Bidois, the lack of government support was not news. She hoped to launch an indigenous publication in partnership with her stepfather Ngakete (Ron) Peters before his death in 1996. She remembered the time when Peters made a similar approach to then Te Puni Kōkiri chief executive Ngatata Love. "We were unhappy that a government department was publishing a newspaper that

⁶ *Tū Mai* magazine started publishing in 1999.

would be in direct competition to us but we decided to plough on ahead regardless” (Quoted in *Tū Māi* magazine, August 2000, p.14).

Despite the several approaches to Te Puni Kōkiri from Māori print media people to ministers-of-the-day, its position has remained unaltered. There is no consideration of either a specific Māori print media approach or to incorporate the print industry within the current Māori Media –broadcasting only– strategy.

4.2.3 Competition from Government publications

Although competition between the various Māori publications is seen as diluted or non-existent because all iwi publications are restricted to their rohe, Māori private entrepreneurs claim unfair competition from government publications adding to their survival struggles. For instance, *Kōkiri Paetae*, Te Puni Kōkiri’s own publication seems to be directly affecting Māori publications. “Quite amazing really, when TPK is meant to be the Ministry of Māori Development and we have all heard ministers of this department say they support ‘Māori by Māori endeavors’,” argued Whare Akuhata, *Pū Kāea* editor.⁷

Ata Putaranui, *Tū Mai* magazine editor, said she met with Tau Henare when he was Minister of Māori Affairs and she suggested TPK utilise and support independent Māori publications instead of publishing its own version, *Kōkiri Paetae*. It was her view that independent Māori publications could not compete with a 60,000 print run with free distribution, and TPK’s budget to produce a classy product, albeit with pro-government bias. Henare’s reply was that with *Kōkiri Paetae*, he was almost guaranteed to be positively covered in every issue, at least four or five times. While Putaranui conceded he was

⁷ Personal communication.

certainly right in that aspect she added “But did it really work effectively for him? – I don’t think so...”⁸

The competition between independent and government publications is felt not only in the battle for a share of government resources but also in the contest to attract potential readers. *Kōkiri Paetae* kaupapa is “a celebration of Māori achievement”, therefore it has a ‘feeling good’ agenda, full of Māori success stories on its pages compared with the colourless day-to-day issues covered in other independent publications. Māori readers are put in a position to choose between *Kōkiri Paetae* with its cheerful representation of Māori, professional copy –conveniently available in major government departments, organisations and some non-governmental organisations⁹– or a paid-for independent publication with less positive news about Māoridom and being Māori.

4.2.4 Shortage of skills

While the common factor for Māori publishers was the desire to improve the portrayal of Māori and to ensure Māori had access to media, most iwi print media have been established and are run by people who have minimal journalistic, editorial and management experience. This is manifest in the accounts about the setting of *Pū Kāea* described in *Tū Mai* (August 2000, p.15).

Pū Kāea started publishing in March 1992. Planning started in 1991 with various people in the Mataatua rohe getting together to talk about producing a newspaper. Whare had seen *Te Iwi o Aotearoa* and was given a copy of *Kahungunu* from Wi Huata whose sister Huia was the co-editor, along with Jo Spooner. Whare returned to Whakatāne armed with several copies and distributed them accordingly. One recipient was Maxine Bluett who had also considered the iwi newspaper idea.

⁸ Personal communication.

⁹ *Kōkiri Paetae*'s full version can also be downloaded from Te Puni Kōkiri website at <http://www.tpk.govt.nz/publications/paetae/default.asp>.

Maxine collected a few other interested people, including Josie Karanga, Tracey Hillier and Onehou Phillis.

After several meetings Maxine and Whare paid a visit to the *Kahungunu* publishers. In what could hardly be described as intense training, the pair spent almost a day there picking up a few quick lessons on production.

The *Kahungunu* publishers had themselves received limited tuition from Wiremu Puru, editor of *Te Iwi*, and Sue Sarich from *Kia Hiwa Ra...*

Raiatea Tahana-Reese, former editor of *Pikiao Pānui*, had also very little training when starting her editorial job. When writing about her lack of experience she commented, “When I took on the Editor’s job last May, I had no idea how challenging it would be, especially after 10 years of working in the orchards in Australia...” (Summer 2003, Issue No. 56, ‘Editor’s letter’).

Those Māori who have received formal journalism training or have acquired some preliminary experience in the reporting of Māori affairs from working in mainstream media, are most likely to seek employment in mainstream publications and either Māori or mainstream broadcasting organisations, where work conditions and salaries are superior than in iwi-based publications. Consequently, retention rates of Māori print journalists are predictably low. There is also another issue for formally trained Māori journalists. They have embodied Western notions of news writing, something that is not always attuned with the writing and reporting styles used in the Māori print media.¹⁰

Larger publications such as *Mana*, judging from a Derek Fox editorial in issue No.43 (Dec 2001-Jan 2002) are also struggling to find experienced Māori journalists, “...there is no substantial supply of experienced Māori journalists –and few Pākehā have the background to work effectively in this territory.

¹⁰ This topic is further developed in Section 4.3.

Those who are willing to help are often too earnest or too academic. Or they are unduly indignant and strident about the injustices that Māori face.”

Bilingual publications have the additional concern when looking for writers that they must have an acceptable command of English and te reo Māori. It is not always easy to find te reo Māori writers for newspapers as Stuart (2000) notes, “The editor of the daily newspaper, the *Cook Islands News*, said that they do not publish articles in te reo Māori because ‘there is no one on the paper who feels competent enough about their Māori to write articles in Māori’.” Furthermore, te reo illiteracy among readers is a potential obstacle to newspaper reading therefore many publications prefer to publish in English trying to be inclusive of as many Māori as possible reading their stories rather than restricting readership to te reo Māori literate population.

4.2.5 Control and self-censorship

Within the context of the media as a forum for public debate, the Māori media have a real conflict between fostering that debate and providing positive images of Māori. Some Māori editors and journalists admitted they will not cover stories which may cast some Māori in a negative way for the sake of an attractive headline or to boost sales. This is seen for some media commentators as one form of self-censorship.

Often the people who run the publications do so on behalf of the iwi authority. In some cases they are employed by –and directly answerable to– the iwi authority, in others they have a contract to publish on the authority’s behalf. Some radio stations are in similar positions. In a few cases these authorities are practising direct censorship and there has already been one case of an iwi authority not liking what was broadcast –criticism of itself– and removing the transmitting equipment from a radio station.

Self-censorship could also be a function of the Māori media wishing to present a positive image of Māori to the world, in contrast to what is seen in mainstream media. However, this can lead to the media ignoring issues and events which need to be addressed as widespread a group as possible. Because of this, self-censorship is regarded as dangerous by media observers. How widespread self-censorship is and its true effect is difficult to determine because it is a sensitive matter and Māori print media editors and journalists are reluctant to talk about it directly.

4.2.6 Sourcing and relationships

Māori media allow a greater range of voices to be heard. In this, Māori news producers are moving closer to the model of a hui, where everyone who wants to have a say is entitled to be heard. This is significant because it means that the gatekeepers of Māori news are redefining the newsmakers and allowing a wider range of voices to be heard than their mainstream counterparts. For some academic commentators, Māori media are widening the definition of “newsmakers”, –people worthy of being heard and quoted in the news.

The range of sources available to Māori media is also attributed to the problem of how Māori themselves see mainstream media. Long abuse or neglect by the mainstream media has fostered distrust amongst Māori leaders and spokespersons, refusing to talk to these media. Instead, the Māori media is seen as an opportunity to set the record straight, without cultural misinterpretations or misquotings, therefore increasing the amount of sources wishing to talk to the Māori media.

Another important factor is the familiarity of Māori media reporters with their sources. As most print journalism is based around iwi newspapers –set up to

service the needs of particular iwi— a journalist working on his or her own iwi publication is mostly writing stories about his or her relations. In the mainstream media this conflict is recognised and journalists are not allowed to write about their own families. However, the structure and wider relationships recognised in Māori society alters the nature of this situation.

In several cases relations have put pressure on journalists to suppress a story. The editor of an iwi publication described a case where a family asked a reporter “how could you write such thing about uncle...” The journalist’s response was that uncle... had been ripping off for a long time and it was time people knew.

4.3 ‘INVENTING’ THE MĀORI PRINT MEDIA-STYLE

The notion developed by Eric Michaels (c1994) of an ‘Aboriginal invention of television’ in his work in Central Australia with Aboriginal people making television programmes and videos becomes useful here. Michaels observed certain culturally-specific and ‘authentic’ ways of using the tools and forms of broadcasting. Just as Australian indigenous filmmakers, television producers and radio broadcasters are ‘inventing’ forms of culturally-specific and relevant media so too the owners, directors and staff of a Māori printed publication might attempt to ‘invent’ a form of their choosing. As Katz (c1978) suggests in *The Social Psychology of Organizations*, this would require the will among those involved, whether Māori or not, to do such work, as well as an appropriate grounding in Māori culture.

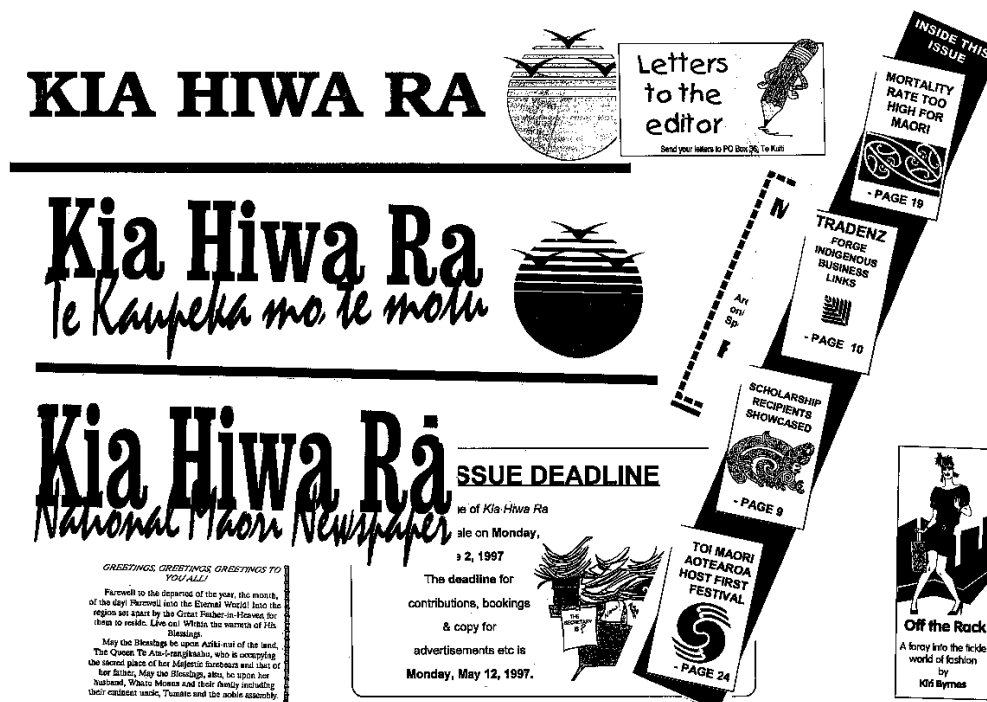
Clearly then, Māori people who have operated newspapers and newsletters in the past and who are today in control of such projects as *Mana* magazine and *Pipiwaharauoa* newspaper can be seen to be part of the process of appropriating –of ‘inventing’– this particular medium for their own use and

potential empowerment. Some examples may appear more like relatively straightforward emulations of the forms provided by the dominant Pākehā culture, others less so.

4.3.1 Presentation, content and concerns

Publications produced by Māori individuals and organisations would occasionally include innovative or culturally-specific ways of using the medium. The neatly typewritten *Pipiwaharau* newspaper, for example, often includes a hand-drawn headline with gardening tips among letters and comments. So, for instance, alongside Jim Anderton's column (at that time Deputy Prime Minister) on a matter such as the region's economic growth and building partnerships, is printed "Jack's gardening tips" on how to plant marrow, potatoes and kumara written in a colloquial tongue, reading "Push the dirt up and around them to make them more central...Otherwise, get out there and weed your garden like 'my little girls' have been." (*Pipiwaharau*, Vol. 8 No. 11, November 2000, p. 2). It is evident that the paper does not attempt to emulate the mainstream press in its concerns, content, layout, or discourse practices.

Another interesting example of a local 'invention' of the newspaper form by Māori is *Kia Hiwa Ra*, the official publication of Maniapoto iwi produced from 1991 to 1998. This project was enthusiastically supported by the Te Kuiti community members through the Maniapoto Māori Trust Board and shows what can result when a community begins to creatively adopt and adapt the print medium. This modest newspaper was a truly eclectic mix of content, styles and forms. It was produced in English and in te reo Māori; filled with both hand-drawn illustrations and photos; and is an example of exuberant and idiosyncratic use of typography and text borders.



* Collage of headlines from *Kia Hiwa Ra*

4.3.2 Writing style

4.3.2.1 Storytelling format

The style of writing found in Māori publications differs from that of mainstream publications. Generally, it is shown to be closer to that of local and/or traditional storytelling than the terse, impersonal, inverted-pyramid style of print-news writing that is seen in most mainstream papers and many of the community or ethnic newspapers which try to emulate them.

The rationale for the inverted pyramid is that a story's most 'newsy' or important elements must appear at the top to 'hook' the reader while the least important material should fall towards the end of the item so that nothing of great consequence is lost if the sub-editor trims the story from the bottom, to fit the available space. Māori writers are not using this formula as often,

especially those writers with no formal training in journalism. Neither are Māori using what is known as the narrative style, in which stories are written in a chronological sequence.

Instead, Māori tend to use a storytelling type of reporting which seeks to amuse or entertain the reader as well as to inform. These pieces are usually written using common expressions of spoken language to engage the reader. The storytelling reporting generally provides the reader with a tale or anecdote and subtly provides information and/or interpretation of some newsworthy event and attempt to persuade. For instance, a *Pipiwharauoa* piece on energy efficiency reads,

Jack Robin has a new lawn mower. He mows his lawn a little after sunrise. This is after his 5-6-kilometer walk. His neighbours find this a bit disturbing. It disturbs their sleep. Jack has another view. He reckons they have been up too late watching videos and things. According to Jack, whānau should make sure their kids are in bed early. This is so everyone can get up early and get ready for the day ahead –on time.

Actually this is a pretty quiet time of the year for Jack. Autumn he says, is a time to prepare for winter. The cold and wet season. It's time to chop wood.

A guy called David Weinstein came to Gisborne. David is from the Energy Efficiency and Conservation Authority. His message was about making our homes warm and cosy. It's easy really he says. It costs about \$1,400 per house. He wants the Eastland Energy Trust to help a yet to be decided organization to work with low income house owners to warm their houses up for winter. Jack and I like that idea. Each house will become a much warmer and drier place for our children to be. Asthma and other respiratory problems will almost disappear... (*Pipiwharauoa*, Vol. 8, No. 3, p. 2, 'Preparing for winter...').

This kind of discursive or argumentative style is reserved for opinion pieces only in the mainstream media.

Te Iwi o Aotearoa (1987-1991) is a significant example of the creative appropriation of the print medium and development of its own writing style by one Māori group. While in the beginning the newspaper tried to copy certain characteristics from non-Māori publications, such as the impersonal writing style, there can be little doubt that in later publications the group itself shaped content, style and organisation in an authentic way. To a certain extent they ‘invented’ the newspaper form for themselves.

“Auckland Māori cultural competitions”

Rutherford High School (Te Atatu) will be hosting the Annual Manu Ariki Regional Māori Cultural Competitions. This festival will take place on the 21st November.

The open ceremony (Powhiri) will commence at 9:30am.

The students of Rutherford High School will be hosting this year’s festival as the overall winners of the Manu Ariki National Cultural competitions in the intermediate section, four years in succession...(*Te Iwi o Aotearoa*, October 1987, p.6).

To

“Tasman: Another celebration”

Last year we celebrated the signing of the Waitangi Treaty: a hundred and fifty years of Pākehā oppression!

Now the government proposes to commemorate (next year) the ‘Discovery’ of New Zealand by Tasman 13th December 1642.

And by doing so, creating more controversy over European claims to Aotearoa. Abel Janszoon Tasman was a Dutch navigator born in the Netherlands in 1603...Unhappy over the loss of his men, Tasman named the bay, Murderers Bay!. Some years later New Zealand was named Staten Landt by the Dutch who believed it was part of South America.

Māori were described as ‘Indians’. Interestingly enough, there is no traditional Māori account of Tasman ‘discovery’ of Aotearoa.

Which is rather suspicious...Just joking!...Or was he in fact in South America? (*Te iwi o Aotearoa*, June 1991, p. 26).

Last year we celebrated the signing of the Waitangi Treaty; a hundred and fifty years of Pakeha oppression!

Now the government proposes to commemorate (next year) the 'Discovery' of New Zealand by Tasman 13th December 1642.

And by doing so, creating more controversy over European claims to Aotearoa.

Abel Janszoon Tasman was a Dutch navigator born in the Netherlands in 1603. Little is known of his early life, but in 1635 he was in the service of the Dutch East India Company, leading trading expeditions to the Northern Pacific.

Successful, he was later ordered southward in two ships, *Beemsterck* and *Zeehaen*, and arrived on the west coast of the South Island.

Here, he anchored in a large bay, where his ships were attacked by, probably, Kai Tahu.

Four of Tasman's crew were killed in a ship's boat, and the brave captain hurriedly sailed off without having landed.

Unhappy over the loss of his men, Tasman named the bay, Murderers Bay!

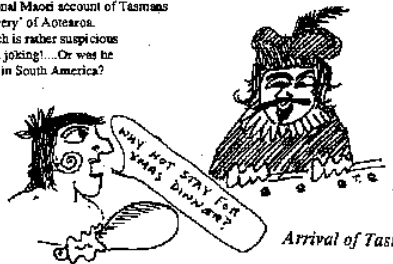
Some years later New Zealand was named *Sixten Landt* by the Dutch who believed it was part of South America.

Maori were described as 'Indians'.

Interestingly enough, there is no traditional Maori account of Tasman's 'discovery' of Aotearoa.

Which is rather suspicious

....Just joking!...Or was he in fact in South America?



Arrival of Tasman on the West Coast of the South Island, and the Maori attack on one of the ship's boats.

* Illustrations of the story

4.3.2.2 The oral tradition in media writing

Māori journalists are using different writing techniques not widely used in mainstream journalism –among them, as in the nineteenth century, the primary genres of their oral repertoire, such as genealogies, sayings, songs, incantations, and narratives. It is common now for these to appear as fragments, modified to suit the subject matter or norms of the newspaper and not as complete texts as they used to appear in colonial papers. For instance, “My whakatauki for the Pānui is ‘History in Motion’, for what goes into print today is recorded for future generations” encapsulated Raiatea Tahana-Reese, *Pikiao Pānui* editor (Issue No. 53, May-June 2002, ‘Editorial’).

Radio and television make karakia (incantations) and waiata (songs) more easy to use than the print media format. In print media, the most commonly found are whakatauki or proverbial sayings. Stuart (2000) asserts “for a culture which uses a mytho-style of language, using proverbs in news seems

entirely appropriate.” Whakatauki use is appropriate because of the immediate recognition of its meaning by the older members of the audience, who appreciate and understand the underlying message and educative kaupapa of the story as well as useful in pointing the writer’s stance on the issue.

When *Tū Mai* magazine changed partnership, and inaugurated a new era, a whakatauki of good wishes like “Kia hora te marino, kia papa pounamu te moana, kia tere te ka rohirohi. (May the calm be wide spread, may the sea glisten like the greenstone and may the shimmer of summer forever dance across your pathway)” was published in its editorial (*Tū Mai*, Issue No. 39).

In another example of using whakatauki to summarise an issue, in this case the importance of the word –whether spoken or written– was found in an editorial of *Pikiao Pānui* (Issue No. 53), “Te timatanga te kupu, I te Atua te kupu, ko te Atua ano te kupu. (In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.)”

4.3.2.3 Addressing collective readers

Another characteristic of the Māori media is the use of collective pronouns. Māori print media as well as Māori radio stations and television programmes address their audience collectively, using koutou, tātou and mātou, a practice banned in the mainstream media where audiences are always addressed in the singular. It is usual practice on radio and television for the announcer to speak as if they are talking to just one person. The mainstream media says this technique makes the medium more personal. However, it is a deliberate policy of some Māori radio stations –such as *Radio Kahungunu*– and *Māori Television* to speak to the collective audience.¹¹ The decision to address the

¹¹ Māori Television’s tag line is: “Mā Rātou, Mā Mātou, Mā Koutou, Mā Tātou” (For them, for us, for you, for everyone).

audience in this way was made in the awareness of the more collective nature of Māori society and is a specific example of how Māori are using media in different and more culturally appropriate ways.

At iwi newspapers, collective terms such as “our” and “we” are used to indicate the paper’s inclusion as part of a specific whānau/ hāpu/ iwi, as in the case of “**our** whanau in Tainui” (*Pipiwharauoa*, Vol. 9, No 11, p.2, ‘Moving forward’), or as part of the Māori ethnic group, for instance,

...[I]t was highlighted that genetic modification is a direct challenge on **our** [Māori] way of life. We spend days trying to instil in **our** tamariki and rangatahi the values and beliefs that have been handed down to **us**. These values and beliefs form the basis of **our** culture, **our** society, **our** way of life. It is our responsibility to ensure that **we** stand by what **we** are teaching. (*Pipiwharauoa*, Vol. 9 No. 2, p.2, ‘From the editors desk’).¹²

On the other hand, the nationally distributed Māori magazines, *Mana* and *Tū Mai*, scarcely use such collective references and when they do, their meanings refer to a more broad perspective as New Zealanders or ‘kiwis’, “**we**’ve just had a reminder of how little **we**’ve progressed with race relations in New Zealand.” (*Mana*, Issue No. 49, p.2, ‘Don’t mention the war’).

4.3.3 Māori print media and journalistic ‘objectivity’

Māori writers do not exercise the journalistic notion of ‘objectivity’ as assumed by mainstream media. They accept that objectivity in news is a myth and therefore impossible to accomplish. What is ‘news’, what are ‘the facts’ to collect, what to highlight in the headline, what is the order of importance are all subjective judgements. Māori journalists openly express their opinions within the news.

¹² Highlight added.

Te Māori News former editor Andrew Tumahai said there is a difference in the way Māori journalists write but he had trouble characterising that difference. He said Māori trained in mainstream courses who worked in the mainstream media might be good writers and learned the ‘correct’ formulas (impersonal, inverted-pyramid, 5 W’s, and others) and style but they do not write in a Māori way “Māori write with more passion than their mainstream counterparts,” he argued.

Stuart noted in his paper *Māori and mainstream: towards bicultural reporting* (2002) the time when a former student of his working on a Māori newspaper was told that a story he wrote was “too Pākehā”. The student adopted the detached ‘objectivity’ of mainstream news writers that he learned at the tertiary institution and did not put enough opinion into his stories.

In rejecting the detached standpoint of mainstream journalists, which is reflected in the styles journalists are taught both on the job and in mainstream journalism training courses, Māori are selecting a writing style which better suits the kaupapa they see themselves presenting. Thus, a story of a particular Māori achievement may well be presented in a similar style to a Pākehā journalist because it is a suitable style.

“Further success for rangatahi award recipient”

Nine-year-old Aroha Timoti, one of our 1998 Ngāi Tahu Caltex Rangatahi Award recipients recently achieved international success in Brisbane, Australia, by becoming the first Māori to ever win an Australian figure skating competition. Aroha won the Preliminary Ladies 10 and Under Section of the Brisbane Summer Trophy skating competition...(*Te karaka*, Autumn 1999, p. 35).

However, reporting an issue, which the journalist sees as an educative kaupapa may be presented by building one side of an argument, in a more discursive style.

With Local Government elections coming up very soon, I would suggest we try and put some criteria on our voting selection processes. Could be something like this:

I will vote only for people who are team players, have integrity, have a big picture that matches my big picture, have humility, want to learn more about the Treaty of Waitangi, understand that support for Treaty claims by iwi is an investment in the people of the region, know how to listen properly, the list can go on.

I for one don't want councillors, or politicians for that matter, who are so entrenched and burdened with their own outlook on other people's lives, that they can't understand or value what I think (*Pipiwaharoa*, Vol. 9 No. 7, p.2).

This writing style is very common in the Māori media. A journalist using the discursive style will reject the notion of objectivity and may present his/her own opinions within the story. They will also select the opinions of others to support their educative kaupapa to use in their story and reject the opinions of people disagree.

4.3.4 Māori print media and ethics

The example of a newspaper asking a government department to pay for the space of a news story written by a staff journalist as if it were an advertisement (as described in Section 4.2.1), points to the way ethics in the Māori print media are perceived somewhat differently than in mainstream media. The news story under discussion was on family violence and the need to protect children. When asked how he felt about the ethics of asking people to sponsor what was essentially a news story (the implication being that because someone has paid for it to be printed its "objectivity" is thrown into

question), the editor responded that he had not thought of it as an ethical issue in that way. He said it was important to get the information to Māori and he would have run the article even if it had not been paid for. Instead, the editor saw an ethical problem in asking the organisation to pay for information which would have been run free anyway.

This example identifies ethics in the Māori print media as a major area for further examination in future research. Also, it is important to bear in mind that ethical judgments, which say the practice in the example is wrong, come from the Pākehā media system. Such actions are not necessarily unethical, they are only unethical as defined by the mainstream media in New Zealand. Māori media ethics might well be different from Pākehā media ethics because of cultural differences.

To summarise the issues reviewed of contemporary Māori print media: the lack of government support, their small readership, the reluctance of advertisers to invest in them, and the shortage of trained and experienced Māori journalists and editors remain obstacles which could limit growth of such authentically Māori print media style and impede further steps in ‘inventing’ the Māori way, whatever that might be.

The following section intends to provide examples of current Māori print journalism produced in a wide variety of conditions and circumstances. Many other titles could have been used for this section¹³, but space and time resources allowed for only a sampling. The selected publications were chosen as examples of a ‘national’ Māori voice, a grass-roots newspaper, a militant publication, and an organisational newsletter.

¹³ Among other Iwi newspapers are the *Karaka Nati Link*, *Pānui Kunaka*, and *Whenua*; also *Tū Mai*, *Te Karere Māori News* and *Korero o te wa*. Other Journals include *Te ara puoro*, *He pukenga korero*, *Te ukaipo*, *He tuhinga aronui*, *Toi te kupu*, *Te manutukutuku*, *Māori law review*, *He kupu tiori*, and *Te reo*.

4.4 “NATIONAL” MĀORI VOICE: MANA MAGAZINE

In Aotearoa/ New Zealand one of the major Māori printed publications is *Mana*, the Māori news magazine for all New Zealanders. It is a monthly glossy magazine, and is written mostly in English. Despite this, the publication provides an important Māori perspective in the news, one that is missing from the mainstream press. The audiences for this magazine are Māori, government officials and Pākehā New Zealanders.

Mana magazine is also, among the contemporary Māori print media, one of the longest-running Māori publications making a sustained attempt at comprehensive coverage of the issues, events and personalities of importance and interest to Māori around the country, with national distribution, and commercial viability.

The magazine is part of the Mana Group, which also produces “Mana News Service” and “Mana Productions” offering services of advertising, publishing, television and video, radio and Internet. Mana Group commitment is to “the task of telling New Zealanders what is happening in the Māori world.”¹⁴

Mana magazine’s first issue was published in January 1993. It started at a time when the mushrooming of Māori radio stations and television developments allowed New Zealanders to hear Māori stories more frequently. *Mana* was another example of the growing capacity that Māori had at that time for looking after their own interests.

¹⁴ The Mana Group team is led by Numia Ponika-Rangi and supported by Anahera Vercoe and Vikki Rangi. The team also includes other Māori and Pākehā journalists such as Dale Husband, Whetu McCorkindale, Carol Archie, Fiona Apanui, Tipene Macmillan Miriama Medowell, Marie Williams and Willie Jackson.

Of course, it was a direct indictment of the mainstream media that separate Māori projects had to be launched. To Māori eyes, the mainstream media were simply a collection of enterprises run by Pākehā for Pākehā. “They haven’t had the commitment –and they haven’t sought the staff– to reflect the non-Pākehā side of New Zealand,” commented Fox in *Mana*’s first editorial (Issue No. 1, January 1993).

Set up as a professional magazine with commercial goals, it was hoped that *Mana* stories and images would make it easier for readers, whatever their background, to become familiar with the events, issues and personalities of importance to Māori. As a consequence, although telling stories significant to Māori, the target audience was broadened to ‘all New Zealanders’, as the banner heading states. The idea of the magazine theme and focus came from Derek Fox and Gary Wilson.

It all started one day in Rotorua in 1992 after two St Stephen’s School old boys –me as a senior student, and Gary Wilson as a teacher– decided it was time New Zealand had a Māori magazine. Gary’s background was in print media, mine in broadcasting. So it was that the magazine’s guiding hand became Gary’s. (Derek Fox, *Mana Magazine*, Issue No. 61, ‘Editorial’)

Circulation and readership have grown steadily. Now, it has around 3,500 subscribers, an audited circulation of 146,000 and an even larger readership. Fox argues, “I don’t know if it’s a good or a bad thing, but this magazine has a unique pass-on rate of 10 readers a copy. That means one of you buys the magazine, then it’s passed on to at least another nine people.”

A selection of headlines for the year 2004 coverage is a starting point which tells a story of *Mana* concerns, and focus.

TABLE 1 <i>MANA MAGAZINE MAJOR HEADLINES FOR THE 2004 ISSUES **</i>	
Issue 55 (Dec 2003/Jan 2004) <i>*June Grant - painting and breast cancer</i> Phil Tataurangi Maui John Mitchell Nga Manu Korero	Issue 58 (June/July 2004) <i>*The hikoi</i> Jono Gibbes Tina Wirihana Greg Whitau Taisha
Issue 56 (Feb/Mar 2004) <i>*Mike King</i> Waitangi Day Voyage to Vienna Black Sox successes Tina Cross	Issue 59 (Aug/Sept 2004) <i>*John Tamihere - and Maori political power</i> An Otago anniversary Jody Tini Nicole Coupe
Issue 57 (Apr/May 2004) <i>*Pita Sharples</i> Don Brash Lead-up to the hikoi Awen Guttenbeil Michael King	Issue 60 (Oct/Nov 2004) <i>*Kiwis in Athens (with cyclist Sarah Ulmer on its cover)</i> Te Aute's 150th Pacific Arts Festival Corrina Gage

* Those contents in italics were also the issue's front cover picture

** The list of contents is from *Mana* online back issue Index

The headlines offer a more complete list of 'hard' or primary news as well as for features and opinion pieces. Most of them are inspiring stories of high-profile Māori individuals, whether in arts, sports or politics showing the strong focus on personal interviews rather than on general issues. A handful of events made the cover page headlines, such as Waitangi Day, the 2004 hikoi and the Pacific Arts Festival. There were also some Pākehā or 'New Zealanders' stories such as those on Don Brash, National Party leader and Sarah Ulmer, Olympic gold medallist, which became of Māori interest at some point in time.

Covers generally use photographs of celebrities who are interviewed in the issue. *Mana* carries personal and commercial advertisements.

Fox credits *Mana's* good reputation to the many, Māori and Pākehā, journalists who have worked on it through the years. For that reason, *Mana* is often quoted or referred to by researchers, public speakers, publishers and broadcasters and has provided many Māori journalists and writers a platform to launch their careers. But it has not been an easy journey for *Mana* to establish itself in the constrained New Zealand press market, with advertisers slow or reluctant to support a “Māori” magazine.

In 2005, as Wilson moved on, Fox assumed responsibility for future issues promising a fresh, new start with changes to the magazine, such as “the cover style, stronger opinion on politics and power, some new faces.”

Mana additionally has an online web page within the Mana Online web site [<http://www.manaonline.co.nz>] in which is published the full-text editorial and list of contents of its latest issue and has a search engine for back issues' articles.

4.5 GRASS-ROOTS NEWSPAPER: PU KĀEA

Among the small, community-based Māori newspapers, not significant in numbers is *Pū Kāea*. It is an iwi newspaper based in Whakatāne published by Te Whānau o Pū Kāea Trust for those tribes located in the Bay of Plenty of Aotearoa/ New Zealand and belonging to the Mataatua waka. These tribes are Ngāti Awa, Ngāi Tuhoe, Ngāti Whare, Ngāti Manawa, Te Whakatōhea, Ngāi te Rangi, Ngāti Pūkenga, Te Whānau a Tauwhao and Te Whānau a Apanui.

Pū Kāea has been publishing since 1992 and it is a monthly tabloid (11 issues a year), mostly written in English with some pieces in Māori. It has an estimated readership of 5,500 and a national distribution through Gordon & Gotch, Auckland, and subscription.

Pū Kāea aims are to provide a means of communication for Māori especially to those Māori belonging to the Mataatua waka: to inform, educate, entertain and empower; to provide a Māori forum for all issues affecting Māori – a ‘grass-roots newspaper’. Indeed, as a community-driven newspaper, *Pū Kāea* prints local and national news, practical advice, horoscopes and so on, alongside articles about celebrities, local stars, TV personalities and society. Written pieces are usually short and accompanied with pictures.

Pū Kāea is a stable newspaper from an editorial standpoint; most of the initial team still volunteering on it or making regular contributions. However, advertising has always looked marginal and its survival consequently is precarious. It is clear, in the tone of the last editorial of 2003, that the commercial viability of small publications such as this is dependent on the goodwill of sponsors and advertisers rather than subscribers.

Recently we heard the sad news the iwi publication *Pikiao Pānui* was going into recess. However talking with Pare Merito, the manager at Te Runanga o Ngāti Pikiao, she was adamant next year would see *Pikiao Pānui* resurrected. It’s a hard game Māori print media and *Pū Kāea* has had its own problems –our once monthly publication is now a triannual publication. For this we apologise to all our readers especially our subscribers. We apologise to all our advertisers, sponsors and supporters...

2003 has been a really tough year not quite like the Queen’s *annus horribilis*¹⁵ but pretty close. As we come to the end of the year there have been a number of positives. We have developed positive relationships with three tertiary institutions Awanuiārangi, Anamata

¹⁵ *Annus horribilis* is a Latin phrase meaning ‘horrible year’.

and Waiariki Institute of Technology. Te Runanga o Ngāti Awa have agreed to sponsor and do some advertising with us. (*Pū Kāea*, December 03-January 04, p. 2, ‘Pū Kāea Tū Tonu!’).

To its credit, *Pū Kāea* has survived longer than other iwi publications. Looking ahead, the major goal is to make the newspaper self-sufficient, said Akuhata and reach to the more than 60,000 Māori in the Bay of Plenty who claim descent from the Mataatua Waka.

Pū Kāea also has a website [<http://www.pukaea.co.nz>], with a forum in which either editorial staff or subscribed members can post articles and/ or comments. Most of the feature pieces of the printed version are also available online.

4.6 MILITANT VOICE: PIPIWHARAUROA TURANGANUI A KIWA

Pipiwharauoa is produced and published by Turanga Ararau, the training and employment division of Te Runanga o Turanganui a Kiwa. It is published with the *Gisborne Herald* once a month and is written mostly in English with some Māori.

Pipiwharauoa takes its name from *He Kupu Whakamarama Pipiwharauoa*, which was first published in October 1899, by Te Rau Press. Then, it was edited by the Rev. Reweti Kohere. *Pipiwharauoa* was re-launched on October 20, 1993 and gives first-hand news of the Māori community in the Tai Rāwhiti rohe. *Pipiwharauoa* offers regular features, local and national news from a Māori perspective.

Pipiwharauoa has a much more militant tone and stance than the other two iwi-based titles described in this chapter (*Pū Kāea* and *Te Karaka*). Generally, the articles of this paper demonstrate a defiant tone and a concern with land

rights, relations between Māori and the police and justice systems, Māori health and women's issues. Calls for action are normally seen in the newspapers, for instance,

As Māori people who make up 46 % of the population we must gather together and take a serious interest in what the local authority is doing on our behalf. The numbers of Māori involved in the workings of the council is pitiful and it is becoming more and more apparent that we must roll up our sleeves and get in there!... (*Pipiwaharuroa*, February 2003, p. 12).¹⁶

Pipiwaharuroa issues include numerous letters to the editor and comments, some of which contain valuable elements of reportage about some of the issues of the region. The large number of letters also indicates the enthusiasm among the Māori community for a newspaper which reports on their concerns.

A particular feature of *Pipiwaharuroa* is its consistent coverage of issues related to Māori politics and self-development. Its coverage of the Royal Commission on Genetic Modification and the 'Māori Option' regarding their electoral roll status and whether they want to be registered on the general roll or the Māori roll to vote, are examples of this type of journalism, which is committed to putting on the public record the perspective of Māori communities affected by such matters.

4.7 ORGANISATIONAL NEWSLETTER: TE KARAKA

The communications unit within the office of Te Runanga o Ngāi Tahu, the governing body that oversees the Ngāi Tahu tribe's activities, produces *Te*

¹⁶ Also see 'Twenty-one ways to take away Treaty rights' (February 2003, p.13). An article written by Cherryl Waerea-I-te-rangi Smith inspired by a similar list written by Jerry Gambill in 1968, titled '21 ways to scalp an Indian'. It reads, "highlights many of the ways in which the Crown has sought to undermine our rights under Te Tiriti o Waitangi, over the past 163 years. The list provides us with some examples of some of the ways in which the Crown works to deny the rights of our tamariki and mokopuna..."

Karaka, the iwi magazine. *Te Karaka* is published three times per year in Christchurch as part of Ngāi Tahu communication tools which also include *Te Pānui Rūnaka*, the radio station Tahu FM and Tahu TV (currently under development to making their own programmes for television) to convey the tribe's "dreams and achievements to Ngāi Tahu whānau whānui." (retrieved from the Ngāi Tahu Development Corporation website at <http://www.ngaitahu.iwi.nz/Development/Tribal%20Communications>).

The communications unit is also responsible for management of all the public relations activities undertaken by the organisation. This includes media management, brand management, issues management, community relations, production of all publications, management of website content, event management and management of other special projects. In addition the unit manages the production of the corporation's annual report.

The presence of *Te Karaka* does not represent a response to the inadequacies of mainstream media as *Mana* magazine does, nor is its existence completely dedicated to the specific information needs and aspirations of its readership as might a grass-roots publication such as *Pū Kāea*. Its objective is to provide information relating to Ngāi Tahu Corporation issues and developments. It serves as a periodical reporting on institutional activities and events to the tribe's constituents. Publications such as these do not intend to fill gaps in coverage left by the larger national or 'mainstream' publications.

In news and information, although having an iwi focus, *Te Karaka* has a clear institutional and detached way of presenting them. Rather than interpreting events or relating them to each other, *Te Karaka* 'announces' them. It tends to embrace some commitment to 'objectivity', 'impartiality', and 'balance' in presenting news and information. For example,

Ngāi Tahu artists Peter Robinson and Jacqueline Fraser are to be New Zealand's first ever representatives at the Venice Biennale of Art to be held in June 2001...

Christchurch artist Matt Calman (Kāi Tahu, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Toa) has just released his first CD with the band, Gasoline Cowboys. The CD entitled "Party" is the band's third recording but the first Matt has worked on... (*Te karaka*, Autumn 2001, p.6).

Only selected contributors such as Mark Solomon, Kaiwhakahaere (Chairman) of the Te Runanga o Ngāi Tahu, and Tahu Potiki, Te Runanga o Ngāi Tahu Chief Executive Officer, have their personal opinions and comments published.

The publication serves also as an educational tool, providing easy-to-understand 'beginners guide'-type of articles on issues such as the Māori fisheries debate and the use of Māori websites.

4.8 OTHER MĀORI PUBLICATIONS

Many government departments, academic institutions and some church organisations have their own publications directed at a Māori audience. Among them, is *Kōkiri Paetae* 'A celebration of Māori achievement', Te Puni Kōkiri's primary newsletter which is published every six weeks. There are articles about Māori issues and achievement. Around 65,000 copies are published every two months. It is based in Auckland but is distributed nationwide. It is mostly written in Māori with some English.

He Muka is the quarterly Māori language newsletter of Te Taurawhiri I te Reo Māori, the Māori Language Commission, covering the Commission's events, new terminology coined by the Commission and other issues relating to the Māori language. The main objective is to provide a publication written entirely in te reo Māori, specifically targeted at fluent speakers. Te Taurawhiri I te Reo

Māori has also a bilingual newsletter, *Ko te Whānau*. It is published quarterly and designed to provide easily accessible help for those wishing to expand their knowledge in the Māori language. In particular, it aims to assist parents with children in Kōhanga Reo, Māori immersion units, Kura Kaupapa Māori and bilingual units.

Other government departments that publish a Māori newsletter are Mana Tohu Matauranga o Aotearoa, the New Zealand Qualifications Authority (*Te Huarahi ki te Ao Tohu*, the pathway to the world of qualifications); Minitangata Mō Ngā Wāhine, the Ministry of Women's Affairs (*Pānui*); and Manatū Hauoroa, the Ministry of Health (*Te Kēte Hauoroa*, Māori health directorate). Although these government publications have Māori topics and sometimes make use of the Māori language, they do not necessarily represent issues of interest to Māori. Most of them carry messages and news from governmental agencies for Māori.

Among the academic journals is *He Pukenga Kōrero*, a *Journal of Māori Studies* published twice yearly by Te Pūtahi-ā-Toi, School of Māori Studies, of Massey University. It is aimed at providing a forum for original articles and the dissemination of views and perspectives on issues pertinent to Māori knowledge and Māori development. The journal is refereed and considers articles in either Māori and/ or English. Priority is given to papers relevant to Māori language, or Māori cultural, social or economic development.

Te Pā Harakeke is a new journal of iwi and hapū studies at Te Wānanga o Raukawa in Ōtaki. Its first edition was published in 2004 and is intended to be released on a biannual basis with contributions that are mātua and kaumātua in academic circles. The journal is a publication which in the first instance is targeted at the students of Te Wānanga o Raukawa, but is expected to have a wider audience in the future, to contribute to the Confederation of Ngāti

Raukawa, Ngāti Toarangatira and Te Ātiawa, as well as to other tertiary institutions and academics.

There are religious publicity magazines, some published with articles in Māori but generally, these are not targeted exclusively at Māori. Among them are the *Anglican Taonga*, issued quarterly by the Anglican Church's Commission on Communications, covering general news of the church and *Tui Motu*, an independent Catholic magazine, on spiritual and social issues. Nowadays, religious publications do not constitute a great source for Māori news, information or opinion.

4.9 SUMMARY

There has been a burgeoning of Māori writing since the 1970s.¹⁷ However, this contemporary Māori literature movement, described by some as the 'Māori Renaissance', has not had the desired degree of impact on the development of Māori print journalism.

Māori print media are still based on small operations exhibiting mainly ownership by individuals or whānau rather than wider institutional ownership, generally working in very precarious conditions. These entrepreneurs have been called 'innovators', according to Te Kanawa, *Tū Mai* editor. However, as she is one of them, she prefers to think more on the lines of 'mad and high-risk takers' (*Tū Mai*, Issue No. 39, 'Editorial').

¹⁷ One sign of the increasing vitality of Māori writing was the setting up in 1988 of Te Hā, Contemporary Māori writers, in response to a call from writers for an organisation to assist in developing writing for Māori and provide opportunities for their work to be presented nationally and internationally. Another indication of the growing interest in Māori writing was the establishment of E tuhi! Get writing! Awards for Māori Writers by Huia Publishers in 1995 to identify and foster Māori writing talent in both English and Māori and the staging in 2004 of He Tapu Te Kupu, the Māori Writers National Hui, a biennial event for Māori writers in Wellington, organised by both the national collectives for Māori writing, Te Hā (Contemporary Māori writers) and Te Hunga Taunaki Kaituhi Māori (writers in Te Reo).

Moreover, Māori writing is largely being studied and analysed as what is called ‘creative’ writing: poetry, short stories, novels, and plays, and not in the realm of news writing journalism –Māori news writing. What is ‘special’ or specific about the Māori print media which requires a different analysis from major media in Aotearoa/ New Zealand include factors such as:

- i. Generally, it has been the mouthpiece of a group which has conspicuously not had equal access in the New Zealand society and consequently in mainstream media;
- ii. It would tend to challenge to varying extents the arrangements in society which often negatively affect the lives of its particular constituents;
- iii. Its financial resources are relatively limited, and hence its operation and life-span may tend to be shorter and more problem-affected than in the case of the mainstream Pākehā press.

Regardless of all the difficulties and dangers involved in the transition from an oral to a written culture, despite the problems of literacy still evident in the 2001 census (in which only 9 % of the Māori adult population were te reo Māori fluent speakers and readers)¹⁸, despite the very heavy bias in government subsidies and other support for Māori broadcasting over printed-word communication, despite financial and training difficulties, and despite the lack of academic consideration of the Māori print media, this chapter shows that there is definitely a significant ‘history in the making’ of Māori print journalism, whether in English or te reo Māori.

¹⁸ Te Puni Kōkiri, Statistics New Zealand (2002). ‘Final Report on the 2001 survey on the health of Māori language.’

CHAPTER FIVE

EDITORIAL CONTENT ANALYSIS OF MĀORI PRINTED MEDIA 2000-2003

Perhaps we should be celebrating our survival, [of Mana radio programmes and Mana magazine] because that's more of an accomplishment than you may appreciate, unless you're aware of the indifference of the mainstream media (and a host of Government officials) to the need for a separate professional Māori voice. That indifference is based on the notion that pretty well all that's worth saying about Māori is covered anyway through the existing TV channels, radio stations and newspapers.

(Mana magazine editorial, Issue 34, June-July 2001)

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Media analyses in Aotearoa/ New Zealand and overseas¹ have identified several factors that define ethnic media. Among them,

¹ See, for instance, Daley, Patrick and James, Beverly (c2004). 'Cultural Politics and the mass media: Alaska native voices;' Campbell, Nittaya (2001). 'Immigrants and alternative media: a preliminary study;' Allievi, Stefano and Nielsen, Jorgen (2003). 'Muslim networks and transnational communities in and across Europe;' Molnar, Helen and Meadows, Michael (2001). 'Songlines to satellites: indigenous communication in Australia;' Abel, Sue (1997). 'Shaping the news: Waitangi Day on Television;' Shiramizu, Shigehiko (1996). 'Esunikku media: tabunka shakai Nihon o mezashite: Ethnic media: toward a multicultural Japan.'

- Ethnic media function as community-building institutions, reporting news relevant to their communities or groups, and offering a way for them to exchange information and pass on traditions;
- They offer ethnic groups and communities a voice with which to share concerns with the larger public;
- They provide a stimulus for civic participation;
- Ethnic media educate people about what is important in their communities and act as a bridge to help speed their incorporation into larger civic affairs; and,
- By large, they are ‘non-commercial’, in the sense that the profit-motive is not the primary criterion for its establishment.

For the purpose of this content analysis Māori printed media have been defined with the added requirement that publications be written by Māori or, more importantly, that they be owned and controlled by Māori. As such, they represent a unique and distinctive mouthpiece ‘organically linked’ to Māori communities or groups. The target audience does not have to be exclusively Māori.

This chapter examines the editorials of Māori magazines and newspapers to identify the major political dynamics of the Māori printed media, in order to provide an insight into the issues that concern Māori.

5.2 HYPOTHESES

Considering the factors that define ethnic media, the study tested three hypotheses:

1. Because Māori media need to be relevant to Māori communities or groups, Māori-specific issues rather than ‘national’ issues concerning the whole population of the country Aotearoa/ New Zealand will be emphasised in editorial content in the Māori printed media;
2. Because they offer Māori groups and communities a voice with which to share their concerns and viewpoints with the larger public, thus providing a stimulus for civic participation, editorials will question government policies, government institutions and government officials; and
3. Because Māori media intend to educate people about what is important in their iwi/ rohe, Māori printed media will deal with the same topics differently in their editorial discourse, according to their specific iwi and regional interests.

5.3 SAMPLE

The sample was drawn from seven selected Māori newspapers and magazines. Some of them have a national circulation –such as the case of *Mana* and *Tū Mai* magazines– others have local relevance only –such as *Te Karaka*, the Ngāi Tahu magazine.

At the time of analysis, the researcher did not find available a national directory of Māori publications (as defined earlier, published, owned and

controlled **by** Māori). The only relevant source found was *The Brown Pages 2003: Māori & Pacific Peoples Indigenous Arts & Media Directory* which listed people, organisations and companies involved in film, TV, print, radio, arts, and multimedia. A close observation of its ‘Māori publications’ category included several from government agencies such as *He Mua* (Te Taurawhiti I te Reo Māori), *Pānui* (Ministry of Women’s Affairs), *Te Kete Hauoro* (Ministry of Health), and *Te Pouwhenua* (Māori Land Court). These were mostly publications **for** Māori as targeted readers. Furthermore, the directory listing was generated on a voluntary basis, not granting a complete list of Māori printed media.²

Therefore, the selection of publications was set on the basis of availability to the researcher; all were held at the University of Canterbury Library and/ or the Christchurch City Libraries either in paper, electronic or microfilm formats. The magazines examined are *Mana*: the Māori magazine for all New Zealanders; *Pikiao Pānui*; *Te Karaka*: the Ngāi Tahu magazine; and *Tū Mai*: offering an indigenous New Zealand perspective. The newspaper studied is *Pipiwharauoa* of Te Runanga o Turanganui a Kiwa from the Gisborne region.³

² Communications with Te Taurawhiti I te Reo Māori, the Māori Language Commission, and Te Puni Kōkiri, the Ministry of Māori Development, and searches of the *Te Puna* database of the National Library of New Zealand produced different and incomplete results when looking for the list of current Māori printed media available at that time.

³ Originally, it was intended to include in the analysis *Te Karere News*, the national Māori community newspaper, and *Pū Kāea*. However, after a preliminary reading, it was noted that both papers did not publish editorials, hence they were removed from the final analysis.

TABLE 2			
<i>MĀORI PRINTED MEDIA IN THE CONTENT ANALYSIS</i>			
	Title	City	Frequency
Magazine	<i>Mana</i> : the Māori magazine for all New Zealanders	Rotorua (national)	Bi-monthly
	<i>Pikiao Pānui</i>	Rotorua	Seasonal (Four-per-year)
	<i>Te Karaka</i> : the Ngai Tahu magazine	Christchurch	Two or three-per-year
	<i>Tū Mai</i> : offering an indigenous New Zealand perspective	Hamilton (national)	Monthly
Newspaper	<i>Pipiharauora Turanganui a Kiwa</i>	Gisborne	Monthly

5.4 UNIT OF ANALYSIS

Using the guidelines suggested by Stempel (1952, 1981) and others⁴, the sampling covered a four-year period (January 2000 to December 2003). All editorials⁵ highlighted as such in the selected period were analysed. Also included are pieces written by the editor or sub-editor, that although sourced to their name, give voice to the “opinion” of their printed medium and are treated typographically so as to make it apparent to the reader and usually placed in the same page or space within it.

Pikiao Pānui, *Te Karaka* and *Tū Mai* label their editorial section as “Editorial”, clearly identifying the issue’s editor with their printed name,

⁴ See for instance, Stempel, Guido (1952). ‘Sample Size for Classifying Subject Matter in Dailies.’ In *Journalism Quarterly*, 29: 333-34; Stempel, Guido (1981). ‘Content Analysis.’ In *Research Methods in Mass Communication*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., pp.119-31; and Hynds, Ernest (1990). ‘Changes in Editorials: A Study of Three Newspapers, 1955-1985.’ In *Journalism Quarterly*, 67: 302-312.

⁵ ‘Editorials’ being those signed and unsigned pieces of editorial matter which are placed consistently in the same place, usually in an editorial section, from one issue to the next.

photograph and sometimes their signature. *Pipiwaharoa* generally gives its editorial voice in a column located on the right side of page two titled “From the editors desk” offering a personal approach to the subject matter of concern. Occasionally, a more institutional type of editorial is offered, under the headline of “Te Runanga o Turanganui a Kiwa”. As for *Mana*, there is no label for its editorial section but it is consistently placed in the same right side of page three. Letters to the editor, comments and columns were not included for examination.

The findings, as a result of systematically analysing the content and type of editorials of Māori newspapers and magazines, were expected to show the characteristic coverage of the Māori printed media towards government policies, the publication’s own political message and daily life affairs. Such findings were examined to see the “Māori” side of a story as an alternative to that covered by the mainstream media.

5.5 CATEGORIES

Four major sets of categories were used to examine editorial content and style. The first group consisted of five focus categories: (1) social, (2) economic, (3) political, (4) human interest, (5) other.

The second group consisted of 17 theme categories⁶: (1) Land and resources, (2) Human rights, indigenous rights, (3) Judicial, crime, (4) Self-development, participation, representation, (5) Environment, (6) Discrimination, race relations, (7) Health, (8) Education, (9) Language, (10) Cultural survival, being “Māori”, intellectual property rights, (11) National government, (12) Social and economical conditions, (13) Arts, entertainment, (14) Sports, (15)

⁶ These sub-categories were preliminarily tested according to the themes appearing in Māori printed media editorials and later defined.

Mainstream media, (16) Māori media, and (17) Other (non-Māori-related pieces).

The third group consisted of three types of editorial: (1) argumentative, (2) informative, and (3) story-telling. Krieghbaum's categories⁷ were firstly considered for classifying the purpose of each editorial. These included the informative editorial that enlightens the reader and helps them understand an issue or event without demanding action; the argumentative editorial that demands action of some sort or embodies a specific effort to bring the reader to the writer's viewpoint; and the change of pace or miscellaneous editorial that includes those designed to amuse, amaze or entertain readers but is not designed primarily to inform or persuade them.

However, by the end of the pilot phase of the content analysis, it was observed that all editorials fitted the first two categories and none the miscellaneous category as defined by Krieghbaum. Instead, a 'story telling'-type of editorial was detected. These editorials, having an amusement or entertainment factor, were designed –as the argumentative editorials– to influence readers or to prove a viewpoint. The call for action in story-telling editorials was usually implied rather than stated as found in argumentative editorials. For the final analysis the 'miscellaneous' category was deleted and the 'story-telling' category was added fitting well with the idiosyncrasies of Māori writing.

The fourth group consisted of a set of directional categories developed by Lasswell⁸: (1) favourable, (2) unfavourable, and (3) neutral (See *Appendix C* for complete data coding chart).

⁷ See Krieghbaum, Hillier (1956). 'Facts in Perspective: the editorial page and news interpretation.' Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, pp.150-257.

⁸ See Lasswell, Harold (1947), 'Analysis of political behaviour: an empirical approach'; and (1958), 'Politics: who gets what, when how'.

<i>MAIN CATEGORIES</i>			
1	Focus	Social	1
		Economic	2
		Political	3
		Human Interest	4
		Other (Such as sports, religious, etc.)	5
2	Theme	Land and resources	1
		Human rights, indigenous rights	2
		Judicial, crime	3
		Self-development, participation, representation	4
		Environment	5
		Discrimination, race relations	6
		Health	7
		Education	8
		Language	9
		Cultural survival, cultural differences, being Māori	10
		National government	11
		Social and economical conditions	12
		Arts, entertainment	13
		Sports	14
		Mainstream media	15
		Māori media	16
		Other (non-Māori-related)	17
3	Type of editorial	Argumentative	1
		Informative	2
		Story telling	3
4	Direction	Favourable	1
		Unfavourable	2
		Neutral	3

5.6 RESULTS

Table 4 shows a total of 131 editorials were published over the four-year period (2000-2003).

	Frequency	Percent
Mana	25	19.08
Pikiao Pānui	10	7.63
Pipiwharauoa	45	34.35
Te Karaka	10	7.63
Tū Mai	41	31.30
Total	131	100

The number of editorials found by publication was directly related to their periodicity. For instance, *Pipiwharauoa Turanganui a Kiwa*, a monthly publication, accounted for the highest number of editorials (45). *Tū Mai*, with 41 editorials publishes 11 issues per year. *Mana*, a bimonthly magazine, accounted for 25 editorials. *The Karaka* and *Pikiao Pānui* which both accounted for 10 editorials in the four-year period were published every three to four months.

5.6.1 Focus of editorials

<i>FOCUS</i>						
	Mana	Pikiao Pānui	Piwiwha rauroa	Te Karaka	Tū Mai	Total
Social	14	5	16	7	26	68
Economic			1		3	4
Political	6		27	3	9	45
Human Interest	3	4			2	9
Other	2	1	1		1	5
Total	25	10	45	10	41	131

Table 5 shows that editorials made heaviest reference to social issues and politics, accounting for 86.25 percent (51.9 % and 34.35 %) of the total 131 editorials analysed.

The frequency of editorials with a social focus ranged from 35.6 percent in the *Piwiwharauroa* newspaper to 70 percent in *Te Karaka*. The social focus was found on editorials that discussed a variety of topics such as arts, health, education and crime. *Tū Mai*'s editorial of Issue No. 38 (Dec-Jan 2003) on crime rate amongst young Māori women illustrates the social focus, although its main topic is Māori offending.

According to 2001 statistics, women in New Zealand including Māori, now outnumber men. Well tell me something I didn't already know...It was always going to be a matter of when, not if, although a male friend questioned why such statistics are not necessarily reflected in most of the city bars.

And before you brace yourself for a full on wahine-toa rant and rave from me, it's not gonna happen...the statistic that should consume our outmost attention, energy, effort and concern is the rising crime rate amongst young Māori women. It's bloody alarming, literally!

In the Waikato area alone, Māori make up 17 % of the 14-16 year-old population but contribute to 45 % of total crime for this group. In the same age group, females make up only 4 % of the Māori group but contribute to a startling 65 % of the offending...

So where on earth does all that anger and violent motivation come from? What are the signs and what can we do about it? I'm reluctant to ask who can we blame because I suspect the answer is already partly known.

And while I acknowledge there is a lot of hard core influences out there, perhaps some hard core mirror gazing in our own backyard at our extended whanau, hapu and iwi communities might be a good start, or should be...the order of the day...

Another example of social-focused editorial is found in *Te Karaka* (Issue No. 22, August 2003) on Māori health.

...Poor health is another on-going problem for Māori. Every week we read in the news another negative and concerning statistic –diabetes, obesity, heart disease, lung cancer– they are all very real and concerning issues for many of us. Recently it was announced that our life expectancy has increased only marginally over the past few years in comparison to Europeans. It is something that all of us need to think about and look at how we can make changes to our current lifestyle...

Editorials with a political focus were overwhelmingly represented by those discussing seabed and foreshore issues. For instance, the one found in *Tū Mai*, Issue No.47, October 2003, that criticises government's consultation hui timeframe and management.

...The foreshore and seabed feedback submitted for publication on-line to our website as well as our magazine consists of no less than 72 contributions –a staggering 10,000 plus words of constructive, informative and intelligent dialogue.

All of which, I'm proud to say compares admirably to the dumb drivell seen and heard throughout mainstream newspapers, talkback shows and National's "beaches-for-all" website after the Court of Appeals

decision allowed Māori claims to the foreshore and seabed to be heard in the Māori Land Court.

In the past few weeks, we all had a fair lash (and often clash) at the issue. I'm not convinced the Government's whirlwind round of 'consultation hui' with iwi has worked or been of any value to either party. The timeframe was always going to be ridiculous and then there's the management, or lack of, some of our own curly and colourful whanau members...

The political focus was also found on editorials whose topic were Māori political leaders. For instance, the editorials on Tau Henare (*Mana*, Issue No. 32, Feb-March 2001, 'A change of pace') and on Tuku Morgan (*Pipiwaharoa*, Vol. 10 No. 2, 2002, 'Give us a break'), although showing certain understanding for them trying to operate in environments where there was little interest in Māori issues, also point out the cavalier and careless attitude of Māori politicians when representing Māori concerns. To a lesser extent, political focus editorials discussed local government affairs (*Pipiwaharoa*, Vol. 11 No. 2 and No. 3, 2003) and the Māori Party (*Mana*, Issue No. 38, Feb-Mar 2001).

5.6.2 Theme of editorials

<i>THEME</i>						
	Mana	Pikiao Pānui	Pipiw harau roa	Te Karak a	Tū Mai	Total
Land and resources			3	4	4	11
Human and indigenous rights	1		1	1	1	4
Judicial, crime		1			2	3
Self-development, participation, representation	4		23	1	8	36
Environment			1			1
Race relations, discrimination	1				1	2
Health	1					1
Education	2	1				3
Language	1		1	1		3
Cultural survival, being Māori	6	2	5		9	22
National government			3			3
Social and economical conditions	1	1	2		4	8
Arts, entertainment				2		2
Sports		1			2	3
Mainstream media	2		4	1	3	10
Māori media	6	4	1		4	15
Other			1		3	4
Total	25	10	45	10	41	131

It is interesting to note, according to the data gathered in this study, the way Māori printed media have treated editorial themes differently. For instance, while *Mana* and *Pikiao Pānui* did not devote any of their editorial space to ‘land and resources’, *The Karaka* devoted 40 percent of its editorials to this theme. It was openly discussed as the following extracts show,

Twenty years after the Treaty of Waitangi was signed challenges emerged from North Island iwi to Ngāi Tahu rangatiratanga and mana. Boundary disputes have involved eight past generations of Ngāi Tahu and the investment of our precious resources defending these challenges...” (*Te Karaka*, Issue No. 16, March 2001).

This special issue of *Te Karaka* focuses on providing information relating to the current battles that Ngāi Tahu face regarding the allocation of fisheries assets and the attempted encroachments by other iwi on our northern boundary... (*Te Karaka*, Issue No. 19, April 2002).

Over the past year we have continued to struggle to uphold the sanctity of our settlement. Our boundary continues to be challenged by Te Tau Ihu iwi. The Glenharrow case threatens the security of the Pounamu Vesting Act. The Ministry of Fisheries continues to disregard the settlement requirements and the allocation of Māori fisheries assets are still being debated... (*Te Karaka*, Issue No. 20, December 2002).

Mana and *Tū Mai*, the two nationally distributed glossy magazines, consistently relied on ‘cultural survival, being Māori’ as their most important editorial theme category, comprising 24 percent for *Mana* and 21.9 percent for *Tū Mai*. Among these editorials stand out the one on the celebration of Matariki, the Māori New Year, noting the hidden depiction of some the idiosyncrasies of ‘being Māori’.

June –a time to celebrate the beginning of Matariki –the Māori New Year. Time for all us ‘Johnny-come-latelys, to legitimately be apart of traditional Māori folk lore, like it’s never been done, or heard of, before.

A hundred year old genuine reason to party, and we didn’t even know about it. Err...typical. But we’ve caught on with vengeance. A

sleeping giant has awoken. Sure, we are trademark late (again) but grasping Matariki like something we always knew about and treasured, is here, and here to stay.

The truth is though most of us are greenies to Matariki...but let's not go there. We Māori can be fabulously arrogant when we want to. It's our right –isn't it? Anyway, one just has to admire the competitive spirit different regions, social circles, and organisations have adopted the 'must do – must host' Matariki function of sorts. Motivated by our very own favourite four-letter word –OURS...Yay! Does Matariki risk becoming too commercialised? Possibly. And probably, by our own. I guess some things never change.

Incredibly, immigrant Chinese, Indians, Japanese, Greek communities have been hosting their respective New Year celebrations since they arrived in Aotearoa many, many Matariki moons ago. And all we did was look on. Not knowing we were in fact entitled to our very own native celebration in our very own native country. Unquestionable Tangata Whenua status and a freekin, good, genuine reason for funding...damn!!... (*Tū Mai*, Issue No. 43, June 2003).

Editorials on Māori media focused mostly on its entrepreneurial aspect and the financial struggles of being niche publications as 'A koha for the cause' (*Mana*, Issue No. 43, Dec-Jan 2003) illustrates, "...[The] success [of *Mana*] has been a result of dozens of Mana staff, through the years, sticking with the kaupapa even though the financial rewards have ranged from the modest to the pitiful. Listening to the Mana Report in the morning, or reading this magazine, you're entitled to assume that all this is the work of a team of well-paid professionals. And, yes, the work is professional. But there's a significant element of koha in the production, too, from people contributing well beyond what the pay packet demands..."⁹

On the other hand, editorials on mainstream media were predominantly about their performance as in the case of 'A Pākeha monopoly' (*Mana*, Issue 35,

⁹ See also 'Paying the fare' (*Mana*, Issue No. 44, Feb-Mar 2003), 'On the move?' (*Mana*, Issue No. 51, Apr-May 2004), *Tū Mai*'s overall formula for content (Issue No. 13, May 2000), What sells magazines (Issue No. 28, March 2002) and *Tū Mai* magazine survival (Issue No. 39, February 2003).

Aug-Sep 2001), ‘Who’s a cheeky boy, then?’ (*Mana*, Issue 54, Oct-Nov 2004), and on the negative portrayal of Māori by mainstream media (*Tū Mai*, Issue No. 44, July 2003). The theme and its negative tone were unequivocal in *Mana*’s editorial ‘Mainstream mischief’ (Issue 48, Oct-Nov 2003),

Not so long ago I agreed to a request from Linda Clark to field some question on national Radio about how things were going with the Māori Television Service (MTS). I’ve been chairing the board for nearly a year, and Linda, on behalf of her *Nine to Noon* listeners, was wanting to check out why three board members were moving on –and if there was “tension” between the board and Government bureaucrats.

Of course there’s been tension. Bureaucrats have, for many years, helped spend millions of Government dollars trying to block or limit Māori broadcasting. And their recent efforts to force the MTS on to a ghetto (UHF) channel is just one more example of that ungenerous behaviour.

The interview was going a little edgily, though politely enough, until I chided Linda for raising the subject of Māori television only because she’d “got a whiff of blood”. Linda’s response? “Derek. It is a pleasure to talk to you. Since you want to believe your conspiracy theory. I’ve had enough.” And she hung up.

Then, a little later that morning, when she’d read some emails from listeners who’d been “very upset that I cut off the very nice Derek Fox” she had this explanation.

“When Derek Fox... starts to go on about my motivation [which I had queried], and how I don’t like him [which I hadn’t suggested]...and there’s a great conspiracy [which I hadn’t said at all], I get a little thin-lipped.”

“I can’t help myself. It’s always happened. If he does it again, I’ll cut him off again. So I’m sorry if any of you were offended by my rather abrupt ending of that interview, and I will try to be more polite. But sometimes, you know, a girl just can’t help herself.”

Some print journalists can’t help themselves either. The *Sunday Star-Times* recently had a front-page lead story implying that my expenses as the MTS chairman (mainly air fares, mileage, food and drink and

hotel accommodation) were scandalous –and that it was high time the channel was broadcasting.

It was a scurrilous piece of journalism. No evidence of anything other than routine expenditure by the MTS, despite the paper’s appetite for signs of Māori misbehaviour...

Pipiwaharuroa, the only newspaper in the sample, gave great attention to issues concerning ‘self-development, participation and representation’ (51.11 % of its total). Māori political representation and local politics (Vol. 8 No. 3), the elections of iwi trust boards (Vol. 8 No. 9), a consultation on genetic modification and the ‘Māori option’ on their roll status (Vol. 9 No. 1) represent some of the subject matters included in *Pipiwaharuroa*’s editorial analysis. They all urged Māori to be proactive with expressions like “Let’s be forever watchful on the current strategies continuing to reduce our natural resource base. We need passionate people to engage in the struggle to protect and nurture what is left of papatuanuku” (Vol. 8 No. 3); “So people, think carefully whom you vote for and ensure your interests will be protected” (Vol. 8 No. 9); and “I hope that many of you take an interest and participate in the process [of consultation hui on Genetic Modification]” (Vol. 9 No. 1).

The two iwi-based publications had differing approaches to their editorials. While *Pikiao Pānui*, for instance, devoted 40 percent to ‘Māori media’ and none to ‘land and resources’; *The Karaka* 40 percent to ‘land and resources’ and none to ‘Māori media’. These two publications seemed to address their particular iwi and organisational concerns in their editorials: *The Karaka* focused on economic development because it is the main goal of the Ngai Tahu Trust, publisher of the magazine; *Pikiao Pānui*, struggling to survive and eventually going into recess in winter 2003 due to unsustainable costs, primarily discussed the lack of funds and sacrifices Māori media –print in particular– have to overcome to carry on.

The results of Table 6 show that, overall, Māori print media spread their editorial attention over three subject categories: ‘self-development, participation and representation’ (27.48 %), ‘Māori cultural survival, being Māori’ (16.79 %) and ‘Māori media’ (11.45 %), accounting for 55.72 percent of the total.

The first hypothesis, then, that Māori print media tend to emphasise Māori issues, concerning that ethnic-specific group within the New Zealand society, was proven correct. The sample shows that the four major subject categories were Māori-specific topics (‘Self-development’, ‘Māori cultural survival’, ‘Māori media’ and ‘land and resources’).

When comparing the emphasis rank of themes by title (Table 7), except for *Te Karaka*, all newspapers ranked first or second ‘cultural survival, being Māori’ as subjects for editorial discussion. The category of ‘self-development, participation, and representation’ also ranked in the upper quarter for all Māori printed media, except for *Pikiao Pānui*. For the remaining categories, there was considerable variation between the media studied as to the importance of theme categories.

	Mana	Pikiao Pānui	Pipiw harauroa	Te Karaka	Tū Mai
Land and resources			4*	1	3*
Human and indigenous rights	1*		6*	3*	6*
Judicial, crime		3*			5*
Self-development, participation, representation	2		1	3*	2
Environment			6*		
Race relations, discrimination	4*				6*
Health	4*				
Education	3*	3*			
Language	4*		6*	3*	
Cultural survival, being Māori	1*	2	2		1
National government			3		
Social and economical conditions	4*	3*	5		3*
Arts, entertainment				2	
Sports		3*			5*
Mainstream media	3*		4*	3*	4*
Māori media	1*	1	6*		3*
Other			6*		4*

* Tie

It is not surprising, then, that the rank correlations based on the emphasis ranks tended to be low, as Table 8 indicates. Only three correlation coefficients of the ten were above 0.70 and statistically significant (*Pikiao Pānui/Mana*, *Te Karaka/Mana*, and *Tū Mai/Pipiwarauroa*). In other words, there was a wide variation between these Māori printed media as to the relevance of themes discussed in their editorials.

	Mana	Pikiao Pānui	Pipiwaharuroa	Te Karaka	Tū Mai
Mana					
Pikiao Pānui	0.87				
Pipiwaharuroa	0.19	0.24			
Te Karaka	0.70	0	0.05		
Tū Mai	0.31	0.53	0.72	0.29	

* *Coefficients are significant at the 0.01 level.*

It was hypothesised, originally, that the correlation of selection and discussion of topics among Māori print media would be low based on their iwi/ rohe affiliation and interests. Although as can be seen in Table 8, the highest correlation was between *Pikiao Pānui* and *Mana* –both based in Rotorua– at 0.87, the second highest correlation was between *Pipiwaharuroa* from the Gisborne region and *Tū Mai* published in Hamilton (0.72), and the third between *Mana* and *Te Karaka*, the Ngāi Tahu magazine (0.70). There is little evidence that iwi affiliation and circulation area influenced editorials. Therefore, the study proves that in general, there was a low correlation between all five media examined. This study cannot, however, make the assertion that the results are related in any way to iwi affiliation or circulation area.

5.6.3 Type of editorials

When analysing the writing style used in editorials on the selected Māori print media, in general, argumentative editorials were used most frequently (99), then the informative ones (24), and the least common were story-telling editorials (8).

TABLE 9						
<i>TYPE OF EDITORIAL</i>						
	Mana	Pikiao Pānui	Pipiwha rauroa	Te Karaka	Tū Mai	Total
Argumentative	24	4	30	4	37	99
Informative		1	15	6	2	24
Story-telling	1	5			2	8
Total	25	10	45	10	41	131

The argumentative type of editorial was ranked first in three titles: *Mana*, *Pipiwharauroa* and *Tū Mai*. An example of an argumentative editorial, with an stated viewpoint is the one found in *Pipiwharauroa* (Vol. 9, No. 2):

Apparently there is concern I have been too biased in stating that we should declare New Zealand a “GM FREE” country without giving people the right to make their own decision. What I would like to point out is that this comment was made based upon the information provided for the article on Genetic Modification. In all the documentation it was highlighted that genetic modification is a direct challenge on our (Māori) way of life...

Pikiao Pānui ranked first the story-telling type of editorials. These editorials often relied on the editor’s past experiences to introduce or prove an issue. The editorial ‘We’ve got it, lets use it!’ (Issue No. 48) illustrates this writing style:

...I’m going to tell you a story that a man named Rangi shared with me while in Wellington at the Lower Hutt Tavern. Rangi started off by telling me how he observed the sporting excellence at the tournament [Aotearoa Māori Rugby League Tournament]. “Man, those fullers were tumeke,” he said. “Imagine how good our people would play if they joined together to represent te iwi Māori against other nations. If they can play with so much te ihi, te wehi against each other, how would they play against the Germans, the Americans...I bet you they would kick nono.”

And while there were several people who laughed at Rangi, believing his korero had no substance, I thought thoroughly about what he said.

And Rangi is right, even though the bottle of Waikato might have slurred his speech. If Māori pulled together in any sport, be it netball, softball, hockey, we would be a powerful force –we have the ability to compete at an international level. Perhaps the Aotearoa Māori Rugby League, which is currently competing at the World Cup in Britain, will get the ball up and running.

However I asked Rangi: “Even though that’s a great idea, how would we resource national Māori sporting teams?” After all, it’s hard enough gathering funds to get an iwi team up and going. But Rangi had an answer. “We have millions and millions of dollars tucked away in Wellington which belongs to Māori”, Rangi said. My eyes just about popped out. “Yeh Rangi where?” I asked. Rangi replied: “Te Ohu Kaimoana”. And all controversy and litigation about the allocation of pre-settlement fishery assets aside, perhaps Te Ohu Kaimoana can gather enough power together to set aside a putea for Māori sport. As Rangi said: “Come on, Te Ohu Kaimoana give Māori sport some oysters”.

Te Karaka preferred the informative type of editorials. They gave highlights of the stories written on that issue without demanding action, as for instance,

Tā moko has experienced a renaissance in recent times. A tā moko symposium held in Christchurch earlier this year attracted people from all over the world to share their experiences and methods of indigenous skin art. Ben Te Aika and Riki Manuel were part of the 15-strong organising team. Over a thousand people visited the week-long symposium and Maatakiwi Wakefield has written about it on page 10... (Issue 17, July 2001)

Another example is found on Issue 16 (March 2001),

Amiria Marsh is a truly gifted athlete and a woman to watch. At the age of seventeen she has already distinguished herself as a double-capped national sportswoman in cricket and rugby, while still attending college. Her motivation and attitude are an inspiration to us and we have no doubt that Amiria will achieve her goals in life.

5.6.4 Direction of editorials

TABLE 10						
<i>DIRECTION</i>						
	Mana	Pikiao Pānui	Pipiwha rauroa	Te Karaka	Tū Mai	Total
Favourable	3	3	6	4	13	29
Unfavourable	18	3	19	3	23	66
Neutral	4	4	20	3	5	36
Total	25	10	45	10	41	131

Table 10 makes apparent that, as a whole, Māori printed media are openly critical in their editorials. This can be seen in the unfavourable tone of their editorials summing more than half of them (50.38 %). Examples of the topics that were frequently discussed with negative connotations were:

- *Mainstream media clueless about Māori issues.* "...It was a scurrilous piece of journalism. No evidence of anything other than routine expenditure by the MTS, despite the paper's appetite for signs of Māori misbehaviour. No understanding of the scale of the project we're undertaking –or the limited resources. Is this response by the mainstream media part of a conspiracy? Not at all. Just ignorance. Indefensible ignorance." (*Mana*, Issue 48, Oct-Nov 2003)
- *Government officials.* "...[B]ureaucratic excuses. There is something seriously wrong in the bureaucracy that is shaping our policies and implementing management procedures." (*Pipiwharauroa*, Vol. 8 No. 8)
- *Māori politicians.* "...He's [Parekura Horomia] still uncomfortable in the media spotlight and has no gift, as yet, for the pithy responses that work best in such exchanges." (*Mana*, Issue 35, Aug-Sep 2001); and

“...Demonstrating their lack of maturity, pride, integrity, intelligence and common sense in their fledging careers as wannabe credible politicians.” (on Tau Henare and Willie Jackson, *Tū Mai*, Issue 24, November 2001)

- *Race relations*. “We’ve just had a reminder of how little we’ve progressed with race relations in New Zealand, with the politicians, academics, radio and TV interviewers and the editorial writers deciding that Joris de Bres needed a strong rebuke, maybe even sacking, for what he had to say about our colonial history.” (*Mana*, Issue 49, Dec-Jan 2004)
- *Māori social and economic conditions*. “...[O]n the ‘Closing the Gaps’ government campaign, suggestions for the American clothes label GAP re-branding to fit the New Zealand market as: ‘Māori end of the GAP’, ‘Between the GAP’, ‘Trying to get out of the GAP’, ‘Nicer end of the GAP’, ‘Just escaped the GAP’...” (*Tū Mai*, Issue 15, February 2001).

The highest percentage of unfavourable editorials was found in *Mana* magazine (72 % of its total) and the lesser in *Pikiao Pānui* and *Te Karaka* (30 % of their total).

The data in Table 11 shows, when a cross-tabulation between theme and direction of editorials is made, that the highest number of unfavourable editorials were written when addressing issues of ‘self-development, participation and representation’ (19.69 %) as well as in the subject of ‘mainstream media’ (15.15 %). The topic of ‘cultural survival, being Māori’ obtained the highest percentage of favourable editorials (34.48 %).

	Favourable	Unfavourable	Neutral	Total
Land and resources	1	4	6	11
Human and indigenous rights	2	2	0	4
Judicial, crime	0	3	0	3
Self-development, participation, representation	8	13	15	36
Environment	0	1	0	1
Race relations, discrimination	0	2	0	2
Health	0	1	0	1
Education	0	2	1	3
Language	1	2	0	3
Cultural survival, being Māori	10	7	5	22
National government	0	3	0	3
Social and economical conditions	0	5	3	8
Arts, entertainment	1	0	1	2
Sports	2	1	0	3
Mainstream media	0	10	0	10
Māori media	4	6	5	15
Other	0	4	0	4
Total	29	66	36	131

Individually, *Pipiwaharauoa* was the only publication commenting adversely on national government affairs. In fact, it was the one devoting whole editorials criticising the job of national political leaders and government policies. Naming government officials as “Mana munchers” (Vol. 8 No. 8),

“bureaucratic ‘one shots’” (Vol. 9 No. 8), and “self-appointed leaders” (Vol. 10 No. 1), was not unusual in *Pipiwharauroa*’s editorials.¹⁰

When looking at the focus of editorials, according to their direction in Table 12, it was evident that editorials on social and political issues were written in an unfavourable tone (51.90 % and 34.35 % respectively).

	Favourable	Unfavourable	Neutral	Total
Social	20	33	15	68
Economic	0	2	2	4
Political	2	28	15	45
Human Interest	6	0	3	9
Other	1	3	1	5
Total	29	66	36	131

Therefore, the results of the directional category and theme/focus cross-tabulations do not support the second hypothesis that Māori printed media tend to criticise in their editorials when discussing national government policies, government institutions and government officials. The statement was true only with *Pipiwharauroa*.

¹⁰ *Pipiwharauroa*’s editorials on government performance and officials, which included phrases such as being “fed up with their ability to do a good job” (Vol. 8 No. 8), and “We put you there to do some real work not to bicker amongst yourselves. Last time you lot were involved in a coup you lost the plot and the house. You left us at home to pick up the pieces and we are still reeling from it” (Vol. 8 No. 7) were coded as ‘unfavourable’ considering the use of negative words and the editorial attitude towards the subject matter. They are not necessarily objective interpretations of the topic, nor does it assume that ‘criticism’ is a bad thing.

5.7 SUMMARY

There are five conclusions which arise from the data collected in this content analysis of Māori printed media editorials. The first of these is that, in their editorials, Māori printed media tend to address principally two issues: ‘cultural survival, being Māori’ and ‘self-development, participation and representation’ often with a social, political or human interest focus. These findings support the first hypothesis that Māori printed media favour Māori-specific issues rather than ‘national’ topics concerning the entire New Zealand society as a single cultural entity.

Secondly, it is concluded that, based on the use of 17 theme categories and rank correlations allocated by each media, there were two clusters among the five Māori printed media analysed. They were not the clusters expected in hypothesis three –based on iwi affiliation and circulation area, though. *Mana* and *Pikiao Pānui* appear to belong to one cluster based largely on the number of editorials given to Māori media and cultural survival issues, and the smaller attention devoted to other categories. The other cluster, consisting of *Pipiwharau* and *Tū Mai*, ranked ‘self-development, participation and representation’ and ‘cultural survival, being Māori’ as the first and second most important categories –although varied in deciding the order. Neither of these two publications editorialised on health and education.

The third generalisation is that, overall, Māori printed media make greater use of argumentative rather than informative or story-telling editorials. The informative approach, however, was often used by *Te Karaka*, the Ngāi Tahu magazine. The story-telling type was the most frequently used in Ngāti Pikiao’s publication, *Pikiao Pānui*.

Fourthly, it is shown that Māori printed media, with exception of *Pipiwhararoa*, do indeed hesitate to directly criticise national government policies, institutions and officials' conduct and performance as suggested in hypothesis two. Furthermore, on issues of political participation and representation, neutral editorials were common in *Pipiwhararoa*, more than those taking a favourable or unfavourable position.

Finally, it is concluded that Māori printed media are not all alike, neither the nationwide distributed glossy magazines nor the iwi-based publications.

In summary, it can be concluded that Māori printed media editorials focus on mostly two subject categories: social and political issues; they tend to use more argumentative editorials and, overall, are more unfavourable than favourable or neutral in their editorialising when addressing those issues.

WĀHANGA TUATORU
PART THREE

MĀORI AND THE WORLD WIDE WEB

CHAPTER SIX

WORLD WIDE WEB: THE DISCOVERING OF A NEW MĀORI PUBLIC SPHERE

Ka pu te ruha ka hao te rangatahi.

(The old net lies in a heap while the new net goes fishing).

Māori whakatauki (proverb)

6.1 INDIGENOUS PEOPLES AND NEW TECHNOLOGIES

Some Indigenous peoples feel that the readiness to adopt technical innovation has deep historical roots in aboriginal cultural life, based on centuries of pre-European trade and intertribal communication. “Inclusion rather than exclusion, of technical and cultural innovations is a matter of survival in harsh natural environments,” observed Leuthold (1998, p.74). Native American writer Leslie Silko in her essay *Videomakers and Basketmakers* (1990) echoed such sentiment,

The Pueblo impulse is to accept and incorporate what works, because human survival in the southwestern climate is so arduous and risky...Europeans were shocked at the speed and ease with which Native Americans synthesized, then incorporated, what was alien and new (p.73).

In Aotearoa/ New Zealand, Māori have been keen to adopt, implement and/or further modify alien technologies. Widely cited in history accounts are the Māori skilful use of the muskets, the Māori adaptation of European agriculture and shipping methods, as well as their rapid adoption of print productions in the early days of colonisation (Sinclair, 1959; Dell, 1987; Walker, 1986). Another example of the Māori attitude towards the acquisition of knowledge is found in Kamira (2003), which quoted Apirana Ngata, a scholar and the first Māori to graduate in 1894,

E tipu e rea mo nga ra o tou ao
 To ringa ki nga rakau a te pakeha
 Hei oranga mo to Tinana
 To ngakau ki nga taonga a o tipuna Maori
 Hei tikitiki mo tou mahunga
 To Wairua ki te Atua
 Nana nei nga mea katoa

Grow up, tender youth, in days of your life;
 Your hands grasp hold of the tools of the Pakeha,
 For your material wellbeing;
 Your heart to the treasures of your Maori ancestors,
 As a plume for your head;
 Your spirit to God,
 The creator of all things.
 (Apirana Ngata, in Kamira, 2003, p.472)

“The quote captures the desire and the ability of Māori to acquire knowledge of other cultures, which is an important strategy for the uptake of information technology” claimed Kamira (2003, p.472). Indeed, Māori have long responded to the introduction this new technology –Internet– by adopting and adapting it to accommodate their needs. Some evidence of this can be found in the fact that New Zealand is the only country in the world that has both a moderated Second Level Domain (2LD) name <.iwi.nz> and a general one <.maori.nz> pursued by and reserved for its indigenous people.

6.2 HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE INTERNET IN AOTEAROA/ NEW ZEALAND

To understand the Māori dimension within the structure of the New Zealand branch of the Internet, this section presents a rather concise historical account of the introduction and development of the Internet in Aotearoa/ New Zealand, the establishment of what can arguably be the first Māori websites (created by and maintained Māori), the beginnings of the New Zealand Māori Internet Society (NZMIS) and the creation of the Māori-related 2LDs <iwi.nz> and <maori.nz>.

The historical accounts described in this section were taken from *Net History*, *History of the Internet Explained* (<http://www.nethistory.info/>), *The History of the Internet* (<http://www.davesite.com/webstation/net-history.shtml>), *InternetNZ* archives (<http://www.internetnz.net.nz/dns/2nd-level-domains/2ld97consult-index.html>), the *Office of domain Name Commissioner* (DNC) archives (<http://www.dnc.org.nz>), *Te Whānau Ipurangi*, the *New Zealand Māori Internet Society* history page (<http://www.nzmis.org.nz/history/>), *The Aotearoa Māori Internet Organisation* (AMIO) (<http://www.amio.maori.nz/>), and from *A Personal History of the Māori Internet Society* by Ross Nepia Himona (<http://maori2000.com/hiringa2/history.htm>).¹

The Internet was introduced to Aotearoa/ New Zealand through the research and academic community in 1986 as Victoria University of Wellington connected to the Users Network (USENET) using dial-up access. In 1989 an international link established from the University of Waikato to the University

¹ The sources of the material used for this section are acknowledged in this “general” way because websites rarely do acknowledge sources of information and also because many of them—at the time of accessing—repeated the same information making it difficult to attribute the specific material to one of them. Some portions of these sources have been quoted verbatim (with minor changes) because they represent authoritative voices on the subject.

of Hawaii saw its beginning. At about the same time, the New Zealand universities started an experimental joint venture, called TUIA Net, envisaging a national Internet infrastructure for education and research purposes. In the same year, the first commercial Internet Service Provider (ISP) in the country, Actrix, was also established. In 1992 TUIA Net evolved to become the TUIA Society, still only included education and research-related members such as universities, the Department of Scientific Research (DSIR), and other government agencies.²

In November 1994, given the increasing commercialisation of the Internet, the TUIA Society held a public meeting with the intention of establishing a new public body to oversee the Internet infrastructure development and a year later (November 1995) the Internet Society of New Zealand (ISOCNZ) was formed. By 1996 the administration of New Zealand's Country Code Top Level Domain (ccTLD) namely <.nz> was passed on to ISOCNZ³ with the support of the Internet Assigned Number Authority (IANA).⁴ Soon after, ISOCNZ established a subsidiary company, the New Zealand Internet Registry

² From *InternetNZ* archives (<http://www.internetnz.net.nz>), however the same timeline information is found in several documents. For instance, in Leader, Sue (28 January 2002) 'The Development of the Internet in New Zealand and the Role of InternetNZ', <http://www.cs.auckland.ac.nz/~john/NetSafe/Leader.pdf>; Asia Pacific Network Information Centre (Issue 26, August 2008), <http://www.apnic.net/docs/apster/issues/apster26-200808.pdf>; Newman, Keith 'Taming the lightning (A new Zealand perspective)', <http://www.wordworx.co.nz/KiwitelcoTimeline.htm> and at 'Connecting the Clouds, The Internet in New Zealand', Chapter 6, 'Craving for Connection – Dawn of the Dial-up Community' http://www.nethistory.co.nz/index.php/Chapter_6_-_Craving_for_Connection_-_Dawn_of_the_Dial-up_Community.

³ Internationally, delegation of the administration of ccTLD's such as <.nz> (New Zealand), <.au> (Australia), and <.us> (USA), in the early days of Internet commercialisation –from 1989 onwards– was somewhat haphazard and informal. Some delegations were to persons not representative of any responsible organisation and in some cases to individuals not resident in the country concerned. In New Zealand's case, the initial delegation was to a staff member at the University of Waikato.

⁴ The Internet Assigned Numbers Authority (IANA) was the organisation responsible for Internet Protocol (IP) address space allocation, protocol identifier assignment, gTLD and ccTLD name system management. Those functions are now performed by the Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN), an internationally organised, non-profit corporation.

Ltd (trading as Domainz), to administer the <.nz> domain and to operate a domain name registry.⁵

In 2000, ISOCNZ changed the New Zealand Internet Registry into a Shared Registry System (SRS) with the primary goal of creating more competition and a year later ISOCNZ re-branded itself to become InternetNZ.⁶ In 2002, a 2LD, <maori.nz>, was approved and added to the <.nz> namespace as well as the SRS going live.⁷

6.2.1 The first Māori websites

In 1995, when crucial developments within the Internet infrastructure in New Zealand –such as the creation of ISOCNZ– and internationally, as the first upsurge of e-commerce was seen with the establishment of <Amazon.com>, one of the first Māori cyber-navigators, Ross Himona, ventured into the World Wide Web through a connection to the U.S.-based service, Compuserve. At the time, Himona accounted in his *Personal History of the Māori Internet Society* that he did not find any Māori on the Net, instead, he only came across a plethora of sites such as online forums, newsgroups and websites created by non-Māori and presenting a supposedly ‘Māori perspective’ to the world and exploiting Māori culture for their own profit.

After seeing this, Himona then decided to build an ‘authentic’ Māori site, which he named *From Hawaiki to Hawaiki* (<http://maaori.com/>), arguably the first Māori website –set up by a Māori. He noted in his *Personal History* that the website was essentially set up to present a ‘Māori view of Māori’, and to

⁵ From *InternetNZ* archives (<http://www.internetnz.net.nz>).

⁶ At this time, there were over 100,000 domain names in the <.nz> register. Yet, according to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) figures, about 6 percent of New Zealand-held domain names were in the Generic Top Level Domain’s (gTLD) such as <.com> (for commercial enterprises) or <.org> (for non-profit organisations). Source: OECD Observer. ‘OECD in Figures.’ Volume 2001, Supplement 1 (E-book PDF Format).

⁷ From *InternetNZ* archives (<http://www.internetnz.net.nz>).

seize the initiative back from those who were presuming to tell Māori stories. Himona's efforts further broadened by becoming involved in various online forums and newsgroups and making the point about Māori ownership of matters Māori.

Not long after, Kamera Raharaha, a Māori cyber-navigator from Auckland started another website called *Māori Organisations of New Zealand* (<http://www.maori.org.nz>). These two websites became the pioneering Māori sites on the Web, and benchmarks for many Māori who have since ventured into cyberspace as e-publishers.

6.2.2 The creation of Te Whānau Ipurangi o Aotearoa, the New Zealand Māori Internet Society

After experimenting with their own websites and the rapidly changing technological infrastructure, both Himona and Raharaha realised the enormous potential of the Internet for Māori to present their stories and perspectives to a whole world audience realising, at the same time, that the Internet in Aotearoa/New Zealand was controlled by a small group of Pākehā, mostly linked to the universities of Waikato and Victoria, in particular.

In 1997, Himona and Raharaha decided to form Te Whānau Ipurangi o Aotearoa, the New Zealand Māori Internet Society (NZMIS) with the aim of gaining control of part of the Internet for Māori –Māori control of things Māori.⁸ Since there were only few Māori using the Internet at that time, they solicited membership and only managed to gain about ten members.

⁸ Himona and Raharaha noted that non-Māori have seized some of the Māori domain names. For instance, the name <maori.co.nz> had been registered by a non-Māori in Southland before they could do it themselves. Raharaha managed to get <maori.org.nz>, and Himona registered <maori.net.nz> and <maori.gen.nz>. The gTLD names <maori.com> and <maori.net> had also been taken by non-Māori and registered for commercial purposes.

Nevertheless, they agreed to maintain the society and wait until more Māori became involved on the Internet. As any online society it needed active involvement and active support from a broad base of Internet users to become feasible. The Māori Internet Society page was located in Himona's own website, and sporadically received requests for information.

Early in 2000, after seeing a growing interest, they decided to re-launch NZMIS via an <egroups.com> email list. There was immediate interest from a group of Internet users who thought that the society should be incorporated, and who indicated that they were willing to play an active role. An interim executive was appointed to incorporate the society and hold elections. Karaitiana Taiuru became the chairman of that interim executive and incorporation was achieved later that year.

Among the goals of the NZMIS was to gather support and members so they could petition ISOCNZ for some more appropriate Māori 2LD names for Māori to use, such as <wananga.nz>, <maori.nz>, <kura.nz> or <hapu.nz>. For that reason, the society offered free membership and was open to all Māori and non-Māori, establishing also a supporters mail list. Furthermore, the NZMIS believed allocation of these would more appropriately be managed by them, instead of the ISOCNZ as well as the <iwi.nz> domain name, which was at that time, allocated by Te Puni Kōkiri on behalf of ISOCNZ.

6.2.3 The <iwi.nz> 2LD

The <iwi.nz> 2LD is a moderated level domain and was created as one of the ten initial 2LDs in Aotearoa/ New Zealand and is currently moderated by Taiuru. The early criteria for applying for an <iwi.nz> domain was somehow restrictive and as a result only a handful of iwi were able to register a domain name. Traditional Māori hāpu were not able to apply for a 2LD domain name

under the initial set of requirements. For some hāpu the only way was to get a sub-domain name. For instance, if the Ngāi Tuahuriri hāpu, part of the Ngāi Tahu iwi, wanted a domain name, a composite name was arranged as <http://www.tuahuriri.ngaitahu.iwi.nz>.

The criteria for applying for an <iwi.nz> domain name was later changed with the aim to be more inclusive of genuine Māori iwi. It now includes Moriori and certain Urban Māori groups. The three criteria, according to the official <iwi.nz> home page (<http://www.register.iwi.nz/>) are:

1. Must be a traditional Māori tribe, hāpu that belongs to a traditional Māori iwi or taura here iwi group operating with the permission of the main iwi;
2. Must be a legal body;
3. Only genuine Māori names are allowed in the domain pursuant to the following:
 - (a) If an iwi is known by an abbreviation then they shall be accepted with their abbreviation as their iwi name.
 - (b) Tribal project names and tribal owned companies are not be accepted in <iwi.nz>.

Seventy iwi names are registered in the <iwi.nz> domain name as of 2005 (the complete list is presented in Appendix C). The official <iwi.nz> home page listed it as the third smallest 2LD in <.nz> with <mil.nz> being the smallest with 15 registered names followed close behind by <cri.nz> being the second smallest (at <http://www.register.iwi.nz/>).

6.2.4 The <maori.nz> 2LD

In 1997, a submission made by the NZMIS was sent to ISOCNZ in support of a new Māori domain, <maori.nz>. Himona referred to it in an article on the history of the NZMIS,

...[T]he application was quite well supported given that it was submitted at very short notice. However, as this was a public process I then received what was my first avalanche of anti-Māori email. There were many more to come over the following years, from a variety of different online campaigns. I also received some very disparaging comments from a couple of members of ISOCNZ...(Ross Himona, at <http://maori2000.com/hiringa2/history.htm>),

Taiuru also argued with some of the ISOCNZ members which were against the creation of a new <maori.nz> domain,

The major concern ISOCNZ members have is that we are being racist by wanting our own <maori.nz> domain. My argument was that almost any race in the world can have their domains in their own language except for in New Zealand (where Māori is an official language) Māori are denied the right for their language to be used for second level domain names. It could easily be argued that some ISOCNZ members are the racists. But the Māori Internet Society is not prepared to entertain any race arguments against ISOCNZ.

There are differing versions as to how the submission process and later establishment of <maori.nz> was achieved. According to the Aotearoa Māori Internet Organisation's (AMIO) website history, ISOCNZ advised NZMIS that the submission lacked sufficient content and it was rejected on that basis. Steven Heath (2004), former councillor of ISOCNZ argued instead, that the application was withdrawn voluntarily,

...This is incorrect. I was appointed by the InternetNZ council [at that time ISOCNZ] to work through the policy issues of the <maori.nz> submission. InternetNZ never rejected the application but in turn suggested that the application be withdrawn by the applicant and resubmitted due to major flaws. Some of the flaws were that it was to be moderated based on content of the <maori.nz> websites. Domain

names support more than just websites but the application was based on the assumption that domain names only supported websites. Other less serious flaws were also in the application.

Sue Leader and myself met with the representative of the applicant to discuss the application. At this meeting I recommended that due to the flaws in the application that it might want to be withdrawn and amended without prejudice. We stated that if the applicant did not wish to withdraw it InternetNZ would accept it, as the policy was unclear on what occurs if the application was deficient in key areas. I actually stated that if the applicant wished InternetNZ would publish the application and call for the discussion period to start within days as per the policy. I stated I did not think that would support the eventual outcome of a <maori.nz> 2LD being created.

The applicant willingly withdrew the application without prejudice. The revised application was resubmitted about 6 months later...

Either way, ten months later a second submission for <maori.nz> was accepted and passed the scrutiny of InternetNZ council members. A public vote that concluded on March 12, 2002, saw Māori as the first indigenous people in the world to have their own 2LD name.

Once achieved the main objective for its creation, and shortly after the vote had occurred the NZMIS executive all resigned. Following this seemingly disappearance of the sole Māori internet representative, a new group, the Aotearoa Māori Internet Organisation (AMIO) was created by several of the former executives of the NZMIS, including past chairs Karaitiana Taiuru and Bernadette Murray, and past vice-chair Te Rangikaiwhiria Kemara, with the support of the former NZMIS kaumātua, Ross Himona.

Nowadays, AMIO administers the use of <maori.nz> and actively promotes within Māori organisations the use of the domain name, which currently reports a low number of registrations. “Despite the fact that there has been an increase in Māori web sites in recent years the number of registrations to <maori.nz> has been minimal,” expressed a press statement sent by AMIO to

several Māori organisations in April 2004 (<http://www.amio.maori.nz/forums/viewtopic.php?t=95&1ce87628cbffd6f8c9798083eb1faae2=b83f5f292d7d0948e08fa06d1261fa6c>).

6.3 TAONGA AND MĀORI IDENTITY IN A DIGITAL ENVIRONMENT: SOME ISSUES

Several authors have illustrated how Indigenous peoples are using the Internet with the aim of self-determination and to support their goals as well as for preserving their heritage. For instance, Roy and Raitt (2003) noted, “[T]echnology may provide native peoples with new ammunition to express and extend themselves” (p.412). Similarly, several other writers have warned about the issues of ownership and access to Indigenous cultural material. One of these authors is Howe, who cautioned,

“[t]he pervasive universalism and individualism of the World Wide Web are antithetical to the particular localities, societies, moralities, and experiences that constitute tribalism. The Internet is an exceedingly deceptive technology whose power is immensely attractive to American Indians. But until its universalistic and individualistic foundation is restructured to incorporate spatial, social, spiritual, and experiential dimensions that particularize its application, cyberspace is no place for tribalism” (1998, p.27).

Howe further argued that if Indian communities wish to stake out a place in cyberspace, they must understand that in doing so they are capitulating to the underlying philosophy of the Internet. This section identifies some of the issues –positives and negatives– raised in the scholarly body of literature that arise when Indigenous peoples’ culture is placed in a digital networked environment.

Leuthold (1998) stated that Indigenous cultures’ outreach to new audiences and for new technologies reflected efforts at self-determination but also at

intercultural communication, to educate the wider community about contemporary Indigenous life. However, he also articulated it was not without dangers.

The distribution of images out of their local context, and the loss of control entailed by wider distribution, may end up compromising the cultural conventions and practices that Native Americans wish to maintain. But members of native cultures also recognize the value in identifying and describing their art and culture to the rest of the world (p.74).

Roy and Raitt (2003) argued that while information technology brings tools to assist Indigenous peoples in documenting, preserving, and interpreting cultural material, such applications bring up questions related to issues of ownership and access. Furthermore, they observed that even within tribal communities, there are varying levels of access to information: in some cultures information may be shared during certain times of the year, in others, information may be shared only with those who meet qualifications of gender or level of expertise or training, and in some others, information might have designated custodians or caretakers. Therefore, they regarded “open access to material must be balanced with a native community’s right to control delivery of content” (p.412).

Falconer (2003) also focused on ownership and access rights to Indigenous – Māori– information. From a record-keeping perspective, she argued that Māori knowledge management should: determine who has access (both public viewing and staff editing rights); provide systems of accountability and accuracy; provide thesauri, descriptive standards; provide procedures for version control, editing, classification, issuing/copying of material; and include programmes for ongoing preservation or migration of electronic data. Falconer added, “perhaps issues of ownership and access are best managed from the point of record creation” (p.462).

On the issue of intellectual and cultural property rights, several authors (Mead, 1997; Smith, 1997; Kamira, 2003) have expressed the need to redefine intellectual property laws, as they considered are inadequate to protect Indigenous knowledge.

Bowers et al (2000) pointed out that computers could be highly useful for Indigenous peoples in maintaining networks of communication, sharing information between culture groups, enabling people to communicate with each other over vast distances, increase their effectiveness in the political arena, recover indigenous languages, and furthering employment opportunities. In spite of the many beneficial uses of computers, Bowers et al questioned the claim that computers are a cultural neutral technology and opposed not to the content but to the delivery form and language used, which they considered highly pervasive to Indigenous cultures. They noted, “computers contribute to undermining the cultural diversity alternative to a global consumer and technologically dependent monoculture” (p.183).

Their argument was that computers reinforce a rootless form of individualism and that continue the tradition of representing print as a form of cultural storage that is more progressive than the oral tradition. Therefore, they asked when Indigenous peoples engage in computer-based communication, “[W]hat changes in cultural ways of thinking, values, and interaction are reinforced?” (p.189).

Robyn Kamira (2003), Director of Paua Interface Ltd and founding trust member of Te Wairere Wahine (the Society for Professional Māori Women in Information Technology) wrote a paper reviewing the predictions and impacts of early information technology on Māori and examined whether IT could have positive and long-term impact on the socio-economic status of

Indigenous peoples. She emphasised that we can extract relevant lessons in the IT era from our colonial past and reflected as to whether information technology acted as a colonisation tool,

If the coloniser has control of information technology, and is in a position to validate, discard or modify knowledge, then information technology becomes a tool for further colonisation...[T]here is a threat again to have our stories and histories reproduced by others who have no stake in their integrity or survival (p.467).

In this point, Kamira agreed with Mander whom in his book, *In the Absence of the Sacred: The Failure of Technology and the Survival of the Indian Nations* (1991), urged to think about the uncritical adoption of technology, the expansion of capitalism and the centralisation of power. Mander argued that technologies like television and computers extend corporate control in society and promote the uncaring consumption of natural resources, with devastating consequences for native cultures worldwide.

On the positive side, Kamira acknowledged that information technology is having, and will continue to have, “a significant impact on language resurgence” together with a revival of Māori social and cultural identity, previously undermined with the loss of land, mass dislocation, isolation and separation from ancestral knowledge (2003, p.468).

Smith and Sullivan’s *Māori electronic information: Issues and Resources* (1996) monograph added important insights on the issues that arise from the storage and dissemination of Māori information in electronic form, including online information resources and locally held resources. They discussed a number of positive and negative reasons for making available information in electronic form. Among the positives, Smith and Sullivan listed the easy access, distribution, searching capabilities and creation of material as well as the decreasing costs of hardware, software and network connections. Also,

they highlighted that Māori electronic information “can be made available to Pākehā and Taiwi to increase understanding of Māori culture, promoting biculturalism,” raising the profile of Māori culture and “demonstrating that IT is compatible with tikanga Māori” (p.111).

On the contrary, among the negative reasons for making Māori information available in electronic form, Smith and Sullivan listed the loss of control of knowledge due to the little or non-control existent in the Internet environment; conflicts between Māori cultural values and appropriateness and the liberal attitude to information on the Internet; intellectual and cultural property rights; access restrictions and the commercialisation of information. Also, they mentioned the technical barrier existent for the correct use of te reo Māori in electronic form, with the absence of the macron to indicate a long vowel. Smith (1997) further discussed these issues in a latter paper, *Fishing with new nets: Māori Internet Information Resources and Implications of the Internet for Indigenous Peoples*.

With regard to access issues, in Aotearoa/ New Zealand according to a report *Māori Access to Information Technology*, by Te Puni Kōkiri (2001), there was evidence of the existence of a digital divide based on income (low and high), education (highly qualified and less qualified), location (urban and rural), and ethnic group (Māori, Pacific Island, and other). Concentrating only on the ethnic divide –although there was clearly some correlation between ethnicity and the other variables– and compared to all other ethnic groups combined, Māori:

- Are under-represented in IT-related occupations
- Are under-represented in IT education courses
- Have lower computer ownership rates
- Have lower Internet usage rates

- Are less likely to use new voice communications technologies.⁹

There is no doubt then, given the available data, that Māori have less access to digital technology than other New Zealanders. However, the fact that ethnicity and access to technology are correlated does not imply that one causes the other. Rather, the report pointed out that it might be that low income, low levels of education, and a greater concentration of population in rural areas – all things also correlated with Māori ethnicity– are the cause of low Māori rates of technology take-up.

Web market research in by AGB McNair ('NETRAP - Web Market research', at <http://www.netspace.co.nz/netrap/market.html>) shows that about six percent of New Zealand's Internet users were Māori, less than half of their proportionate representation in the general population. Moreover, Smith (1997) pointed out that while there is a significant amount of Māori information on the Web, it is mostly accessed by non-Māori. Therefore, a number of authors have shifted their attention from making Māori information available on the Web to providing them with access to it (Smith, 1997; Shields, 1998, 1999; Parker, 2003).

Clearly, the impact of technology on Indigenous people culture and identity is yet to be fully documented and understood. While there is no proof, for instance, that information technology can help improve the socio-economic status of Indigenous peoples, there is some optimism. For example, Kamira said, "While information technology could potentially have a similar impact on our knowledge to that of early colonisation, it did not completely destroy

⁹ From ACNielsen, Netwatch 2000. Also, the report 'The digital Divide and Māori', prepared by Te Puni Kōkiri (2001), shows that in the year 2000, 45 % of working-age New Zealanders had access to the Internet, but only 26 % of Māori could say the same. The cost of access was a particularly important barrier to Māori wanting to use, but not using, the Internet. Another barrier to the Internet in the case of access from home was the lack of a telephone line. As a result of reduced Internet access, Māori were less likely than European New Zealanders to use the World Wide Web, Internet e-mail, or make purchases across the Web.

our culture. In many cases, the ‘written word’, as an example, has preserved it” (2003, p.473-474). Likewise, Roy and Raitt opted for a positive outlook to technology when they expressed, “Given their power of resilience, it is a safe bet that tribal people will use information technology to advance their survival in novel and unexpected ways” (2003, p.413).

6.4 MĀORI PRESENCE ON THE WEB

As mentioned in Section 6.2.1 Māori made an early appearance on the Internet in 1995. The number of Māori-run websites continues to expand and the content of these sites varies depending on a number of factors, including the audience, purpose and context of the site, geographic distribution of iwi members, economic factors, tribal policies, and the digital divide. Some sites are geared primarily to non-Māori and the general public, while others are designed to reach out to those iwi members who live far from iwi rohe. At the same time, some sites are created and maintained by iwi, organisations and individuals.

This section looks at selected Māori websites grouped under Alexander and Tate’s (1999) classification of WebPages: advocacy sites, business/ marketing sites, informational sites, news sites and personal home pages. Other classifications abound such as the one proposed by Mitten (2003) which lists mega sites/ clearing-houses, tribal web sites, Indian organizations, education websites, native media, businesses, music and languages. Another classification list is found in NativeWeb, an international non-profit organization that foster communication links among and about Indigenous peoples (at <http://www.nativeweb.org>).

Māori websites have been created and used from the onset as a public sphere to tell the world who they are on their own terms. Consequently, when

selecting websites for this section the overriding factor has been finding web pages created or sponsored by Māori, rather than about Māori. Whether they are directed to iwi members, the non-Māori public, or both have not influenced the selection.

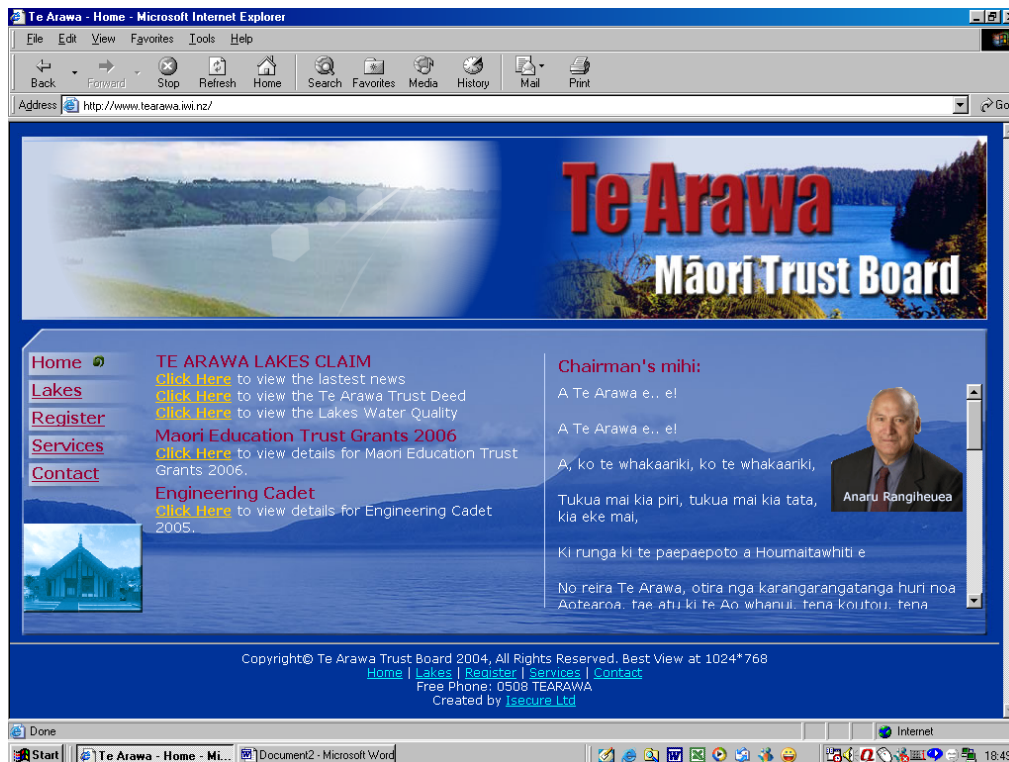
Still, determining the “authenticity” of websites constituted a difficult exercise since there are a plethora of sites purporting to be Māori that are in fact produced by people who just “like Māori/ Indigenous issues” or “admire Māori cultural expressions”. As Mitten pointed out when reviewing Native American Websites, “the issue is fraught with minefields, and mistakes can and will be made” (2003, p.444).

6.4.1 Māori advocacy sites

Alexander and Tate recognised as an advocacy web page “one with the primary purpose of influencing public opinion. The purpose may be either to influence people’s ideas or to encourage activism, and either a single individual or a group of people may be responsible for the page” (1999, p.58).

A number of Māori iwi have established their own web pages,¹⁰ as advocacy sites. Te Arawa iwi, for instance, maintains a site at <http://www.tearawa.iwi.nz/index.htm> relating to its claim of 14 Rotorua lakes and provides information about the latest progress updates, the Deed of Settlement and a newsletter with upcoming hui and other news of Te Arawa rohe.

¹⁰ Most of them are listed in the existing <iwi.nz> sites list in Appendix C.

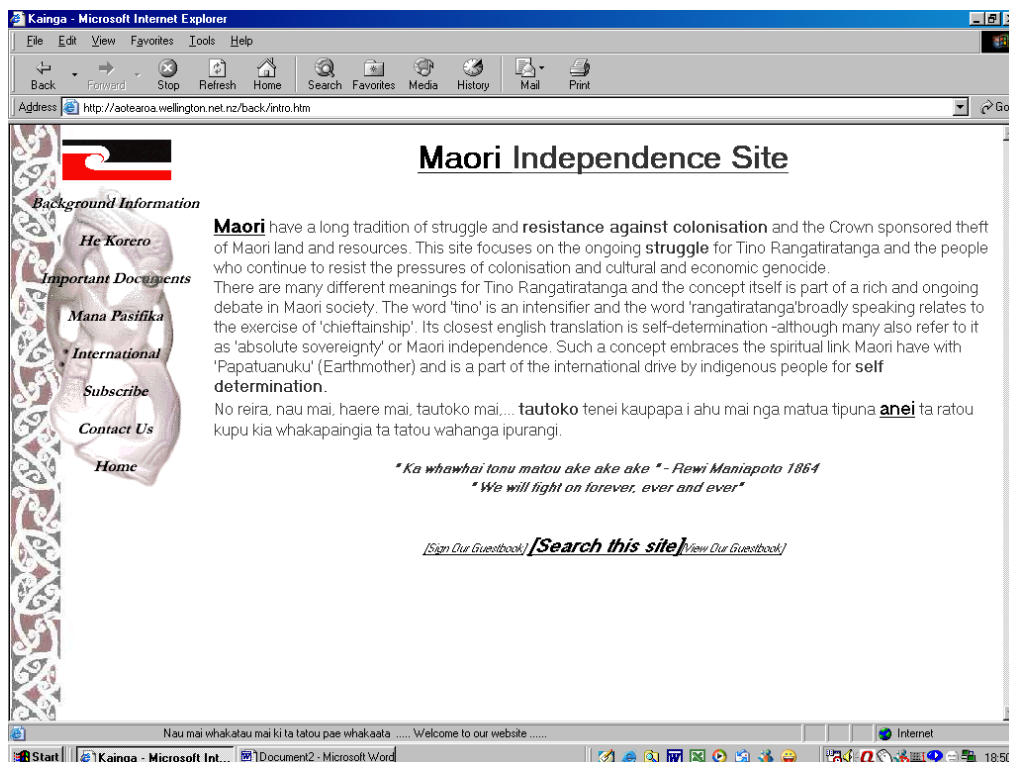


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Another advocacy website example can be found in the *Māori Independence Site*, which promotes indigenous people's self-determination or tino rangatiratanga. It shows the following characteristics, which clearly identifies the page as an advocacy site:

- Promotes a cause and seeks to influence people's opinion: "The site focuses on the ongoing struggle for Tino Rangatiratanga and the people who continue to resist the pressures of colonisation and cultural and economic genocide";
- The page provides a point of contact for like-minded people. It links to international websites that support indigenous sovereignty worldwide and a collection of articles against neo-liberalism;

- The page provides a link to a way of subscribing to the organisation. It has a email list and forum of discussions for those people who support the implementation of Tino Rangatiratanga;
- *Māori Independence Site* encourages political activism. The simple action of joining its email list implies –if not a committed support for the cause– a degree of interest for its topic.



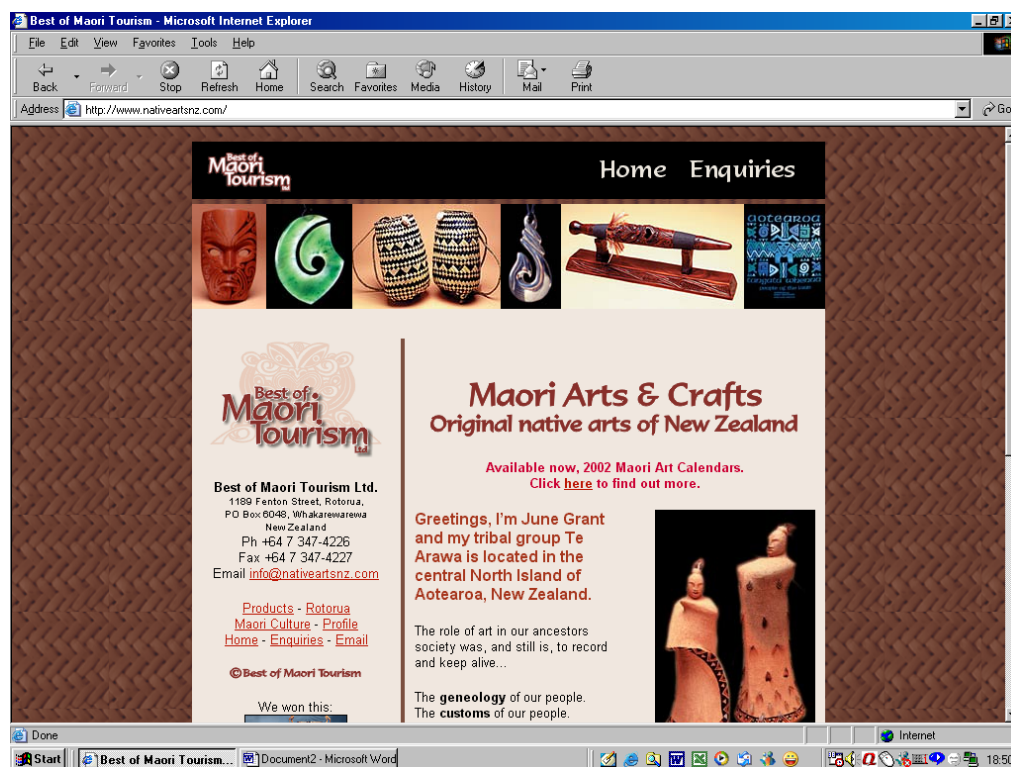
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6.4.2 Māori business sites

Numerous Māori business sites promote a range of activities including arts and crafts, Information Technology and fisheries. Most are listed in various online directories such as the E-commerce list of the Federation of Māori Authorities Inc (FoMA) website (http://www.foma.co.nz/static/e_commerce/e-

commerce.html#it_communications), the Māori Business Directory (<http://www.maoribiz.co.nz/>), and the Poutama Trust Business Directory (<http://bd.poutama.co.nz/public/registration>).

The *Best of Māori Tourism* at <http://www.nativeartsnz.com/>, for instance, is a Māori arts and crafts online store that sells artworks, carvings, jewellery, pottery, clothing, weaving and music; all designed and made by Māori artists. It provides the company's catalogue online, a profile of the manager artist, a description of the Rotorua region and highlights of Māori culture.



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There are several other Māori business sites whose primary purpose is promoting products rather than selling them. Such is the case of *He Wahi Whakairo* (<http://www.maori.org.nz/whakairo/>), which sponsors enterprises of bone and stone carving. Also, *Ta Moko* (<http://www.tamoko.org.nz/>) that

showcases different styles of tattooing and artists working around Aotearoa/ New Zealand and overseas, and *Māori-Arts.com*, at <http://www.maori-arts.com/weaving/index.htm>, that promotes Māori weaving techniques.

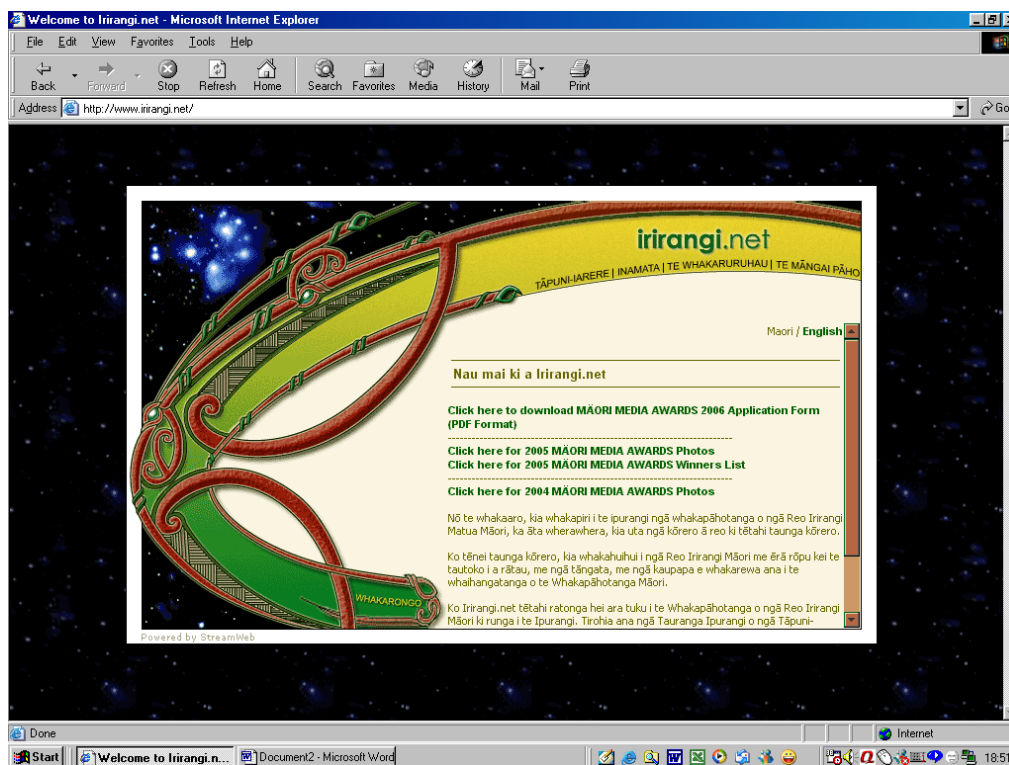
6.4.3 Māori informational sites

Among the informational sites whose primary purpose is “providing factual information” (Alexander and Tate, 1999, p.70) such as research reports, statistical information, schedule or calendars of events and directory of names or businesses is the *Māori Development Web Directory* (http://www.mdrc.co.nz/info.php?info_id=22) of the Māori Development Research Centre (MDRC) which went online on 10 January 2005. It is a directory of websites related to Māori Development divided into two sections: by subject and by type of organisation.



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The portal of Te Whakaruruhau o Nga reo Irirangi Māori, The Federation of Māori Radio Stations, *Irirangi.net*, can also be classified as an informational site. It provides links to major Māori radio stations available on the Internet, information by Te Mangai Pāho and Te Whakaruruhau as well as some personal recollections about the Māori broadcasting history. The site is principally an informational gateway giving context to the Māori audio streams online.



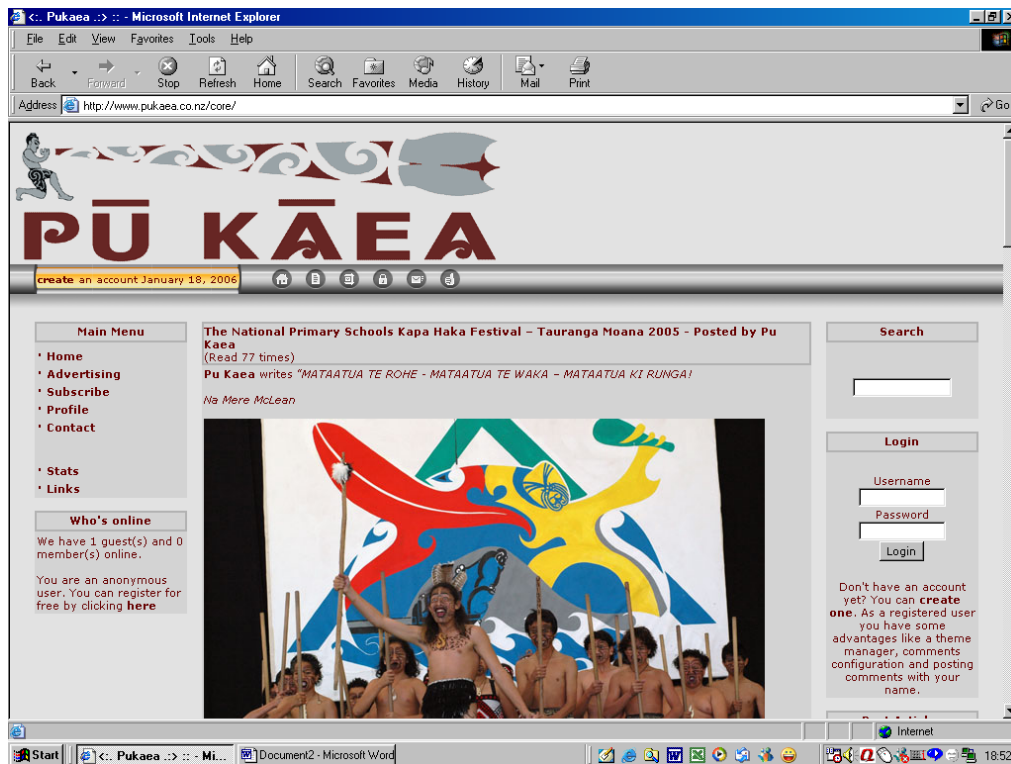
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Another example of an informational site is *Toi te Kupu* by Te Pūtahi-ā-Toi, the School of Māori Studies at Massey University (<http://www.toitekupu.org.nz/>), a database of published Māori language resources.

6.4.4 Māori news sites

According to Alexander and Tate, a news web page is “one with the primary purpose of providing current information on local, regional, national, or international events, or providing news in a particular subject area” (1999, p.83). Māori news websites are represented by several sites, including the *Māori Law Review* (<http://www.kennett.co.nz/maorilaw/>), which aims to be a formal law reporter; *Aotearoa Café*, a Māori online forum (<http://www.aocafe.com/forums>), with general topics such as Māori kai, health and well-being and te reo Māori; the site of *Pū Kāea* (<http://www.pukaea.co.nz/core/>), which offers some of its printed-version news online together with an open forum; and *Te Putatara* (<http://maorinews.com/putatara/>), which offers a more individual and idiosyncratic style of commentary.

Information presented in *Pū Kāea* included community events, such as the National Primary Schools Kappa Haka Festival. Issues of importance to Māori in general, as an edited excerpt of an interview with Jim Mather, appointed as the Māori Television Services chief executive was posted. Also, allegations made under the protection of Parliamentary privilege against Te Wananga O Aotearoa, and reports on a hikoi in Dunedin. The site offered the possibility of posting comments on stories. Another feature was public people-meter and it distinguished between members or guests.

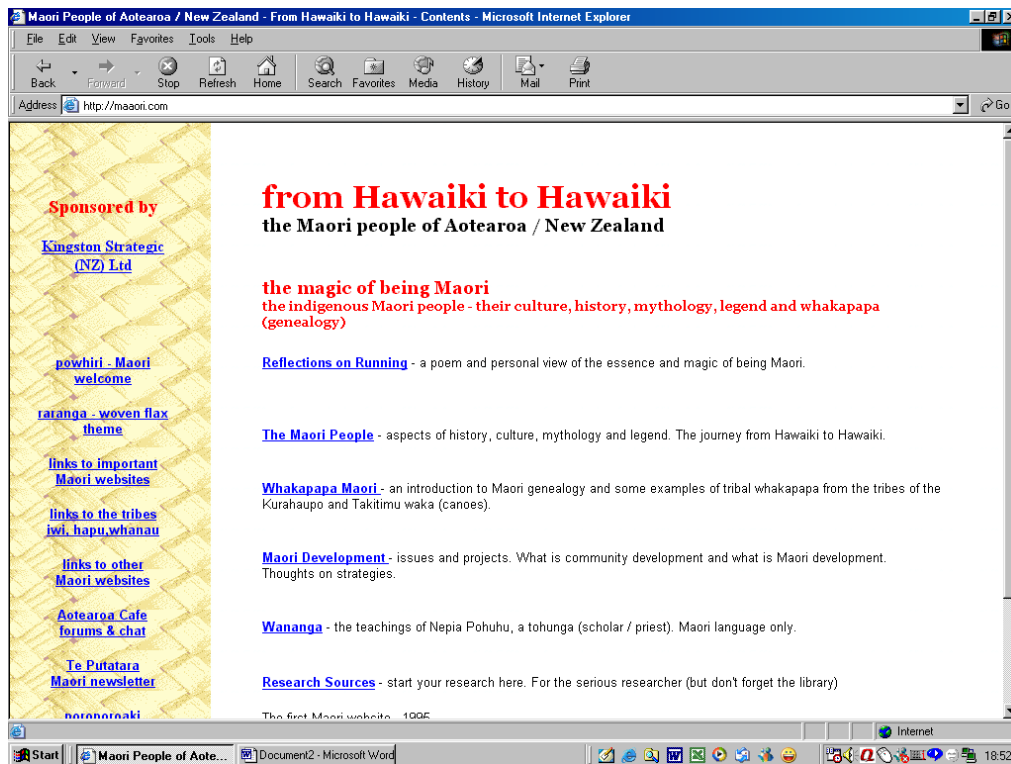


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6.4.5 Personal and familiar home pages

A personal or familiar Web page is created by an individual who might or might not be affiliated with a larger institution. Personal pages are as diverse as the creators themselves and include, among numerous other things, pages that showcase an individual's artistic talents or are devoted to a favourite hobby or pastime (Alexander and Tate, 1999, p.88).

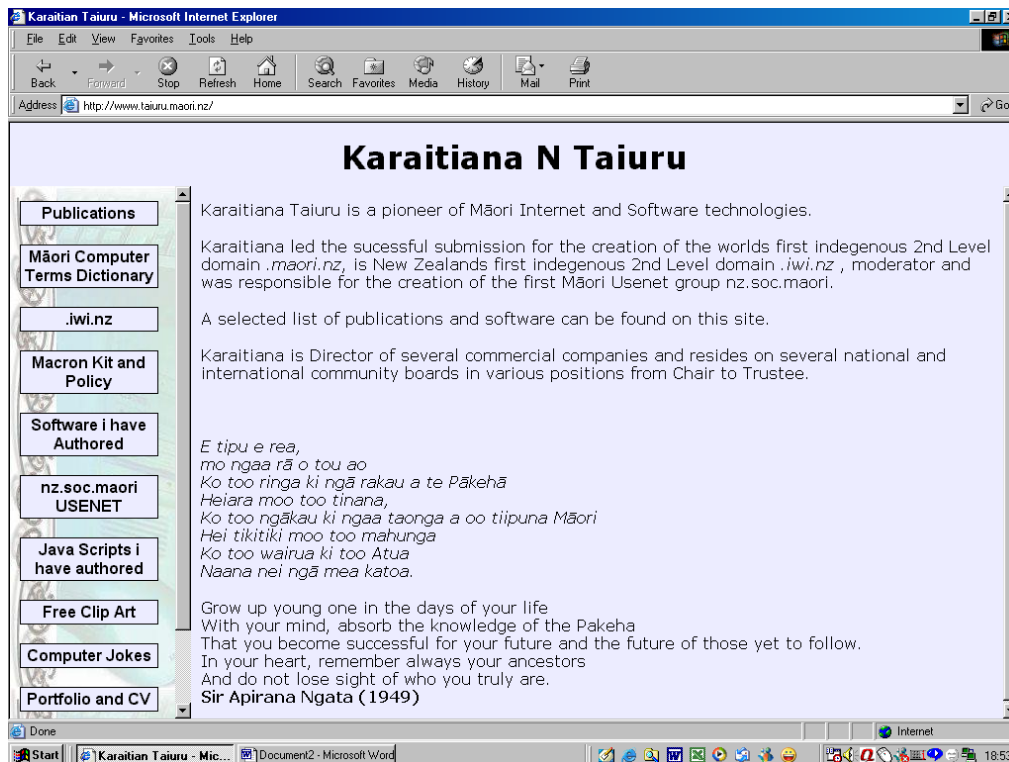
Many Māori have personal and familiar pages. Noteworthy is Ross Himona's *From Hawaiki to Hawaiki* (<http://maaori.com/>), online since 1995 in which he presents a personal view of the essence of being Māori and aspects of history, culture, mythology and legend and whakapapa Māori. Himona has also another personal site, *Ross Himona Online*, at <http://maaori.com/rhimona/> that collates websites, research, writing, news, views and commentaries.



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Other examples of personal web pages are the *Home Page of Joe Tipene* (<http://www.genealogy.com/genealogy/users/t/i/p/Joe--H-Tipene/>) and *Karaitiana Taiuru Home Page* (<http://www.taiuru.maori.nz/>), a pioneer of Māori Internet and software technologies and current moderator of <.iwi.nz>. The inclusion of elements commonly found on other types of web pages is a normal occurrence on personal web pages. For example, Taiuru home page includes links to:

- Advocacy organisations pages (nz.soc.maori and the official site of <.iwi.nz>)
- Informational pages (Māori computer terms dictionary)
- Entertainment pages (a collection of computer jokes)
- Business pages (his own portfolio with access restricted to authorised users)



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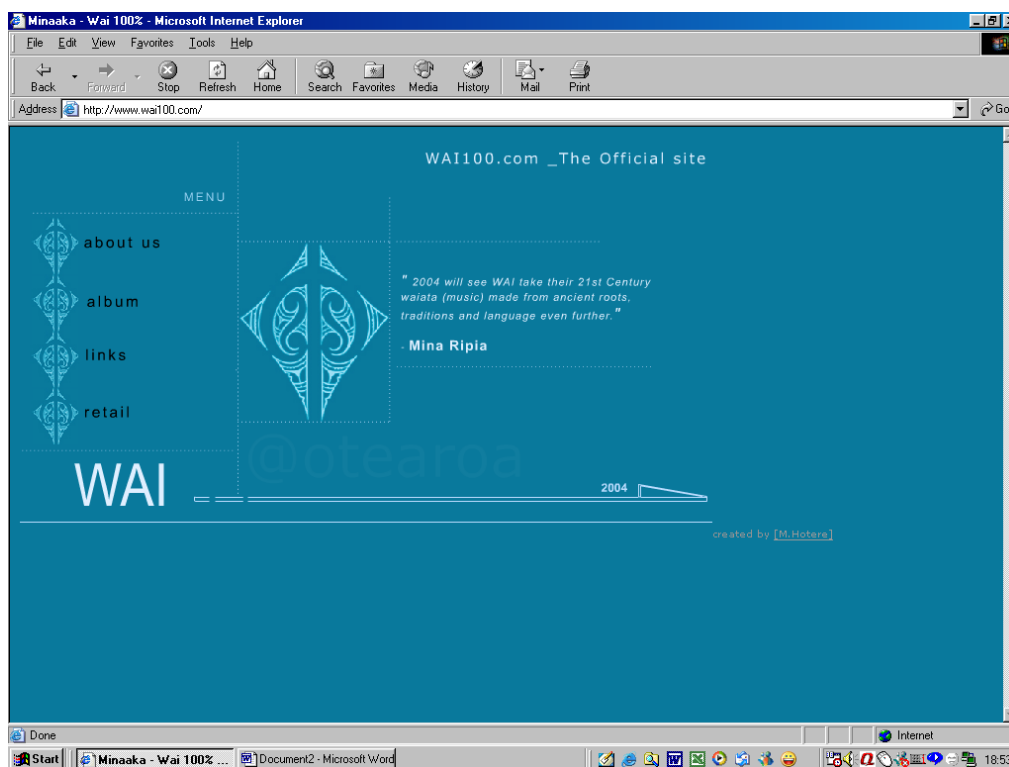
Among the whānau or familial pages is *The Rika Whānau* (<http://teuruoteao.tripod.com/>), a compilation of biographies of the descendents of Te Uru O Te Ao (Pompey) Rika. The *Komene Whanau* page at <http://komene.tripod.com/> publishes birthdays, sports achievements of young members of the family and pictures. *Te Whānau a Wihongi* page (<http://www.tribalpages.com/tribe/browse?userid=wihongi&rand=30709>) shares the Wihongi family tree, web photo album, events and addresses.

6.4.6 Māori entertainment sites

According to Alexander and Tate (1999, p.91), an entertainment web page is “one with the primary purpose of providing enjoyment to its users by means of humour, games, music, drama, or other similar types of activities.” However, pages are not always created merely for entertainment but instead may also

serve as a vehicle for business, marketing or educational purposes. An example of pages that perform dual roles is the official site of *Wai 100 %* (<http://www.wai100.com/>), an music album by Wai, a Māori group that:

- Promotes and sells a music album
- Promotes the group public image and profile
- Teaches different styles of Māori waiata and some Te reo Māori



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Karaitiana N Taiuru Home Page (<http://www.taiuru.maori.nz/>) and the *Māori Organisations of New Zealand* (<http://www.maori.org.nz/>) are examples of pages that use entertainment for a variety of reasons. However, entertainment is not their primary purpose. The latter site gives visitors the opportunity to send Māori greeting cards with a selection of pictures, backgrounds and

music. Taiuru's page has a compilation of computer jokes and cartoons among other information technology-related articles.

6.5 SUMMARY

Section 6.4 shows that there is a broad range of Māori information resources on the Web, and that Māori have been publishing online, promoting Māori interests and creating an authentic Māori presence and a new public sphere there. Māori Internet/ online production cannot be defined by a single set of properties. Rather, Māori Internet ventures are characterised by heterogeneous claims and practices. The heterogeneity is apparent from the Māori websites reviewed.

Section 6.2 shows that there have been important developments in making accessible and establishing Māori domain names, and that there is a rise of Māori Internet Service Providers. However, as many services are online, much is yet to be done about preparing Māori people for getting the best from the facilities of the Internet. As Phillips noted in his article *The Way Ahead*, published in the NZMIS digital library,

...[I]t might be helpful to look at the work of the New Zealand Māori Internet Society (NZMIS) from the point of view of the way a hui operates. There are folks whose job requires them to be on the paepae; they welcome the visitors and take a leading part in the public business of the hui. Then, there are the organisers including people like the ringawera; who look after the nuts and bolts of the hui who make sure that things like food, tables and chairs are available in sufficient numbers for everyone who comes. And finally there are those who help the guests, those for whom the whole organisation work.

We have rightly had our attention drawn to this last group. We can set up domain names, sort out cheap ISPs, arrange for computers to be provided to our people but unless they actually get on the Net and are able to use the facilities arranged for them all the work is in vain.

(Published in the New Zealand Māori Internet Society, Te Whanau Ipurangi web site at <http://www.nzmis.org.nz/lib/articles/ara.htm>)

The issue has been also pointed out in studies on digital divides and Internet usage by ethnic groups.¹¹ *The Digital Divide and Māori* (2001) report presented statistical evidence that Māori have no ready access to the digital technologies. Of course, this divide between Māori and other is not solely based on ethnicity but on a series of associated factors such as income, education, and location (whether urban or rural).

Therefore, while developments have been considerable in setting up a platform for a Māori digital environment, with an increase in Māori e-publishing and Māori services online, evidence shows that Māori people make modest use of these Māori Internet-based resources.

A number of issues were discussed in Section 6.3 that arise when Indigenous culture is placed in a digital environment and when Indigenous peoples embrace digital technologies such as the undermining of cultural diversity, reinforcement of individualism and Western way of thinking and values, Māori knowledge management, loss of control over Indigenous information, and intellectual and cultural property rights, added to the fact Māori do not have ready access to digital technologies and lack the skill level and understanding required could delay or obliterate a better use of the Internet as a public sphere by Māori people. As the issue stands now, despite being the medium that requires the least financial investment to set up –compared with print or broadcasting media– it is the least explored by Māori.

¹¹ See, for instance, U.S. National Telecommunications & Information Administration (NTIA) (1999), 'Falling Through the Net: Defining the Digital Divide'; Te Puni Kōkiri (2001), 'The Digital Divide and Māori'; and Parker (2003), 'Māori access to Information Technology'.

WĀHANGA TUAWHĀ
PART FOUR

MĀORI RADIO

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MĀORI BROADCASTING

Kauaka e warewaretia ngā pākeke o te reo irirangi! Nā rātou i takahi te huarahi o te ao Māori me te ao Pākeha ki te paoho te reo Māori me o mātou tikanga i runga o te reo irirangi. No reira, mihi mai ki a rātou.

(Remember the kaumātua of Māori broadcasting – those who pioneered the broadcasting highway we, as broadcasters, are travelling along today. They were comfortable in both Māori and Pākeha worlds and carried with them tikanga, and reo. So, greet them).

*Henare R. te Ua, 'A brief history of Māori radio broadcasting',
(<http://www.irirangi.net/>)*

7.1 HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF MĀORI RADIO BROADCASTING¹

While public broadcasting in Aotearoa/ New Zealand had its beginnings in 1925², the foundations of what could be seen as today's Māori radio broadcasting were laid around a decade later when Professor James Shelley, Director of early broadcasting, appointed four Māori air-staff, located each in the four main centres. In the North Island were appointed Ngāti Whātua's Lou Paul –a skilled singer and musician– in Auckland, and Kingi Tahiwī of Ngāti Raukawa –who later died over North Africa while serving with the Royal Air Force– in Wellington. In the South Island, Ngāi Tahu's Te Ari Pitama was appointed in Christchurch, and Wharekauri (Chatham Islands') Airini Grennell in Dunedin.

While they were not appointed as “Māori broadcasters nor as te reo Māori broadcasters”, they were bi-culturally adept broadcasters who were Māori and with command of te reo which they used on-air when feasible. Nowadays, they are seen as pioneers. Māori broadcaster Henare te Ua says it was “their personal, outgoing charismas that quietly opened their Pākeha colleagues' insights into te ao Māori (the Māori world) and were at the genesis of Māori broadcasting.” (‘A brief History of Māori radio broadcasting,’ personal recollection, Irirangi Net, at <http://www.irirangi.net/>).

¹ This is not an exhaustive account of Māori broadcasting history. Instead, the information documented here is the product of readings of several papers and speeches by Māori broadcasters and historians and personal notes taken after listening to selected sound archives from Ngā Taonga Kōrero Mobile Unit-Wartime Recordings, Māori Tape Collection, Mobile Unit-New Zealand Oral History and the Māori Acetate Collection. The accounts also include some personal remarks of broadcasters found in the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>.

² Under a five-year contract, the government granted the Radio Broadcasting Company substantial income from radio dealers' licences and 25 shillings from each receiving licence on the condition that the company expand four existing stations in the main centres to establish a national non-commercial broadcasting system. It is considered the direct forerunner of today's National Radio (Radio New Zealand, Brief History, retrieved from <http://www.radionz.co.nz/index.php?section=about>).

Another breakthrough came during the early 1940s when Māori kaumātua requested parliamentarians to broadcast in te reo Māori the activities of the New Zealand (28) Māori Battalion. The appeal was successful and Wiremu Parker, a civil servant engaged with the Department of Education, a lecturer at Victoria University, bilingual, and familiar with Government policies, was appointed first Māori news reader to present a weekly fifteen-minute news bulletin in te reo Māori.

Despite this step forward for Māori broadcasting that on a regular basis and for a few minutes a week te reo was being used on-air, Parker did not have editorial freedom. Each news item he translated and read on his news bulletin came from the office of the Prime Minister and for that reason the programme was hardly of any interest or relevance to Māori listeners. Parker gained eventually some editorial freedom after reading an unauthorised item –an obituary of a prominent Ngāti Kahungunu rangatira and the name of the marae where the tangi would take place– arguing about the relevance of the news for the bulletin’s listeners.³

During the 1950s, Ted Nēpia, a teacher who had served with the New Zealand (28) Māori Battalion broadcasted a weekly twenty-minute Māori current affairs programme from Napier. Completely in Māori, *Te Reo O Te Māori* continued for many years and later became absorbed into New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation’s Māori Programmes Section set up in 1964 under the management of Leo Fowler.⁴

³ See “A brief History of Māori radio broadcasting, personal recollection”, by Henare te Ua, Irirangi Net, at <http://www.irirangi.net/> for a vivid narration of the event.

⁴ The *Ngā Taonga Kōrero Collection* (Māori Tape Collections, radio archive held in Auckland) holds recording of this programme from 1966 onwards, although it began several years earlier. In 1975 *Te Reo O Te Māori* was renamed *Te Reo o te Pipiwharauoa* and its production was taken over by Selwyn Muru. It was regarded as the “flagship” programme of the unit’s programme output. Subsequent producers included Wiremu Kerekere, Whai Ngata, Purewa Biddle, Haare Williams, Te Pere Curtis, Pou Temara, Te Arani Peita, Maihi Nikora and Hemana Waaka. Production ceased in 1997.

Fowler, who joined radio in 1937 and had wide broadcasting knowledge, and with Wiremu Kerekere, who was a skilled linguist, a renowned Māori composer and pianist, cultural tutor and leader of the Waihirere Māori Club, both initiated the Māori Programmes Section⁵.

Sound archives of the New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation show both Fowler and Kerekere taking a mobile broadcasting studio throughout New Zealand recording reminiscences from both Māori and Pākehā people. They became familiar sights at major hui, tangihanga, Hui Toopu, Hui Aranga, cultural festivals, Coronation hui and at Waitangi. The programmes were narrated either by Kerekere or Parker.

Māori broadcasters who joined the Māori Programmes Section included Selwyn Muru and Haare Williams, both based in Auckland, and Whai Ngata, Hāmuera Mitchell and John Rōpata in Wellington. The Section produced magazine programmes, news bulletins, and current affairs programmes. When Fowler died in 1976, Kerekere became manager.⁶

A programme in English, *Te Puna Wai Kōrero* was established by Selwyn Muru in 1971, aimed to reflect aspects of concern to the Māori people. It highlighted basic Māori concerns, the prisons, social work and Māori wanting a better deal in the hierarchical structures in this country. Muru produced the

⁵ Te Ua, Henare. 'Fowler, Percy Leo 1902 – 1976.' In *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 16 December 2003. URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>.

⁶ The *Ngā Taonga Kōrero Collection* (Māori Tape Collections, radio archive held in Auckland) holds several major series of recorded programmes. There are 650 tapes from the early Fowler/ Kerekere/ Parker era. This series bears the simple name *Māori Programmes*. In many instances the original scripts still exist. In 1977 this series became known as *Te Mana Māori*, and from 1979, *He Rerenga Kōrero*. Wiremu Kerekere continued his input into the series until his retirement in 1984, though later programmes were produced by Haare Williams and Henare te Ua. This programme finally ended in 1996.

programme until 1978. Subsequent producers were Whai Ngata (1978-81) and Henare Te Ua (1981-96).⁷

In the mid-1970s, Pacific Islands people echoed the Māori plea, for a voice on-air. Derek Fox was seconded from Television New Zealand to set up a radio broadcasting unit which included both Māori and Pacific broadcasters. This led to the birth in 1978 of *Te Reo O Aotearoa*, Radio New Zealand's Māori and Pacific Islands' Broadcasting Unit. Haare Williams was appointed manager and he drew into his Māori team Pūrewa Biddle, Te Pere Curtis, John Tūrei and Whai Ngata.

Te Reo O Aotearoa survived twenty years, broadcasting in Māori, Samoan, Tongan, Cook Islands' Māori, Niuean, Tokelauan and Fijian vernacular languages. Part-time Māori news broadcasters included Hōhua Tutengaehe, Hahona Paraki, Pou Temara, and Te Awaroa Nēpia. *Te Reo O Aotearoa's* Māori section was augmented by Pacific Islands voices and issues that were reported on it. Henare te Ua succeeded Williams as manager when he became general manager of Radio Aotearoa.

In 1984, Koro Wetere, then Minister of Māori Affairs convened *Te Hui Taumata* focussing on furthering Māori economic development. One of the major areas discussed was Māori Broadcasting. After the hui, Wetere appointed an advisory committee "to prepare a five-year development plan for Māori Broadcasting that embraces television and radio". Under the chairmanship of Toby Curtis, members included Donna Awatere, Graeme Edwin, Derek Fox, Ernie Leonard, Mereta Mita, Don Selwyn, Haare Williams and Henare te Ua. The completed report was forwarded to the Minister and a major outcome was the establishment of *Radio Aotearoa*.

⁷ *Te Puna Wai Kōrero* records are held within the Ngā Taonga Kōrero Collection, Māori tape collections, radio archive, Auckland.

7.2 THE WAI 11 TE REO MĀORI CLAIM

Despite the seeming continuity and profusion of Māori radio broadcasts prior to the 1980s, as accounted previously, they represented only few exceptions in a primarily Pākehā domain. Māori programmes were brief radio broadcasts, on occasions in te reo Māori, yet, the broadcasting of issues of interest to Māori was largely non-existent. Robert Mahuta, former Director of Māori Studies at Waikato University, described Māori broadcasting progress as that of “glacial rapidity”.⁸ The reasons for slow development of Māori broadcasting were rationalised as partly financial as well as being affected by changes in policy on the part of successive governments, and the limits to which radio –and television– were able to successfully recruit appropriate personnel.

The WAI 11 Te Reo Māori Claim lodged in 1985 at the Waitangi Tribunal by Huirangi Waikerepuru and Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i Te Reo Māori (the Wellington Māori Language Board) could be considered as initiating the emergence of government-funded Māori language broadcasting.

The claimants stated that the Crown had failed to protect the Māori language, and in doing so, had breached the Treaty of Waitangi. After reviewing evidence and the argument from the claimants the Waitangi Tribunal found that, under Article Two of the Treaty, the Māori language was a taonga, and that “the guarantee in the Treaty requires affirmative action to protect and sustain the language, not a passive obligation to tolerate its existence and certainly not the right to deny its use in any place” (‘Report of the Waitangi Tribunal on the te reo Māori claim (WAI 11).’ Waitangi Tribunal, April 1986).

⁸ Quoted in the Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Broadcasting and Related Telecommunications in New Zealand. September 1986. p.299.

Subsequently, the Waitangi Tribunal made five recommendations to the Government.⁹ The fourth recommendation that “broadcasting legislation and policy have regard to the Crown Treaty obligation to recognise and protect the Māori language” had the most relevance to the broadcasting sector.

In 1986, the Government set up a Royal Commission of Inquiry into Broadcasting and Related Telecommunications in New Zealand. The Commission recommended that “programmes which build on and explore Māori culture and interests should be part of the mainstream broadcasting on all television channels in this country...” (‘Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Broadcasting and Related Telecommunications in New Zealand.’ September 1986: 312).

The establishment of the *Aotearoa Māori Radio Board* followed in 1987, and the first Government-funded radio stations began broadcasting in both Māori and English. The board was later replaced by the *Aotearoa Māori Radio Trust* in 1988, when the Broadcasting Corporation of New Zealand (BCNZ) was disestablished. From here, radio frequencies were reserved for the use of Māori groups and by mid-1989 four Māori radio stations were in operation and receiving grants from New Zealand On Air (NZ On Air).

The 1990s saw recognition of broadcasting as an important means of promoting the Māori language and culture. Two further Treaty cases highlighted the issue. The first, the ‘Airwaves case’, was primarily concerned with securing radio frequencies for Māori broadcasting.¹⁰ The second, the

⁹ Waitangi Tribunal (April 1986). ‘Report of the Waitangi Tribunal on the te reo Māori claim (WAI 11).’ Waitangi Tribunal, Department of Justice, Wellington, New Zealand.

¹⁰ ‘Report of the Waitangi Tribunal on Claims Concerning the Allocation of Radio Frequencies. Claims WAI 26 and WAI 150.’ The claims sought findings that Māori have rangatiratanga over the allocation of radio frequencies and that, in the absence of an agreement with Māori, the sale of frequency management licences under the Radiocommunications Act 1989 would breach the Treaty of Waitangi and be prejudicial to the

‘Broadcasting Assets case’, sought to protect Māori broadcasting opportunities through the retention of Government assets.¹¹ The ultimate outcomes of both cases reinforced the need for government commitment to funding Māori radio and television broadcasting to ensure the survival and promotion of te reo Māori.

7.3 TE MĀNGAI PĀHO, THE MĀORI BROADCASTING FUNDING AGENCY

Te Māngai Pāho (TMP), the Māori Broadcasting Funding Agency (formerly known as Te Reo Whakapuaki Irirangi) was established under the Broadcasting Amendment Act 1993.¹² In recognition of the Crown’s responsibilities regarding te reo Māori and tikanga Māori in broadcasting, TMP’s primary function was set up as to “promote the Māori language and Māori culture by making funds available for broadcasting and the production of programmes”.¹³ In addition, the agency was given responsibility to consult with Māori interests regarding the development of funding policies.¹⁴

In the exercise of its function, TMP makes funding available, on such terms and conditions as it thinks fit, to independent providers for the production of Māori language television programmes, Māori language music CDs and videos, to the national network of Māori radio stations and to the Māori News Service. TMP operates separately from NZ On Air and since 1 July 2000 has been funded directly by the Crown. Prior to that, the agency was funded

interests of Māori. At the initial stages of the inquiry, counsel agreed that the Wai 26 claim should be amalgamated with the Wai 150 claim and that the two ought to be dealt with as one.

¹¹ ‘Broadcasting Report. Claim Wai 176’ was lodged with the Tribunal in early 1991 by Huirangi Waikerepuru and Graham Latimer. The claimants alleged Treaty breaches by the Crown in its broadcasting policies, and they sought that the Broadcasting Act 1989 and the Radiocommunications Act 1989 be amended to ensure that Māori, their language, and their culture had a secure place in broadcasting in New Zealand.

¹² Te Māngai Pāho is also subject to the Broadcasting Act 1989.

¹³ Broadcasting Amendment Act 1993. Part IV A, Te Reo Whakapuaki Irirangi. 53B. Function of Te Reo Whakapuaki Irirangi.

¹⁴ Broadcasting Amendment Act 1993. Part IV A, Te Reo Whakapuaki Irirangi. 53C. Consultation.

through NZ On Air, receiving a percentage of Public Broadcasting Fees collected each year.

7.3.1 TMP: Funding Māori language broadcasting

TMP's purchase decisions are guided by the Government Māori Language Strategy Policy objectives:

- To increase the number of people who know the Māori language by increasing their opportunities to learn Māori;
- To improve the proficiency levels of people speaking Māori, listening to Māori, reading Māori and writing Māori;
- To increase the opportunities to use Māori by increasing the number of situations where Māori can be used;
- To increase the rate at which the Māori language develops so that it can be used for the full range of modern activities;
- To foster amongst Māori and Non-Māori positive attitudes towards and accurate beliefs and positive values about the Māori language so that Māori-English bilingualism becomes a valued part of New Zealand society.¹⁵

During the 2003/04 year the Government allocated about \$44.6 million to TMP for the production of Māori language television programmes and Māori music videos, Māori language music CDs, and for the national network of Māori radio stations.

¹⁵ As the first step towards developing a Māori Language Strategy, Government agreed in September 1997 that “the Crown and Māori are under a duty derived from the Treaty of Waitangi to take all reasonable steps to actively enable the survival of Māori as a living language”. In December 1997, Government subsequently agreed these five overarching Māori language policy objectives.

Around \$34.4 million was spent on purchasing television programmes in the Māori language, equating to just over 1,815 hours of viewing time. Of these, 1,212 programme hours were provided by the Māori Television Service¹⁶ and 603 hours of Māori language programming were purchased from other broadcasters and independent production houses ('2003/04 Annual Report for the year ended 30 June 2004'. TMP, Māori Broadcasting Funding Agency).

Expenditure in television included the purchase of new programmes to be screened on current networks and through the Māori Television Service, and the cost of replaying previously screened programmes.

During 2004, TMP purchased 3,097 hours of Māori language radio programmes to a value of just over \$2.4 million. Programme genres included news, sport, documentaries, current affairs, youth/ music, magazine, drama, mātua and tamariki. In addition to this, close to \$7 million was used to fund the operations of twenty-one iwi stations and just under \$500,000¹⁷ used to purchase CDs, music singles and music videos.

Other supplementary expenditure within the medium of radio included audience surveys and the contracting of Te Whakaruruhau o Ngā Reo Irirangi Māori, the Federation of Māori radio stations, to facilitate greater coordination amongst Māori radio stations and national programme providers, to the value of just over \$600,000. Overall, during 2004 24 percent of TMP expenditure was allocated to Māori radio and the remaining 76 percent to Māori television programming.

¹⁶ The launch of the Māori Television Service meant that for the first time these programmes were available in prime time.

¹⁷ Funds were distributed as follow: \$440,000 was assigned for the production of music albums, \$48,000 for music singles and \$10,000 for a music video.

7.3.2 TMP: Some issues

Since its inception TMP has been plagued by problems. Among them, the agency has been criticised by some programme-makers for the structure, composition and experience of its board;¹⁸ its managerial accountability; contracts defaults by production companies; and funding policy guidelines.

Although different views have arisen from Māori broadcasters about the role and funding policies of TMP, only few have suggested that it should be disbanded and its funds administered by NZ On Air or be absorbed into the Māori Television Service. This latter view is supported by Joseph Te Rito, from *Radio Kahungunu*,

The Māori broadcaster should receive the resources that are currently administered by Te Māngai Pāho and New Zealand On Air for Māori programmes to produce its own programmes and to purchase on behalf of Government other material from Māori programme makers. (Māori Television: A Summary of Views, 1997, p. 22)

Others, such as the Screen, Production and Development Association of New Zealand (SPADA), have argued that TMP should purchase Māori interest programmes in addition to Māori language programmes.¹⁹ However, this viewpoint is now being challenged with TMP's added burden of funding programming for the Māori Television Service. As Tainui Stephens expressed in an interview with *Onfilm Magazine*, New Zealand's Screen Production Industry Magazine "there is concern about sequestering all of Te Māngai Pāho's funds for the channel (apart from the little bit that's been put aside of

¹⁸ A persistent criticism of TMP is that its ministerial-appointed board has had little broadcasting background. Former Minister of Communication, Maurice Williamson argued that it was done deliberately to avoid conflict of interests in a small industry. "A lot of people make lots of money being on the gravy train in broadcasting. There is so much self-interest that you have to be wary of." ('Māori broadcasting weaves tangled web.' In the *New Zealand Herald*, 7 June 2003).

¹⁹ In 'Māori Television: A Summary of Views' (1997). Ministry of Commerce. Wellington, New Zealand. p.21-22.

TVNZ's Māori programming) That will be problematic if it stays like that –I think there needs to be more competition for those funds.” (*Onfilm*, Web-only extended editorial from magazine, He Wahi Kōrero, Tainui Stephens, at http://www.onfilm.co.nz/editable/Tainui_Stephens.html, retrieved on 15 July 2005). Also, the Māori radio sector which faces crucial infrastructure and operational needs depends on TMP's funds.

Criticisms from funding seekers or programme makers include funding policy guidelines; purchase decisions; control of quality in radio when performance standards are measured in quantity of hours; and direct intervention on programme editorial issues. Gary Wilson, former *Mana Māori Media* manager has argued, “Te Māngai Pāho's major problem is that the broadcasters deeply resent Te Māngai Pāho getting involved in programming decisions and telling them what they will do, and put to air, and when.” (‘Māori Television: A Summary of Views’, 1997, p. 21).

TMP has also come under attack because of its own Statement of Intent which makes it plain it will only fund te reo, therefore programmes such as *Mai Time* –a Māori youth-oriented music and entertainment television programme in English which has its place among younger audiences– are not eligible to be funded. Most of the critics have argued that programmes in te reo Māori have very limited audiences as many Māori are not fluent users of the Māori language. Former Associate Māori Affairs Minister, John Tamihere sees TMP approach as elitist and pushed by “language Nazis”. Instead, he favours a bilingual approach to reach younger Māori and Pākehā audiences who do not speak te reo (‘A window on a Māori world’. 23/03/2004 press release. At <http://www.beehive.govt.nz/ViewDocument.aspx?DocumentID=19232>).

Willie Jackson, general manager of urban radio station *Radio Waatea*, shares Tamihere's view that TMP should change its funding policies, that focus

almost exclusively on te reo programmes. His programme *Paakiwaha*, was not eligible for TMP funding because it is in English. Jackson says the key funding policy should be about quality. “A quality programme in English with a Māori perspective is much better than some rubbish programme in Māori” (Mana News Service online forum, Issue 44/03, March 24, 2003. At <http://www.manaonline.co.nz/ubb/Forum1/HTML/000594.html>).

Those who endorse TMP policies, as does Graham Pryor, general manager of *Mai Media*, argue that the only way to revitalise the language is to have it spoken on air and that no amount of English programmes on Māori issues will do that. “To make it a living language you can’t just have English programmes about Māori things. That is not going to advance the Māori language at all”.²⁰

The TMP history illustrates the extent to which the politics of Māori broadcasting constitute a microcosm of political life itself. TMP has been subjected to various audits and reviews during its 10 years of existence as a result of critical comments from several quarters and media-driven scandals. For instance, an extended audit in 2003 was conducted after it was discovered that the agency’s radio funding manager, Tame Te Rangi, approved funding for a company he was involved with and from which he was paid for rugby commentaries. Politicians soon called for the agency’s functions to be handed to NZ On Air but a Treasury-led review of the Te Rangi affair found the agency’s systems were generally sound and Audit New Zealand reports of the agency marked it “excellent” in four out of five measures, with the fifth marked as “very good” (Extended scope review report, Audit New Zealand, 2003). Te Rangi had already left his position when the allegations were made public, due to an undisclosed fraud conviction but as a result, TMP chairman Toby Curtis resigned.

²⁰ Personal communication.

In spite of various concerns about the operation and management of TMP, the Māori broadcasting funding agency has also supporters who see the positive aspects and the value of a purchaser of Māori language and culture programmes. Some Māori broadcasters are insistent the agency's retention as a stand-alone body is vital to the development of Māori programming. One of them is Ken Hippolite, of *Tahu FM* who expressed, "I believe that given the difficult and often contradictory circumstances they have had to operate in, they have done as well as can be expected. I feel aroha for this group..." (Māori Television: A Summary of Views, 1997, p. 20). However, many would like to see the agency better funded, instead of juggling monies between the numerous and diverse expectations of the Māori broadcasting community.

7.4 THE ROLE OF NZ ON AIR IN MĀORI BROADCASTING

As well as TMP, the New Zealand broadcasting funding agency, NZ On Air, is similarly charged with promoting Māori language and culture as one of its functions. NZ On Air allocates part of its direct government grant to independent programme makers for particular programmes to meet its statutory objectives to "reflect and develop the New Zealand identity and culture by promoting programmes about New Zealand and New Zealand interests; and promoting Māori language and Māori culture" (Broadcasting Act 1989. Part IV. Broadcasting Commission. 36) Functions of Commission).

In practice, while TMP places emphasis primarily on Māori language promotion, in line with the Government's priorities, NZ On Air concentrates on Māori cultural programming in English to appeal to a mainstream audience—a complementary role to that of TMP. This intention is reflected in NZ On Air's Statement of Intent 2004-05,

In a landmark moment, the Māori Television Service began broadcasting in March 2004. To reflect this, NZ On Air has developed a working relationship with the Māori Television Service and Te Māngai Pāho. NZ On Air's main focus, however, will be to maintain our support for Māori programmes on mainstream television – especially during prime time.

In August 2000, NZ On Air launched *Te Rautaki Māori*, a strategy for maximising the onscreen outcomes for Māori programmes. This strategy brought as a result the support for two *Nga Reo* documentary series, three series of the drama anthology *Mataku*, the development of a set of cultural guidelines for programme producers, as well as an increase in the hours of Māori programming broadcast by National Radio and English language Māori programmes broadcast on iwi and access stations.²¹ In the new Māori media environment, particularly after the launch of the Māori Television Service, NZ On Air's priority is set to continue and intensify the application of *Te Rautaki Māori*.

Among NZ On Air plans are seeking re-transmission arrangements that maximise the screening opportunities for Māori programmes funded by NZ On Air and developing an initiative to increase the exposure of te reo Māori for mainstream New Zealand audiences.

7.5 LATEST DEVELOPMENTS IN MĀORI BROADCASTING

The year 2003 saw the culmination of two significant projects for Māori broadcasting. The first was a joint effort between TMP and the Māori radio network's industry body, Te Whakaruruhau O Nga Reo Irirangi Māori, the launch of a web based broadcasting site, *Irirangi.net*, which provides a single

²¹ From NZ On Air website at (<http://www.nzonair.govt.nz/>).

portal for access to all 21 iwi radio stations,²² making them available to listeners nationally and internationally (at <http://www.irirangi.net>).

The service was developed to address concerns raised by some listeners that they could not receive their own iwi stations locally due to broadcasting signal strength in some regions and limited coverage generally. *Irirangi.net* significantly alleviates the access issue and also ensures that Māori radio is available globally.

In addition, 2003 saw the transfer of the national radio switching network, known as *Punga.net*, to a body established on behalf of all iwi stations. *Punga.net* is a web-based switching service implemented in April 2001 to improve the effectiveness of the previous Star Net distribution service. *Punga.net* was developed on the basis of a proposal made by the industry to give iwi-stations full control of their access to the distribution service 24 hours a day, seven days a week. It is mainly used by Māori radio stations to:

- Access national programmes such as the Māori news service funded by TMP;
- Link to each other to share locally produced programmes.

Punga.net was initially owned by a company in which the service provider, Streamcom Ltd. and TMP (as the fund provider) shared ownership. This arrangement was set up recognising the ongoing funding investment made by TMP and the key role of Streamcom in the design development and maintenance of the system. In November 2003, all ownership interests were

²² Chapter Eight explores the network of 21 iwi stations spread nationwide and Te Whakaruruhau O Nga Reo Irirangi Māori, the Federation of Māori Radio Stations, a body that represents the interests of Māori radio stations with membership from 20 out of the 21 iwi radio stations.

transferred to a company called Star Net 2000, established specifically for this purpose and wholly-owned by Te Whakaruruhau.

One of the most significant developments in 2004 was the launch of the Māori Television Service, a television station that reflects Māori views and aspirations. TMP provides direct funding to the channel and also funds programmes by independent production houses to be broadcast on it.²³

7.6 SUMMARY

The move by Māori into radio broadcasting in Aotearoa/ New Zealand has been slow but steady. Broadcasting has long been recognised by Māori as a vital medium for the regeneration of the Māori language, complementing efforts in other sectors such as education. Because of its portability and easy access, great emphasis has been placed on radio. In TMP's words, "the availability of the Māori language through radio and television in the home can foster the process of language normalisation, that is, the incorporation of Māori language in everyday activities" (From Te Māngai Pāho's website at <http://www.tmp.govt.nz/>).

However, some Māori broadcasters and media commentators consider that Māori language programming is important but should not be the exclusive reason for the Government to support Māori broadcasting. This group comprises mainly those who see value in Māori-interest programming, particularly for the mainstream networks. The debate between these two standpoints is likely to provide a continuing lively narrative to the development of Māori broadcasting.

²³ Chapter Eleven analyses the Māori Television Service.

This chapter also analysed the abilities and restraints of TMP and NZ On Air, as broadcasting funding agencies, to meet the challenges of the rapidly shifting broadcasting industry. Diverse arguments persist as to whether the Māori public is being well served by broadcasting, and whether important sectors within this group (children, youth and women) are served as well as they could be. Most of these arguments point out the lack of funding of, and resources available to Māori broadcasting despite their willingness to succeed.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE IWI RADIO NETWORK

*Tuhia te hā o te reo Māori ki te rangi, e kaha ai te mapu
o te manawa ora, kia rekareka ai te taringā whakarongo,
kia waiwai ai ngā karu mātakitaki.*

*(Exemplify the essence of the Māori language on the airwaves
so the yearning hearts may throb, the sweetness expressed
strikes the ears, and the eyes moisten with appreciation).*

Te Māngai Pāho's mission statement

8.1 INTRODUCTION

Iwi radio developed at a time of political and social change in Aotearoa/ New Zealand. In the 1980s the country was entering an era of free-market economics, leaving behind the welfare state for a user-pays system. Political thinking sought closer ties with overseas economies and the sale of state-owned and controlled enterprises (Easton, 1997). At the same time, Māori were entering a period of cultural renaissance and economic development and were becoming increasingly vocal and active in attempts to make the Government recognise their responsibilities under the Treaty of Waitangi (Kelsey, 1993). At the heart of Māori attempts to become involved in

broadcasting was the desire for the protection and revitalisation of the Māori language (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986).¹

The Treaty of Waitangi has played a major part in the establishment of iwi radio. Māori groups concerned over the declining use of the Māori language argued repeatedly through the High Court, Court of Appeal and Privy Council that the Crown was not fulfilling its obligation to protect a valued taonga.

8.2 THE IWI RADIO STATIONS

In 1990, as a response to the Waitangi Tribunal's recommendations in respect of a claim on the radio spectrum (WAI 26 and WAI 150),² the Government reserved frequencies for the promotion of Māori language and culture to enable full coverage of iwi tribal areas (CAB (90) M 27/26).

Iwi-based radio stations were subsequently established in the period 1989-1994 under the Labour Government's 1989 Broadcasting Act –charged to promote Māori language and culture– with funding assistance from New Zealand's broadcasting funding agency, New Zealand On Air (NZ On Air). Iwi organisations became licence holders and iwi radio stations became licensed broadcasters with the only condition that the primary objective of the radio station would be the promotion of Māori language and culture (Te Māngai Pāho, 1994, p. 9).

NZ On Air funding included an initial capital grant to each station of \$100,000 to assist with establishment costs, and an annual subsidy of \$200,000.³ This base amount is also supplemented through a range of other services and

¹ See the Waitangi Tribunal's (April 1986) 'Report of the Waitangi Tribunal on the te reo Māori claim (WAI 11).'

² See Section 7.2.

³ Data taken from 'Māori broadcasting: Radio Services.' Media release of the Office of Minister of Māori Affairs and Office of Minister of Communications, May 1998.

funding streams including a distribution service, coverage extension funding, audience surveys funding and incentive funding. TMP assumed responsibility for funding all stations in 1995. As of November 2005, there are 21 Iwi radio stations.

TABLE 13		
<i>IWI RADIO STATIONS</i>		
Name	Frequency	Location
<i>Atiawa Toa FM</i>	96.9FM, 94.9FM	Lower Hutt
<i>Awa FM</i>	100FM, 91.2FM, 93.5FM	Whanganui
<i>Kia Ora FM</i>	89.8FM	Palmerston North
<i>Moana AM</i>	1440AM, 98.2FM	Tauranga
<i>Tahu FM</i>	90.5, 95FM, 99.6FM	Christchurch
<i>Nga Iwi FM</i>	99.5FM, 92.2FM	Paeroa
<i>Pumanawa</i>	89FM	Rotorua
<i>Radio Tainui</i>	95.4FM, 96.3FM, 96.5FM	Ngaruawahia
<i>Radio Ngāti Hine FM</i>	99.5FM & 96.4FM	Whangarei
<i>Radio Ngāti Porou</i>	585AM, 88.2FM, 93.3FM, 98.1FM	Ruatoria
<i>Radio Waatea</i>	603AM	Auckland
<i>Raukawa FM</i>	90.6FM, 95.7FM	Tokoroa
<i>Tautoko FM</i>	90.8FM & 98.2FM	Okaihau
<i>Maniapoto FM</i>	91.9FM, 92.7FM, 96.5FM, 99.6FM	Te Kuiti
<i>Te Hiku O Te Ika</i>	94.4FM	Kaitaia
<i>Te Korimako O Taranaki</i>	94.8FM	New Plymouth
<i>Radio Kahungunu</i>	765AM, 94.3FM	Napier
<i>Turanga FM</i>	91.7FM, 95.5FM	Gisborne
<i>Mānuka Tutahi</i>	98.4FM, 96.9FM	Whakatane
<i>Te Upoko O Te Ika</i>	1161AM	Wellington
<i>Tuwharetoa FM</i>	97.2FM	Turangi

TMP purchases from all iwi radio stations nine hours of broadcasting per day, of which at least four hours must be in te reo Māori between 6:00 am and midnight (TMP, 2003). The segments in te reo Māori broadcast must be of not less than ten minutes to count as part of these four hours time requirement (Ministry of Commerce, 1998a).

TMP's contracts with Māori radio stations function under a two-tier funding approach. Within this approach the top-tier stations, of which there are eight, are funded to provide a minimum of eight hours per day in te reo Māori. These stations receive currently around \$320,000 per annum in funding. The second-tier stations, of which there are currently 13, are required to broadcast a minimum of four hours of te reo per day and receive their base operational funding of \$240,000 annually. Incentive funding is available to second-tier stations for a maximum of two extra hours of Māori language per day.

The 21 iwi radio stations are connected through a web-based radio programming system and distribution network, *Punga.net*, allowing stations to link to each other and share their own locally-produced programmes. It also allows stations to receive news and current affairs information from *Waatea News* –the national Māori news service, which is funded by TMP and other national Māori programming.

Iwi radio stations are required to submit funding applications annually. If these are approved, stations then must complete quarterly reports outlining financial performance, financial position, programme summary, broadcast hours and listenership (TMP, 1997).

8.3 THE IMPORTANCE OF IWI RADIO

According to a survey from the School of Māori Studies of the University of Waikato (2003), iwi radio is more popular than ever. The research, carried out over two years revealed a 50 percent listenership of Māori in broadcast areas. The survey results concur with audience research carried out by TMP in 2003 on a station-by-station basis which showed strong support for the iwi radio network among Māori radio listeners.⁴

That Māori radio caters to a small and specific audience is one of many common misconceptions, said researcher Rangi Mataamua, from the University of Waikato. “A lot of people, including Māori, think Māori radio focuses on old-fashioned music and interviews with elderly kaumatua on the farm. But Māori broadcasting has evolved and can’t be lumped into one basket.”⁵

Many respondents of the Waikato survey emphasised the role of Māori radio as a vital lifeline; a way of staying in touch with their culture and community; and that the radio is an important tool of communication. Significantly, the survey showed that iwi radio is having a strong effect on the revitalisation and retention of the language. Iwi radio stations have their own identity, broadcast their own news, and feature issues that are important for that particular community, geography, history and spirituality (School of Māori Studies, University of Waikato, 2003).

⁴ Te Putahi-a-toi, an audience research at a regional level was carried out by a research group of Massey University engaged by Te Māngai Pāho. The Putahi-a-toi survey was launched at the office of Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori on 29 July 2003. It was hoped the findings of this research would assist stations to identify and refine target group programming. The research also provided useful data on audience levels, demographics and listening preferences.

⁵ Personal communication.

Iwi radio stations have proved to be one of the most accessible media for Māori. The growth of iwi radio has been very important because the concept of ‘control’ to non-Māori and mainstream radio has always had a conditional meaning. In a number of instances, Māori have not been treated well by mainstream media (Fox, 1988; Walker, 1990). Māori argue that media control is essential if they are to have the freedom to set their own communications agendas. When Māori broadcast on either non-Māori community radio or mainstream radio, they are working within a communications model that was designed by and for non-Māori New Zealanders.

Radio has a number of advantages for Māori use. Radio technology is much cheaper than video or television technology, and radio’s operational costs are lower. It is also a very personal medium, which depends on the spoken word. In comparison to print, radio is much less dependent on written or spoken English. Radio’s informality, combined with its dominant programme form – people addressing an audience– is very much in line with the kaupapa Māori and has also meant that it has been easier for this medium to develop a community audience and, significantly, a sense of community.

At a political level, the adaptability of radio has meant that the medium has been used as a vehicle for empowerment because it gives Māori people the opportunity to shape and control their social, cultural and political agendas by participating in the design and production of their own programmes. These programmes can then be transmitted to other iwi around the country through *Punga.net*, creating electronic networks.

Māori development and self-development also depend on strong individual and collective identities. Radio broadcasting plays a considerable role in this area through the reinforcement and regeneration of the Māori language and culture (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986). As noted in Chapter Seven, the recognition

of the Māori language as taonga has been an important aspect of this, along with the fact that iwi radio has been a major outlet for Māori artists. Māori music, drama and comedy all feature strongly on radio, providing in some instances the only outlet for their activities. This in turn has stimulated the growth of other Māori industries. Māori music, for instance, nowadays has a considerable prominence at a national level, frequently featuring on mainstream media because of its earlier exposure on iwi radio. Radio has in this way played not only an important cultural role, but also a social and economic one.

The social and economic benefits of Māori radio are further emphasised by the fact that radio has created local employment and training opportunities. For Māori people this is vital because they have one of the highest unemployment rates in the country. In remote areas, in particular, there are often not many employment opportunities. While a number of Māori broadcasters start working as volunteers or are paid only minimal wages, the training and work experience received on iwi stations allow them to build up and further their careers by seeking full-time employment either on Māori or non-Māori media outlets.

8.4 IWI RADIO: SOME ISSUES

The haste with which iwi stations were created –for fear of what an incoming National Government might do if changing the funding rules– generated several problems. The premature birth of many iwi radio stations left them with badly-equipped production facilities and with a contractual compromise to broadcast for at least 63 hours a week. Piripi Walker, a Māori broadcaster, noted in 1993 the plight that many stations were experiencing,

Few stations have production facilities which allow them to produce good broadcast material, yet the license requires them to broadcast for 63 hours a week. Putting music to air was all they could do. (cited in Findlay, 1993, p.9)

At the same time, many stations learned that commercial viability and financial success were dependent upon large listening audiences and argued that the broadcasting of te reo and tikanga Māori were incompatible with reaching larger audience numbers.

“There’s no denying Māori radio has had to come from behind with a rush. It’s had little development time, no time to practise off-air and make the mistakes. It’s had no time to work on the mix of Māori language and English so that non-Māori speakers can follow a train of thought, and native speakers don’t get hoha (bored) with the repetition”, broadcaster and journalist Piripi Whaanga told *Mana Magazine* in 1993.⁶

Finding a Māori identity for iwi radio was also a challenge at the onset. The issue was less of a problem in regional and rural stations, such as the one in Ruatoria, for instance, which has a well-defined audience with a high te reo literacy than for the one in downtown Auckland where urban Māori have very diverse backgrounds and are part of the younger generation of Māori that have received a Pākehā education and are not familiar with te reo or tikanga Māori.

Interviews with seven iwi radio station managers were conducted for the purpose of identifying and examining the difficulties stations are currently experiencing. Interviews were also conducted with media commentators and government agencies staff to clarify concerns and policies in place. Participants’ responses pointed to difficulties with coverage, funding, training

⁶ See “Māori radio. Where is it going?”. *Mana Magazine*. Issue No 1. January-February 1993. pp.8-16.

and retention of staff, monitoring of te reo Māori ‘quality’ and availability of Māori national programming.

8.4.1 Iwi radio station coverage

A survey (Te Putahi a Toi, 2003)⁷ revealed a number of negative aspects of the state of Māori broadcasting, including the frequencies available. The 1989 Radio Spectrum Bill allocated AM frequencies to Māori radio, typically at the far ends of the spectrum, resulting in a limited range for large numbers of people.

The survey also revealed the theoretical reach of the radio frequencies to be more limited than calculated. Māori radio is available to approximately 80 percent of the total Māori population. People in the Wairarapa, southern Taranaki, the Whanganui River communities, the Urewera Forest and north and south of Christchurch are unable to tune in to their local stations.⁸

8.4.2 Funding for iwi radio stations

The state of under-funding also presents a number of flow-on problems for Māori radio, with approximately \$6.5 million spread across the 21 stations annually.⁹ The level of funding for the operational costs of Māori radio stations has not been substantially increased since the stations were established more than 15 years ago¹⁰ affecting adversely the amount and quality of local

⁷ ‘Te Putahi-a-toi’ survey (2003), Massey University, requested by Te Māngai Pāho.

⁸ Te Putahi-a-Toi survey (2003) agreed with a 1998 review that highlighted a number of areas receiving no coverage and other areas where coverage was poor due to geographic and technical factors.

⁹ Overall, during 2004 around 24 % of TMP expenditure was allocated to Māori radio and the remaining 76 % to Māori television. During 2004 Te Māngai Pāho purchased Māori language radio programmes to a value of \$2,414 million. In addition to this, close to \$6.5 million was used to fund the operations of twenty-one iwi stations.

¹⁰ The stations currently receive an average of around \$311,000 per year.

programming, the making of high quality Māori language programmes, staff training and retention, gaps in coverage and outdated broadcasting equipment. Just in May 2005, Parekura Horomia, Minister of Māori Affairs, announced the provision of an additional funding for Māori radio of \$3.4 million to update stations broadcasting equipment to be allocated over the next two years.¹¹

Māori stations are still heavily reliant upon TMP funding for their survival. Advertising does not generally contribute a great deal and while stations remain dependent upon TMP funding they are also obligated to fulfil funding requirements. By becoming increasingly reliant upon TMP funding, the Māori stations' very existence is tied into a government funding agency whose own fund is limited and open to the whims of political pressure, Government spending and direction of opinion in society. While security of funding is guaranteed for TMP for the short-term, long-term predictions remain uncertain.

8.4.3 Training and retention issues

While increased pressure has been placed on stations to broadcast in te reo Māori, TMP (1995) identified that there was a shortage of fluent te reo speakers and that 70 percent of iwi radio staff had five years or less of broadcasting experience. Training, which many iwi radio station managers consider to be the main instrument to improve broadcast skills within the industry, seems to be neglected through limited choice and lack of funding or sponsorship.

¹¹ Speech by the Minister of Māori Affairs, Parekura Horomia delivered at Te Whakaruruhau o Ngā Reo Irirangi Māori National Conference, 3 May 2005.

Problems with retention are partly explained by iwi radio managers and staff by the loss of trained personnel to better paid employment within the mainstream industry. But it is also exacerbated by the lack of formal staff development plans that can provide employees furthering their career opportunities.

At the same time, some managers acknowledged that iwi radio stations have great difficulty in attracting qualified personnel who combine two important elements –people that are versed in te reo Māori and people that have journalistic and broadcasting experience. Again, this is tied to the funding issue. Iwi stations do not have the funding necessary to offer attractive salary packages.

8.4.4 Monitoring of Te reo Māori quality

The monitoring of te reo Māori quantity levels is done by TMP. Iwi radio stations indicate to TMP the hours within the nine TMP funds per day that they intend to broadcast in te reo for periods not shorter than ten minutes. TMP then monitors broadcasts for compliance with the option of withholding or terminating further funding should the stations not comply with their te reo quota plans.

However, to some media commentators the quality of contracted outputs is not being monitored as it should be. For instance, the extent to which Māori language broadcasts are as *Te Taurawhiri I te reo Māori*, the Māori Language Commission advocates in its language standards for quality assurance is not scrutinised.¹²

¹² The Māori Language Services Team, responsible for developing language standards, quality assurance, and training and certification of translators and interpreters recognises as standard te reo being “imaginative, correct, idiomatic, colloquial, covering all registers, responsive to

The need for greater attention to be paid to the monitoring of the quality of Māori language broadcasts was generally agreed by iwi radio station managers but arguments regarding what should be monitored and who should monitor vary. Some managers considered that iwi-based organisations, in their role as kaitiaki or guardians, and broadcasters themselves, should assume the primary responsibility in this area. Others suggested that *Te Taurawhiri* could act as arbiters of quality by developing language standards for iwi stations.

So far, TMP has not developed –and is unlikely to– quality standards unless given the statutory mandate and increased funding to achieve this task. *Te Taurawhiri* has yet to play any part in helping the Māori broadcasting industry with the assurance of their te reo Māori quality. *Te Whakaruruhau* is the only key player as a representative for iwi radio stations that has been working towards setting industry standards for the language.¹³

8.4.5 The availability of quality Māori national programming

Another issue for iwi radio is the availability of national programming. Although the main role of iwi radio is seen as to provide community-focused programming, the importance of supplementing those programmes with high quality national programmes, designed to keep Māori communities well informed about regional and national activities is also recognised.

In the year 2004, TMP allocated approximately \$2,414 million to national radio programmes across a wide range of genres including news, current affairs, sports, documentaries, youth, music, tamariki, comedy, manu kōrero, kapa haka, national events, debates, and talkback shows totalling about 2,660 hours. Although there was an increase in the amount of funding when

the times without being ridiculous and yet retaining an ethos that most Māori will accept is Māori and recognise as being Māori.” (<http://www.tetaurawhiri.govt.nz/english/index.shtml>).

¹³ See Section 8.6.

compared with 2003 in which \$2,277 million was allocated to Māori language radio programmes, it was argued by an iwi radio station manager that the low level of funding by TMP prevented the production of more programming.

8.5 IWI RADIO: SELECTED EXAMPLES

Although all iwi radio stations share somehow their origins –the communication needs of an iwi– they have developed in very different ways, taking varied characteristics and formats such as:

- the barely surviving, run from a garage shed or a bedroom of a rented property
- the almost commercial, with a well-established marketing or sales team as part of its endeavours
- the community service focused, mostly run by volunteers
- the professionally staffed, run by trained employees and/ or providing training as part of its recruitment policies
- the on-air space filler, working with pre-recorded programmes, filling the in-betweens with music
- the producer of news, current affairs programmes, talk shows, and other interactive programming.

Also, there are variations between radio stations on the use of te reo Māori. Some have a bilingual programming while others prefer to broadcast mainly in te reo. It can be argued that these characteristics are the product of the character of each individual iwi and the support and direct involvement that the community has with their station. The use of English or te reo languages can also be attributed directly to the audience proficiency in te reo and the need of the station to ‘speak’ the language of its listeners.

This section provides some examples of iwi radio stations among the 21 that exist nationwide. The selected iwi radio stations were chosen as examples of a community-based radio station (*Radio Ngāti Porou*), an urban-based radio station (*Radio Waatea*), and a language-focused radio station (*Te Ūpoko Ō Te Ika*).

8.5.1 The community-based radio station: “Radio Ngāti Porou – bringing people together”

Radio Ngāti Porou (RNP) was established on 31 August, 1987, after a successful short-term broadcast under the name of *Radio Ruatoria*, assisted by staff from *Radio Waikato* and a *Radiothon*. The fundraising collected \$44,000.00, “a world record \$10 per head of population,” by East Coast communities from Uawa to Potaka to set up the station (‘About Radio Ngāti Porou’, at <http://www.radiongatiporou.co.nz/AboutUs.aspx>).

RNP operated with a largely voluntary workforce but still managed to secure a permanent licence in a sitting of the then Broadcasting Tribunal at Ngāti Porou marae in 1988. The chairman’s report noted the overwhelming community support and participation that had been instrumental in its decision to award the frequency licence to RNP over some stiff opposition from others.¹⁴

RNP continued to rely on the generosity of its community and training schemes to fill the work rosters, until in June 1990, almost three years after its inception, RNP became partly funded by NZ On Air and was able for the first time to pay wages to its staff. Along with the funding came a policy change from the Ministry of Commerce, which was responsible for the allocation of frequency licences, and a new Government broadcasting policy. The Ministry of Commerce decided that the licence for any iwi station had to be vested with

¹⁴ Broadcasting Tribunal Report. Ngāti Porou Marae hui on radio licenses, 1998.

an organisation that best represented the interests of that iwi. In the case of RNP that organisation was Te Runanga o Ngāti Porou (TRONP). The relationship between RNP and TRONP became a contractual one in which RNP was engaged by TRONP to provide a radio broadcasting service to the Ngāti Porou iwi area.

In 1991, with the assurance of NZ On Air, and money raised from several sources (such as the Cyclone Bola concert in 1988 and a loan from TRONP), RNP was able to purchase a new station building, moving staff and operations from the Skyline garage that had served as headquarters from its inception in 1987 (<http://www.irirangi.net>).

Today, RNP has a board of 12 trustees, eight of whom are elected from the public at an annual general meeting and four are nominated by Te Runanga o Ngāti Porou to represent it as the licence holder. Four rohe hui are held prior to the annual general meeting every year, seeking nominations from each of the respective four rohe to allow for uniform representation of Ngāti Porou communities on the board (<http://www.irirangi.net>).

RNP programming usually contains news and information (*Current affairs in Māori*), talk shows (*Nga Take o te Wa*, *Gisborne Auto Court*, and *Solly's Show*) as well as several musical segments, such as country classics, reggae and the top 50 (*The Breakfast show*, *Nga Puoro Māori*, and *Mixed sounds*). It is filled with entertainment, news and educational programmes aimed at people age 30 years and older. It provides local information and information relevant to Māori in that rohe. Its format also accommodates bilingual programmes and pre-recorded material broadcasting. Weekends are devoted mostly to sports (*Sports Show*, *The Māori Sports show* from Radio Waatea, and *Sports Roundup*), youth (*Te Korimako*) and mature listeners (*The Whanau show* from Te Upoko o te Ika, Wellington's radio station).

RNP is a product of the determination of its community to have a radio station to serve, inform, educate and entertain. It does more than that though – it brings them all together as one community rather than a scattered bunch of separate entities.



RNP website at <http://www.radiongatiporou.co.nz/>

8.5.2 The Urban Māori station: “Radio Waatea – 603AM Urban Māori Radio”

Radio Waatea 603 AM is the only Māori radio station in Auckland that provides bilingual broadcast to its listeners. Based at Ngā Whāre Waatea marae in Mangere, it is located in the midst of the biggest Māori population in Aotearoa/ New Zealand.

Radio Waatea is part of UMA Broadcasting. It was established in 1999 by the

Urban Māori Authorities (UMA), Manukau Urban Māori Authority and The Waipareira Trust, as an entity to seek, foster and develop opportunities for urban Māori in broadcasting. UMA Broadcasting also is a key stakeholder in another radio station, *George FM*, based in Auckland but with a nationwide network. Essentially both stations were set up as vehicles to deliver UMA Broadcasting's vision: "The promotion, retention and enhancement of te reo Māori me ōna tikanga for an urban Māori and non-Māori audience" (<http://www.waatea603am.co.nz/StationProfile.aspx>). Within the context of this statement UMA Broadcasting's main imperative is to foster amongst Māori and non-Māori positive attitudes towards, and accurate beliefs about, the Māori language and living culture, so that Māori-English bilingualism becomes a valued part of the New Zealand society.

Recognising that English is the first language for the vast majority of Māori in the Auckland region, the organisation has made a deliberate decision to programme *Radio Waatea* to meet the needs of its target audience, broadcasting mostly in English with some te reo Māori.

Radio Waatea's main coverage area is the greater Auckland area including north to Whangaparaoa and south to the Waikato region; plus key broadcast pockets in Tauranga, Whakatane, Taranaki and Hauraki (<http://www.waatea603am.co.nz/StationProfile.aspx>). It broadcasts 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, providing popular breakfast and drive shows, with strong mid-morning and night shows.

Radio Waatea's format is aimed mainly at Māori over 25 with a mix of easy listening music, R&B, nostalgia, classic hits (*Aotearoa Music mix, Blues music mix, Jazz mix, Kia Rarau ki te ahiahi Po, Nostalgia, Para ruru, Soul Sundays*, and *The Country hour*), talkback (*Liberation talkback, Te*

Puutaatara, Ngaa Puutake Wahine, and The week in review) and current affairs programmes (*Paakiwaha, Tawera, and Mere Tu Ahiahi*).

Massey University research (2003) shows that programmes *Radio Waatea* provides have a wide appeal and the station enjoys a strong listenership from both a large Māori and non-Māori audience, as well as a growing number of listeners within the 30-35 age group.

Listenership surveys from both Research International (April 2002) and Massey University (May 2003) have established that, in the Auckland region, approximately 23.8 percent of the Māori population listens to *Radio Waatea*¹⁵ and listeners over 35 from a general/ national audience totalled 1.4 percent (17,400). On average, listeners tuned into *Radio Waatea* for a total of 10 hours per day, which rated the 6th highest in terms of Time Spent Listening (TSL), in the Auckland radio market.

¹⁵ Based on a Māori population of 106,722 for the broadcast area, this translates to approximately 25,421 Māori listeners.



Radio Waatea website at <http://www.radiowaatea603am.co.nz>

8.5.3 Language-focused station: “Te Ūpoko Ō Te Ika – 1161AM Wellington’s AM Māori Radio Station”

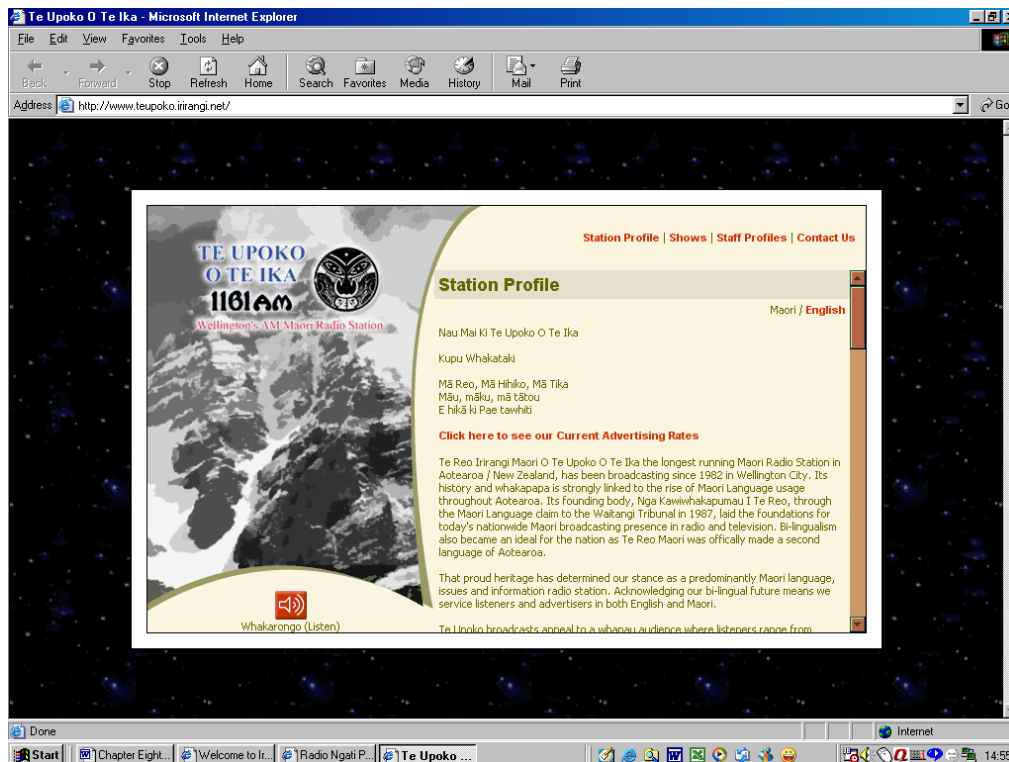
Te Reo Irirangi Māori O Te Ūpoko Ō Te Ika is the longest-running Māori radio station in Aotearoa/ New Zealand, broadcasting since 1982 in Wellington. Its history and whakapapa is strongly linked to the rise of Māori language usage throughout Aotearoa/ New Zealand, as it began temporary broadcasts during a Māori language week.

Its founding body, Nga Kaiwhakapūmau i Te Reo Māori –the Wellington Māori Language Board– through the Māori Language claim to the Waitangi Tribunal in 1985, laid the foundations for today’s nationwide Māori broadcasting presence in radio and television. Bi-lingualism also became an ideal for the nation as te reo Māori was officially made the second language of

Aotearoa. This heritage has determined the station's stance as a predominantly Māori language, issues and information radio station (<http://www.teupoko.irirangi.net>).

The main coverage area of *Te Ūpoko* is the greater Wellington area, including the south part of the North Island from Hawera to the top of the South Island. *Te Ūpoko* aims to appeal to a whānau audience where listeners range from tamariki (children) through to kuia and koroua (older people), attracted by te reo Māori and tikanga in the discussion, interviews and music (*Mornings with Henare Kingi*, and *Paakiwaha*). Its issues and information-based programming (*Drive with Charlie*, *Drive with Tarakihi and Moki*, and *National talkback*) targets predominantly an older demographic profile, aged 40-plus, into Māori culture with responsibilities in the wider community through whānau, hāpu, iwi as well as corporate and government bodies.

Additionally, *Te Ūpoko* runs free Māori language courses. Half-hour courses are broadcast on-air from Monday to Friday in the morning and repeated in the afternoon.



Te Reo Irirangi Māori O Te Ūpoko Ō Te Ika website at <http://www.irirangi.net/>

8.6 TE WHAKARURUHAU O NGA REO IRIRANGI MĀORI, THE FEDERATION OF MĀORI RADIO STATIONS

Unlike the Māori print industry, internet and Māori television, the Māori radio industry has a well-established institutional collective organisation. The Federation of Māori Radio Stations known as *Te Whakaruruhau o Nga Reo Irirangi Māori* was incorporated as a society on 26 March, 1991 as a result of a meeting held on the 6 December, 1990 at Rahui Wahine Buildings, Hamilton (<http://www.irirangi.net>).

Te Whakaruruhau provides a robust institutional platform, which is supported by the majority of radio stations and represents 20 of the 21 iwi radio stations currently operating throughout the country. It has been able to maintain continuity of strategic direction, policy and process over the past decade

driving collectively focused initiatives. This has been particularly valuable in terms of initiatives and activities outside TMP's legislative boundaries or policy priorities.

The aim of *Te Whakaruruhau* is to pursue and develop contact with government agencies for the advancement of Māori radio communication. Specifically, its objects are to represent the interests of Māori radio stations; to assist, support and maintain continuity of Māori radio stations, to provide a representative body to meet with the Crown; to encourage high standards of excellence in broadcasting and to encourage predominant use of te reo Māori me nga tikanga Māori (<http://www.irirangi.net>).

In practical terms, *Te Whakaruruhau* assists with co-ordination of key Māori radio activities, both across the industry and with TMP. It provides input to the assessment of radio programmes for broadcasting, and other strategic projects. Formal input to TMP funding decisions is provided by *Te Whakaruruhau*'s executive membership on the Radio Review Team, the group that makes recommendations to the board of TMP on radio station and radio programming funding matters.

In addition to direct involvement with funding policy and decisions, *Te Whakaruruhau* has played a significant role in the development of other areas of the industry that are outside of the ambits of TMP's legislative and institutional responsibilities. For example, many iwi radio stations saw Internet broadcasting as a necessary step in Māori radio industry development. It was not a priority for TMP, but it was an initiative that, given an amount of resourcing, *Te Whakaruruhau* implemented on its own in a cost-effective manner.

Training and professional development for Māori broadcasters are also areas outside TMP's funding priorities, but for which *Te Whakaruruhau* has initiated and driven some important national initiatives. For instance, a joint venture with Radio New Zealand (RNZ) allowed six Māori broadcasters to train at RNZ for a period of eight weeks from February to April 2004. The training covered a range of areas including on-air production and presentation, news, documentaries, feature and drama production and studio operating.

Following requests from the industry and the findings of the review of Māori radio policy carried out in 1998 by the Ministry of Commerce, TMP contracted *Te Whakaruruhau* in 1999 to:

- “Facilitate greater co-ordination among stations and national programme providers;
- Participate in the assessment of radio programme funding proposals;
- Identify particular industry needs and propose options for addressing those needs;
- Identify and encourage opportunities for collective decision making;
- Co-ordinate better use of the *Punga.net* service by iwi stations in taking and providing programmes;
- Develop best practice models to help stations improve their operational capability;
- Contribute to the development of TMP's Annual Statement of Intent;
- Help develop a 10-year Strategic Plan for the promotion of Māori language and culture” (<http://www.irirangi.net>).

Since then, *Te Whakaruruhau* has continued working closely with TMP. In 2002, *Te Whakaruruhau* commissioned Kokomuka Consultancy Ltd. to conduct a comprehensive Industry Needs Analysis focusing on operational management, workforce development, marketing, programme delivery,

equipment and documentation. The findings from the Needs Analysis provided important information, which alluded to a need for intensive training required within the Māori Radio Industry. This prompted *Te Whakaruruhau*, together with Te Puni Kōkiri, to pursue and secure funding through Vote Māori Affairs for training purposes.

In 2002, *Te Whakaruruhau* saw the need for its broadcasters to become qualified and certificated in the work they were doing. Discussions took place with the New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA) and members from *Te Whakaruruhau* were appointed to a NZQA focus group to develop unit standards for Reo Māori Media. Soon after, a Reo Māori Media National Certificate and a Diploma were registered. As at 2005, there are six accredited academic providers.¹⁶

Eight Māori radio stations (7 of these are *Te Whakaruruhau* members) are currently working with TMP to develop a range of indicators to measure the “quality” of the Māori language used on air. This has been an ongoing job and some of the stations are already implementing a quality standards programme internally. A framework has now been developed for assessors to carry out the review process in their individual stations.

Te Whakaruruhau has carried out extensive work over the past two years to detail logistical and financial requirements for a National Māori Radio Service. Since this time national frequencies have been acquired by Concert, Access and Pacific Island. Although no action has been taken at ministerial

¹⁶ These are: The Manukau Institute of Technology (Otago), Tairāwhiti Polytechnic (Gisborne), Te Kaiāwhina Ahumāhi Social Services Industry Training Organ (Wellington), Waikato Institute of Technology (Hamilton), Western Institute of Technology at Taranaki (New Plymouth), and Western Institute of Technology at Taranaki (Taumarunui). Source: NZQA Website at <http://www.nzqa.govt.nz/providers/index.do?frameworkId=1543>.

level to secure either the frequencies or the funding required to establish the service, *Te Whakaruruhau* has continued to pursue this issue.

8.7 THE NATIONAL MĀORI NEWS SERVICE

8.7.1 Ruia Mai: the initial news service provider

Ruia Mai, part of the Mai Media group of companies owned by Auckland iwi Ngāti Whatua, was launched in May 1996 to deliver the first 100 per cent Māori language broadcast, initially on a three-month contract with TMP.

Seven days a week on 1179 AM, a team of producers, reporters and presenters in Auckland, Wellington, Rotorua and Christchurch generated more than 40 hours of programming for the national network of iwi radio stations (<http://www.ruiamai.co.nz/About.html>).

Over the years, *Ruia Mai* produced news, current affairs, sport, education, youth and music shows as well as special broadcasts live from major Māori events such as the Māori Sports Awards, the national kapa haka and speech competitions.

“From the date the contract was first secured in April 1996, a fully operational national network was established, staffed by some of the country’s leading Māori broadcasters and journalists,” Graham Pryor, Mai Media Limited managing director said. *Ruia Mai* has been a major player in the development of individuals who have then moved into other areas of the broadcasting industry.

Ruia Mai has also won numerous awards for its work including Best Māori Language Broadcast at the New Zealand Radio Awards in 1999, 2000, 2002 and 2003 as well as being nominated twice in 2004.¹⁷

In April 2004, TMP awarded the news and current affairs national service contract to *UMA Broadcasting* terminating the contract with *Ruia Mai* on June 30, 2004. “We’ve consolidated our place in radio history and our success is evidence that Māori language and culture can be retained and enhanced. We would like to take this opportunity to thank all the iwi stations throughout the country who have supported us over the years” said Pryor after the decision was made. Some 15 staff from *Ruia Mai* lost their jobs.

8.7.2 Waatea News: the new news service provider

At a meeting on 6 April 2004, the board of TMP awarded a two-year contract for providing news and current affairs to *Waatea News*, a division of *UMA Broadcasting Limited* which also heads *Radio Waatea 603 AM* and *George FM*.

TMP used an exhaustive process to analyse the proposals from the two competing groups to arrive at the decision. The board had convened an assessment panel to review the proposals. Criteria included: business viability; historical relevance; technical and production elements; and Māori language quality. The assessment panel ranked both submissions from *Ruia Mai* and *Waatea News* closely and in view of the closeness of the submissions, the board invited both parties to make a presentation. Each group was given 20

¹⁷ A bilingual political special, *Nga Tino Poutama*, was nominated at the Media Peace Awards in 2002 and at the inaugural Māori Media Awards held in Rotorua (2004), *Ruia Mai* won four out of the eight awards including Best Outside Broadcast, Best Māori Language Programme and Best Presenter.

minutes to present and 20 minutes to respond to board questions (TMP press release of 6 April, 2004).

The board acknowledged that *Ruia Mai* had pioneered the development of practices in the presentation of Māori news and current affairs. “However, in the end our decision came down to determining which proposal aligned most closely with the kaupapa of TMP and provided a vision for the language that would attract a Māori audience” expressed Wira Gardiner, Chair of TMP in a press release of 6 April, 2004.

However, for some iwi radio station managers the real reason for removing the news and current affairs contract from *Ruia Mai* in favour of *Waatea News* was that the latter is not directly aligned to any particular iwi giving it, somehow, more editorial freedom whereas *Ruia Mai*'s association with Ngāti Whatua iwi was considered to be a potential bias risk. The new contract took effect from 1 July, 2004.

Among the innovations that *Waatea News* brings to the Māori radio industry is by working with regional stations to provide news relevant to individual iwi. Six stations which include *Te Hiku Ō Te Ika*, *Radio Tainui*, *Te Reo Irirangi o Te Manuka Tutahi*, *Te Reo Irirangi o Turanganui-a-Kiwa*, *Te Korimako o Taranaki*, and *Te Ūpoko Ō Te Ika* have started delivering news to their area with 6 bulletins a day each.¹⁸

Waatea News Editor-in-Chief Rau Kapa said, “*Waatea* is proud to be working with the regions. It is important that each rohe have ownership of their news,

¹⁸ Regional news bulletins are available at 8:30 am, 9:30 am, 10:30 am, 3:30 pm, 4:30 pm, and 5:30 pm.

their stories. Regional news will help promote area dialects and also improve the skill base of each station, strengthening the industry as a whole.”¹⁹

8.8 SUMMARY

Iwi radio stations are in every sense community media. These stations are run and operated by the community, and their content reflects the interests of the community. Therefore while the technology has in many instances been imposed, its smallness and accessibility have in a very real sense encouraged Māori people to adapt these media to community uses, so that the media have become intrinsic rather than extrinsic to the communities they serve. The intrinsic nature of iwi radio stations was also seen in their use to record te reo Māori, stories and music, both for historic purposes and for cultural regeneration. They are, therefore, in practice far from a luxury or just a form of entertainment. They have instead become part of the information infrastructure in their communities, and in many instances the only source of regional Māori produced material.

It was also noted that government officials in Aotearoa/ New Zealand seek access to these stations so that they can communicate more effectively with Māori people. The significant aspect of this is that they are speaking within a Māori-determined framework, rather than the usual top-down approach. At the same time, the mix of Māori culture and technology is resulting in new cultural forms and methods of distribution. The *Waatea News* regional service is one example of this, and indicates future directions Māori media could take. The very act of using the media is a form of political empowerment as Māori content on the modern media of print, radio and television signifies to Māori people and non-Māori people alike that Māori people are not ‘museum pieces’

¹⁹ Personal communication.

whose language and culture are useless. Instead, it is proof they are very much alive and evolving.

So far, iwi radio is arguably one of the most interesting and important developments in Māori broadcasting because of its close links with the community and its ability to be ‘a community loudspeaker’. With the advent of digital technology and new delivery systems, iwi radio stations have become Māori communication hubs disseminating information both via broadcasting and online. Properly resourced, iwi radio could be an invaluable vehicle for communication, information and entertainment, providing a range of services from the delivery of government information in te reo Māori, education and health, through to e-commerce and cultural programmes for tamariki.

However, if iwi radio is to really meet its potential, staffing and resources have to be improved. “While radio stations on the whole were able to fulfil contractual obligations to TMP, limitations with infrastructure have hindered their development,” claimed Grant (1998). Māori radio stations continue to suffer from problems –some identified more than a decade ago– and little progress has been made on developing the necessary infrastructure to establish a well resourced and adequately financed iwi radio network.

Solutions do not appear evident within the current Māori radio environment as it is not a simple case of TMP being able to increase funding to stations because TMP itself works within a limited budget. As a result, should money be increased for iwi radio funding, then other services such as the national network, the national news service and programming, and research may suffer. If iwi stations were to receive more funding within the present funding structure then TMP would need to be better resourced.

Generally, apart from the ones located on main centres, iwi radio audiences are too small and isolated to attract commercial sponsorship. Some have found ways to generate alternative income and reduce their total dependence on TMP support, but income generation is not guaranteed and tends to be *ad hoc* (i.e. local competitions, community fundraisers, talent quests). If iwi radio is to develop, the entire scheme needs to be examined in light of how it can be used to complement and extend other Government programmes for the revitalisation of te reo Māori and tikanga Māori.

CHAPTER NINE

TE REO MĀORI AND MĀORI NEWS IN COMMERCIAL AND MAINSTREAM RADIO

Ahakoā ki whea

Ahakoā āwhea

Ahakoā pēwhea

Kōrero Māori

(Speak Māori ... everyday, everyway, everywhere).

Te Māngai Pāho's vision

9.1 TE REO MĀORI AND MĀORI NEWS IN MAINSTREAM RADIO

After more than 80 years of radio broadcasting in Aotearoa/ New Zealand Māori have been invisible in this industry until quite recently. “After all this time, piece meal policy and a lack of real commitment has meant that even now the Māori presence on mainstream television and radio is minuscule,” read the report of the Māori Broadcasting advisory Committee (MBAC, September, 2000, p.7). Māori programming –whether in English or te reo– currently stands at less than 3 percent of all programmes broadcast in both state-owned broadcasters, Television New Zealand (TVNZ) and Radio New Zealand (RNZ), and, when broadcast, it is relegated to programming slots outside prime-time.

Although the Crown has, in the last decade, facilitated the establishment of a Māori broadcasting funding agency, a network of iwi radio stations throughout the country, and the recent establishment of a separate Māori television channel in 2004 it still has not achieved the broadcasting of a significant amount of Māori language or kaupapa programming in the mainstream radio and television.

RNZ¹ a crown entity established under the Radio New Zealand Act 1995, as stated in its charter, was set up “to provide innovative, comprehensive, and independent broadcasting services of a high standard”. The charter furthermore establishes that it should do so through “a range of New Zealand programmes, including information, cultural interest, and entertainment programmes, and programmes which reflect New Zealand’s cultural diversity, **including Māori language and culture**”² (RNZ Charter, Section 1, B).

In reality, RNZ currently broadcasts around 1.5 hours of Māori programmes per day. It produces only two of the five programmes broadcast,³ the other three are purchased from an independent Māori news agency, Mana Māori Media. The regular programmes produced by RNZ are *He Rourou*, a weekday programme in te reo analysing a variety of topics broadcast weekdays in the early mornings and *Waiata*, broadcast on Thursday nights on National Radio, conducted by Hinemoana Baker and showcasing Māori music and musicians. Completing the list of programmes broadcast in RNZ are *Mana News*, which offers news, background and analysis from a Māori perspective; *Mana Kōrero*, a Māori current affairs programme broadcast on Sunday evenings;

¹ Radio New Zealand Ltd (RNZ) provides four radio networks: National Radio, Concert FM, Parliamentary Radio and RNZ International.

² Headline added.

³ As scheduled in the National Radio website (www.radionz.co.nz) for the week starting on Saturday 30 July 2005.

and *Mana Tangata*, an interview programme conducted by Dale Husband profiling people in Māoridom broadcast from Monday to Friday at dawn.

Over the years, Māori broadcasters have repeatedly asked for policy guidelines for the production and broadcast of Māori programming in mainstream –commercial and public– media but their requests have rarely resulted in positive responses. Usually, after lengthy delays, and often conflicting information, no action has been taken.

Among the several petitions to set a quota of Māori language content/programming by Māori broadcasters, that of the Māori Broadcasting Advisory Committee (MBAC, 2000) stands out. It has recommended that changes be made to RNZ charter to include a requirement for the station to broadcast a quota –of at least 15 percent– of Māori programmes, placing a requirement on RNZ to state how it will achieve this on an annual basis in its Statement of Corporate Intent.

The principles underlying the claims for Māori access to mainstream radio are equity and autonomy. Māori broadcasters have argued that RNZ is monocultural not only in its output but also in its structure, and that there is little on mainstream radio to suggest that this country has a non-European, indigenous culture.

The following section examines *Mana News* among RNZ's Māori programming. There are several reasons for its selection as a case study. Firstly, *Mana News* is produced by Mana Māori Media, an independent Māori news agency and provides a model for the free-market lobby in broadcasting, which would like to see RNZ's National Radio entirely run on the basis of contracting in this way for programme provision. Secondly, *Mana's* news is strikingly different from mainstream news in the length, sourcing and

presentation of its items, and the historical perspective which is put on contemporary issues. And thirdly, not only is RNZ a major determinant of *Mana News*'s viability, it is also a competitor as comparisons are often drawn with its own Māori programmes –such as *He Rourou*– which seem to have less impact and credibility as observed by some Māori media commentators.

9.2 MĀORI NEWS IN MAINSTREAM RADIO CASE STUDY: MANA NEWS

Mana Māori Media is an independent Māori news agency that produces five daily news bulletins, a general interest programme, sports coverage and a current affairs programme, *Mana Kōrero*, in both English and Māori. It began in March 1990, with an initial contract to supply National Radio, RNZ's talk network, with a 21-minute evening news and current affairs programme.

Mana News is broadcast on National Radio in the afternoon, with another bulletin in the morning, so news from a Māori perspective reaches a wider audience, although in direct competition with the major news programmes broadcast on television, and not on any commercial radio station.

Mana Māori Media founder, Derek Fox, set up the business with partner, Gary Wilson, after more than 20 years' work in public broadcasting. The idea was to provide news with a Māori perspective that was more than just “a litany of depressing statistics” (cited in Geary, 1994. p. 164).

For National Radio listeners it offers an “open window” into the Māori world. According to Fox, that does not mean a series of “feel-good” stories about Māori absent in mainstream media coverage of Māori but a serious examination of issues affecting Māori from a Māori viewpoint. A general story, about health for instance, would have the journalist asking questions relevant to a Māori perspective and audience.

Journalists are encouraged to “tell a good yarn” in their news reporting, and to think always of spoken, rather than written, language when they are broadcasting. Sharp, headline-type writing used in mainstream media is not in line with the kaupapa Māori and therefore not allowed, and interviews that have been edited with story-telling scripting around the cuts are used instead of straight question-and-answer packages.

The programme covers national, regional and local politics, environmental issues, development issues, sports, culture and media. Familiarity with Māori issues and terms is assumed. The sound bites of spoken voices are characteristically unhurried and these might range from politicians defending policies affecting Māori to Māori people with mana who would not have had the opportunity to speak to the Pākehā world.

To examine the journalistic genre, news values and sources used, and the type of stories covered in *Mana News*, to see what constitutes the Māori perspective of the news and the Māori journalistic style as compared to traditional news reporting a content analysis was carried out.

9.2.1 Methodology

9.2.1.1 Sample

The study covered a period of one year, 2004. To represent the period, one ‘constructed’ week was formulated to ensure that each day of the week was represented.

TABLE 14		
<i>SAMPLE DATES FOR MANA NEWS</i>		
5	January	Monday
9	March	Tuesday
5	May	Wednesday
8	July	Thursday
10	September	Friday

A constructed week sample was used as Riffe, Aust and Lacy (1993) confirmed a constructed week procedure is more efficient than pure random or consecutive day sampling. Their results are in line with Stempel's (1952, 1981) earlier findings.

Because the week is 'constructed' and not 'consecutive', this time selection did allow the observation of coverage over a longer period in which more enduring issues appeared evident. However, the time sample did not allow the examination of 'hot' issues or the 'uniqueness' of specific events merging into the 'typicalness' of the pattern of news selection.

9.2.1.2 Categories

The unit of analysis used was a single story. The categories formulated consisted of both quantitative and qualitative categories to obtain the overall picture of *Mana News*. The major concerns were with the following variables:

- How many stories were broadcast in each programme (amount)
- What was their length (length)
- What were the principles of news selection (news values)
- Where the news originated or by whom it was substantiated (sources)
- For how long were sources allowed to speak (speaking time)

- Whether topics were mostly one-off events or long-standing issues (events/issues).

9.2.1.3 Sources

To test which were the sources of *Mana News*, all sources were coded individually without a predetermined list. Then, they were grouped as:

1. Māori, institutional (such as the Minister of Māori Affairs)
2. Māori, informal (such as iwi spokespeople, Māori interest groups, individual Māori)
3. Pākehā, institutional (such as the Minister of Justice, the Prime Minister)
4. Pākehā, informal (such as health professionals, individual Pākehā)

9.2.1.4 News values

The category of ‘news values’ or newsworthiness was included in this content analysis with the intention of seeing what principles of selection were applied in *Mana News*. It is evident that a single story would fulfil not one but several of the principles of newsworthiness, however only the leading one was coded, according to the individual criteria of the researcher.

For the purpose of this study, ‘news values’ were defined according to the hypotheses delineated by Galtung and Ruge (1965). Their analysis, sets forth a list of principles that cause a simple ‘happening’ become ‘news’ such as:

1. Timeliness. The more similar an event’s frequency (time-span needed for the event to unfold) is to the frequency of the news medium, the more probable it will be recorded as news.

2. Significance. The greater the impact amplitude, the worthier to be recorded.
3. Event orientation. The less ambiguity, the more the event will be noted.
4. Proximity. The more meaningful, in the sense of geographical or culturally proximate or relevant, the more likely news will result.
5. Predictability. The more expected an event is, in the sense both of predicted and wanted, the more likely it will become news.
6. Novelty/ extraordinariness. The more unusual or rare, within a certain range of what is meaningful and consonant, the more newsworthy.
7. Continuity. When something attracts attention once, the more probable that it will be recorded as worthy next time.
8. Human interest. To fulfil some manifest popular needs, the more the event can be seen in personal terms, the more probable that it will become a news item.
9. Prominence. Events concerning elite nations or people will be more likely to become news items.
10. Conflict/ bad news. Negative events satisfy the frequency criterion, they are consensual and unambiguous, and are also unexpected.
11. Composition. Editors seeking to provide a balance of different types of coverage might select a story based on the overall composition of the programme. Therefore, the prominence given to a story depends not only on its own news values but also on those of competing stories.

After these categories were tried out with some randomly chosen material, an additional category was added, “reference to something positive”, as an opposite to the negative news category.

9.2.2 Results

9.2.2.1 Amount and length of *Mana News* stories

A total of 29 stories was coded in this research. Each news programme during the period of study averaged 6 stories per programme. When comparing this number of stories with the amount packed into mainstream radio news bulletins⁴, these contain considerably fewer. The average length of a *Mana News* story was around 3 minutes.

Day	Number of Stories	Length of Stories			
Day 1	7	2.40	3.05	3.25	2.42
		2.41	3.54	3.16	
Day 2	6	4.32	4.08	3.50	
		2.10	2.45	3.02	
Day 3	5	4.53	3.36	4.45	
		3.25	4.10		
Day 4	6	3.35	3.50	4.42	
		4.55	4.05	2.03	
Day 5	5	5.04	3.41	3.27	
		4.18	4.20		

These results revealed that the emphasis was on providing a news programme rather than a hurried news bulletin. Fox is quoted as saying he doesn't like a succession of institutional stories, but a mix that may lead with a "knock 'em

⁴ See Besley, Andrew (2001). 'And Now for the News. Media in New Zealand Society.' A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the University of Canterbury; and McGregor & Comrie (1995). 'Balance and fairness in broadcasting news (1985-1994).' Wellington: Broadcasting Standards Authority.

down, drag ‘em out” hard news item, but be followed by arts, sports and human interest or off-beat stories (Geary, 1994).

9.2.2.2 News values of *Mana News*

Some of the news values identified by Galtung and Ruge (1965) were apparent during the analysis. However, *Mana News* applied the news values differently to common convention. When a news value such as ‘proximity’ was adapted by Māori journalists working in a *Mana News*, the news gathered was different from those gathered by mainstream media organisations. ‘Proximity’ usually referred to Māori culturally proximate rather than those relevant to New Zealanders as a whole. The focus of stories was on Māori, problems facing Māori and often achievement by Māori.

Proximity	9	31%
Significance	4	13.8%
Continuity	3	10.4%
Prominence	5	17.2%
Conflict/ Bad news	3	10.4%
Reference to something positive	2	6.9%
Composition	2	6.9%
Human Interest	1	3.4%

One news value identified in *Mana News*, ‘reference to something positive’, is rarely applied in the news selection of mainstream media. *Mana News* does not emphasise violence and negativity *per se*. Although negative consequences were part of the news make-up in *Mana News*, the negativity was usually counter-balanced by the news value ‘composition’. This variation away from a

single-minded emphasis on violence and negativity represents one of the more evident differences in news perspectives between traditional mainstream media to that of *Mana News*.

Another distinguishing factor of *Mana News* was observed when reporting negative or bad news. Often, those stories also included solutions to the problem. When covering bad news stories, in 60 percent of the stories a solution was put forward.

9.2.2.3 Sources of *Mana News*

Sources played an integral role in determining the news, and in general, it was from the source and their interpretation of the topic that the news story was defined. The sources were mainly Māori and varied from non-institutional sources, such as iwi and hāpu spokespeople, to institutional and accredited sources. Because the sources' primary interpretation of the news was from a Māori viewpoint, it was the sources used that laid the Māori perspective of the news.

TABLE 17		
<i>SOURCES OF MANA NEWS</i>		
Māori institutional	25	28%
Māori informal	44	49.5%
Pākehā institutional	16	18%
Pākehā informal	4	4.5%

*T: 89

When the diversity of sources was explored *Mana News* tended to use fewer institutional sources as the Minister of Justice, or the Minister of Māori Affairs, and used more informal sources such as iwi spokespeople, administrative executives, Māori interest groups and individual Māori. Public

servants and health professionals were also dominant sources during the period of analysis.

When comparing the results to those in the research by McGregor & Comrie (1995), which found a reliance on white, male and institutional sources by mainstream media, *Mana News* did not comply with the general pattern employing a diversity of sources in their news.

The results revealed that there were fundamental distinctions between mainstream news and *Mana News* not only in the diversity of sources but in the opportunity those sources had to speak within the news programme. The average speaking time of a source in one story was around 75 seconds and the source was allowed to speak an average of 3 times per story. *Mana News*, by allowing sources to speak more often and for longer, gave stories more depth and context.

9.2.2.4 Covering issues over events

A substantial number of the stories in *Mana News* included background and context when reporting both events and issues. Background to the story was given in 93.1 percent of the items coded and the context of the story was explained in 89.6 percent of the items. Past events and the historical significance are important to Māori according to Mannion (1993). Hence, there is no surprise that for Māori listeners the focus will be on the progress and the history of a particular issue, rather than just the controversy surrounding it.

Issue	12	43%
Event	16	55%
N/A	1	2%
Included background	27	93.1%
Included context	26	89.6%

Mana News was also not as event orientated as mainstream news media. Up to 43 percent of stories sampled were issue related, whereas mainstream news can have as little as 11.9 percent of stories prompted by an issue (McGregor & Comrie, 1995). For instance, when mainstream media was reporting on the confrontation between farmers and an electric company over the erection of electric towers, *Mana News* amplified the narrative by mentioning the sustainable use of energy resources, explaining different options of generating power and how iwi can participate in such venture.

Therefore, the complaint about the primary orientation of the news as ‘happenings’, according to Te Awa (1996, p.172) that is “the media tendency to concentrate on the concrete at the expense of the abstract which does not allow listeners and viewers to develop a fuller picture and deeper level of understanding from the news”, does not appear to be the case in reporting by *Mana*. *Mana News* does not concentrate on happenings and events without regard for the socio-political context, and stories are not stripped of any historical perspective, an oft-expressed criticism of mainstream media (McGregor & Comrie, 1995).

9.2.3 Mana News content analysis summary

There is an identifiable Māori perspective in *Mana News* that is inclusive of Māori as sources, attempts to explain the abstract, gives the stories political and historical context and examines the shades of grey which surround the issues of the day. There was also a balanced approach to bad news stories by focusing on the problems facing Māori rather than the single-minded emphasis on negativity and conflict. When reporting bad news, *Mana News* often included solutions to the problem.

When considering the overall performance of *Mana News* to date, it is important to separate the ideal from the problems that are troubling the programme. People⁵ have tended to dismiss *Mana News* because it does not abide by the traditional news format and sometimes by the radio broadcasting standards which have been set up using a Western regulatory perspective and values, but not necessarily always fitting with a Māori worldview or Māori tikanga.

For instance, when members of Parliament Katherine Rich and Rodney Hide, complained to RNZ about an item broadcast on *Mana News* (Friday 2 May 2003) about funding of Mana Māori Media by Te Māngai Pāho, RNZ found that the item failed to distinguish between fact and opinion and that it compromised RNZ's impartiality. However, the notions of fairness and objectivity are built from a Pākehā mindset and, as explained in *Chapter Five*, Section 4.3.3, Māori journalists do not aim for 'impartiality' in their news stories.

⁵ For instance, Murray McCully, MP for the East Coast Bays from the New Zealand National Party described *Mana News* as 'the most biased programme on the RNZ menu.' (At www.mccully.co.nz, 1 July 2005, #211).

Another issue for concern is *Mana News*' editorial self-determination. Using the previous example, RNZ's response to the complainants stated "Audio supplied by *Mana* for news and current affairs was, in practice, reviewed prior to broadcast. However, because the audio was filed late on this occasion, it was not vetted before it went to air" (Broadcasting Standards Authority, decision No. 2003-110, and 111, 29 September 2003, 'The broadcaster's response to the complainants'). RNZ stated that it would not have been broadcast had it been vetted. RNZ advised that it was reviewing the processes to which *Mana Māori Media* were required to adhere, and "you may rest assured that more stringent measures are being put in place". How control is exercised and according to what arguments a veto is imposed on a news story still reflects Pākehā power to impose Eurocentric standards on Māori media.

The most significant aspect of *Mana News* is that it gives Māori the opportunity to shape their own information and cultural agendas using a mainstream media channel. In this way it becomes an important cultural and political tool for Māori at a national level.

9.3 THE ESTABLISHMENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF MĀORI COMMERCIAL RADIO STATIONS

Māori dissatisfaction with mainstream radio led to the establishment of Māori commercial radio stations from the early 1990s and opened up the airwaves to a range of niche stations not necessarily willing to abide by the stringent iwi radio policies.

An examination of the development of commercial Māori radio stations shows that their driving force is associated with concerns about the lack of Māori content in established radio, the negative perception of mainstream media portrayal, the withdrawal of rural services by Radio New Zealand, and the

need to foster greater Māori awareness and pride rather than the commercial enticement offered by a broadcasting business. Although profitability is an inherent cause of their survival, the reasons behind the beginnings of many Māori commercial radio stations were far from commercial.

In some cases, the decision to change from a previously government-funded arrangement to a fully commercial radio station arose to avoid the danger of being vulnerable to political whim. “What if the Government decides to pull funds?”, asked Graham Pryor, Managing Director of *Mai FM*, “We’ve got a short amount of time to breathe life into the Māori language and culture. If the language goes, the culture goes. People listen to the radio, especially young people. Selling commercials pays for social aspirations.”⁶

The aims of Māori commercial radio stations are wide ranging –to establish Māori as an accepted medium of communication; to reflect the interests of local iwi; to support local artists and musicians; to promote social, educational and cultural activities; to develop a partnership with other cultures; to broaden the involvement of the wider community; to develop and maintain standards of professionalism; and to be profitable.

Among the several examples of Māori commercial stations are the ones owned by Te Reo Irirangi o Te Hiku o Te Ika Incorporated Society, which, after experimenting with an iwi radio –*Te Hiku*– for almost a decade, decided in 1999 to launch *Sunshine FM* to better target the needs of the Kaitaia business community, as well as to “promote the Māori language to the non-Māori community in ways and means that make the listener want to hear and to understand Māori.” (Station Profile at www.tehiku.irirangi.net). In 2001, modelled on the success of *Sunshine FM*, and the desire to maximise its reach

⁶ Personal communication.

to the local audience, the Society launched *Tai FM*, specifically to reach out to the young people in the district.

Another example is *George FM*, a dance music radio station. Once transmitting from a flat in Grey Lynn, *George FM* has quickly developed a loyal following amongst its target market, the new urban lifestylers. With its “electric grooves” format and its non-stop line-up of DJs, music is given priority over talk and ads. The station attracts big-name advertisers such as Qantas, Peugeot, Heineken, Red Bull and L’Oreal. Still, the station preserves its commitment to promoting Māori culture broadcasting *Manu Tioriori*, a non-stop commercial free waiata through the night.

The following case study of *Mai FM*, a Ngāti Whatua owned station, is a fine example of Māori business success, with its heady fusion of innovative management, cultural appeal, technical innovation and plain hard work. The *Mai FM* radio station is consistently amongst the top three stations in Auckland’s fiercely competitive commercial radio market, where audience share rules and ratings are the determinant of who gets the advertising dollars that spell profitability.⁷

The April 2005 poll results had *Mai FM* as Auckland’s number one music station and in the overall category the station was just behind perennial ratings favourite ZB, but clearly in outright second place.

9.4 MĀORI COMMERCIAL RADIO STATIONS. AN EXAMPLE: MAI FM

In July 1992 when Māori broadcasting by iwi-operated stations was in its infancy, and with the assistance of a Government establishment grant,

⁷ There were 49 FM radio stations in the Auckland market in August 2004, outnumbering cities such as New York (43) and London (36).

Whangarei-based Te Runanga O Ngati Whatua made the decision to enter the Auckland commercial radio market and *Mai FM* began broadcasting in 1992. The immediate appeal of the *Mai FM* format, with its combination of street-smart Māori language phrases and funky music mix, captured a market that had been largely ignored by other commercial radio operators in Auckland – the Polynesian youth. “It’s cool to kōrero” became the station’s signature slogan.

Mai FM plays a mixture of the latest and greatest in hip-hop, R&B, dance and pop music –both local and international. *Mai FM* supports promising young New Zealand artists, assisting them with professional recording facilities and the broadcasting of their music.

The kaupapa of the organisation is “to promote te reo me ōna tikanga Māori as relevant and positive aspects of everyday life. This can best be achieved by owning and operating a successful and profitable communications business.” Balancing the two aspects of this kaupapa is constantly reviewed at all levels of the organisation to prevent one from undermining the other.

With a supportive Board, formerly chaired by Auckland businessman Rob Fenwick and now by Ngāti Whatua CEO Allan Pivac, and under the management of Managing Director Graham Pryor, *Mai FM* very quickly distinguished itself from other Māori stations by its all-out commercial approach.

The station had its initial problems, but Pryor’s appointment was instrumental in ensuring that *Mai* become a financial success. The station has operated without government grants for the last ten years. Not only has it totally funded its own operations, but more importantly, it records and returns a healthy annual profit to its shareholders.

Its commercial success can be measured by its fully booked advertising schedule. Pryor commented that, “if there were more than 24 hours in the day then we could fill those hours too”. He attributed the station’s commercial success to a hard-working team, a dedicated broadcasting engineering and technical team which keeps *Mai* ahead of the pack, and a unique music mix presented by on-air personalities who hook up with their audience. “We’ve even had the Prime Minister come in on our breakfast shows just to see what the buzz is all about.”

At the same time, *Mai FM* has been criticised by other Māori broadcasters who say that it should be doing more for Māori language or that its hip-hop music base is too African-American focused and that there is a low level of Māori music played. Pryor dismissed those criticisms as being based on the false premise that *Mai* is a government-funded iwi station and failing to recognise that hip-hop is what Polynesian and Pākehā youth are listening to. He said, “we probably have an equivalent amount of Māori language content to some of the iwi stations. It doesn’t recognise the reality, that all the iwi stations have found, which is that a high Māori language content in prime time programming means a loss of audience share.”

The station employs about 60 staff spread over a number of related operations: *Mai FM* itself; Mai Media Ltd, consisting of Mai Music Ltd and Mai Publishing; Mai FM Rotorua and Whangarei; Mai NET; Mai TV Ltd; and Red FM. The target audience and market for nearly all these operations is young Polynesians.

9.5 SUMMARY

Mainstream radio has a positive role to play in raising the level of consciousness of both Māori and non-Māori in respect of Māori culture. The purposes of this for Māori and non-Māori differ. For Māori the aim is the re-establishment and reinforcement of an understanding of their own culture and identity and the self-esteem which springs from this. For non-Māori it is to encourage understanding of Māori culture and to see this as an integral part of New Zealand society.

RNZ is seen as mono-cultural both in its structure and its output. The lack of adequate funding for training and production, the small amount of time allocated to the broadcast of programmes for and about Māori, and the inappropriate scheduling of the little that is broadcast are among the many arguments with regard to Māori programming on RNZ. Within this establishment, *Mana News* has thrived becoming, arguably, one of the most authoritative Māori news programmes in the country and opening a little window to te ao Māori. Nonetheless, it is still a minority voice within RNZ and has to conform to the policies and practices of mainstream radio.

On the other hand, Māori commercial radio stations are a current source of radicalising energy in Aotearoa/ New Zealand radio, and the variety of styles of broadcasting they have adopted indicate a vibrant and innovative sector. In coming to terms with their kaupapa, different notions of Māoriness have emerged; some focus on Māori control, while others concentrate on Māori language, content and Māori audience. Some stations have found a gap in the market and filled it with a music style and policy designed primarily but not exclusively for Māori, and targeted a particular age range.

WĀHANGA TUARIMA

PART FIVE

MĀORI TELEVISION

CHAPTER TEN

MĀORI PROGRAMMING IN MAINSTREAM TELEVISION

Broadcasting under conditions of modern life certainly has a part to play in Māori language revitalisation. It is an important part with two aspects. First, the more a language is used, the better its chances. Hours spoken on broadcasting media, simply as hours spoken heard by a mass audience, are useful in themselves. Second, I accept there is a subtler dimension. The media, particularly the audio-visual medium of television, is a powerful instrument in shaping mass perception.

*High Court presiding judge statement on Broadcast Restructuring and the Allocation of Radio Frequencies Case,
Hon J. McGechan, 1991, p.61*

10.1 TELEVISION NEW ZEALAND AND MĀORI PROGRAMMING

This chapter focuses on the broadcast and production of Māori interest and te reo Māori programming in mainstream television. It examines in particular the work of the public television broadcaster, Television New Zealand (TVNZ),

with its new emphasis on public service performance after its Charter was formally implemented on 1 March 2003¹.

The Charter states that TVNZ shall, among other things, “ensure in its programmes and programme planning the participation of Māori and the presence of a significant Māori voice” and “maintain a balance between programmes of general appeal and programmes of interest to smaller audiences”. To fulfil these objectives, TVNZ must “feature programmes 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”.

However, even the most casual observer of the New Zealand television scene can see that, at the moment, there are hardly any programmes which support the use or the prestige of the Māori language either among the general public, or within the Māori community itself. As written by Wena Harawira in a piece in *Mana* magazine (Issue No. 28, June-July 1999, p.26), “You are not in much danger of being swamped by Māori programmes on mainstream free-to-air TV these days. But they are there, in odd corners of the week”.

Some issues, such as the small programming budget of TVNZ and restricted funds of New Zealand On Air (NZ On Air); the mixed mandate of TVNZ, having to balance economic and social responsibilities; and the dichotomy between programmes of general appeal and programmes of interest to Māori audiences are discussed below. All of these issues –by no means the only ones– influence the broadcast and production of Māori programmes and their

¹ For the previous 14 years, TVNZ had operated as a State Owned Enterprise (SOE) with a purely commercial focus. The change of the company’s governance structure from that of a SOE to a Crown-Owned Company (CroC) requires TVNZ to balance its commercial performance with a set of public broadcasting objectives, set out in the Charter.

confinement to non-commercial slots.² These factors, along with the economic imperatives under which the television industry operates, as will be shown, severely restrict the potential for Māori material to be shown by the mainstream public service broadcaster.

10.1.1 Lack of Māori programming

An examination of the programme schedules for Māori Language Week 2005 as published in the *Listener* (Programmes for July, Saturday 23 to Friday 29, inclusive), revealed that TV One was to devote 6 hours and 50 minutes of its 168 hours of weekly broadcasting time to Māori programming (including 2 hours and 10 minutes of repeated screenings), representing around 4 percent of its total broadcasting time, while TV2 planned to devote at most one hour to Māori programming with the broadcast of a half-hour programme, *Mai Time*, on a Saturday morning and its repetition in the early rising time of 5.30 am on a Sunday, making up less than one percent (0.59 %) of the total broadcasting time of TV2.

Among the programmes broadcast, TV One featured *Te Karere*, a te reo news bulletin, a current affairs programme *Marae*, an interview-based show, *Eye to Eye with Willie Jackson*, an archival series *Waka Huia* and *Tiki Tiki*, a pre-schoolers show on Sunday mornings. TV2 only showcased *Mai Time*, a youth programme.

Several reasons for the lack of Māori programming were put forward in an exchange on National Radio's programme *Nine to Noon* (26/11/2003) between presenter Linda Clark and Hana O'Regan, Māori correspondent, illustrating the prevalent attitude among New Zealand's mainstream media:

² Issues such as shortage of skills, training and retention issues, the monitoring of quality programming and the quality of te reo are common to all Māori media but have been already discussed in previous chapters.

Clark: Well any television programmer will tell you this, but if you put a programme on that's about Māori issues or that's in Māori no one watches it.

O'Regan: Well the fact that no one watches it is a bit... I think that's a bit of an exaggeration because we know that quite a significant amount of the Māori population is interested in Māori TV. But the thing that... it's not even the fact that they [television programmers] say no one watches it, the main attack that I've had to shoulder has been the fact that they don't know, if it's in the Māori language, that they can't understand what they're saying, what they're talking about. And there's a fear that when there's anything in Māori language or anything about something specific to Māori that if they can't understand it well the topic must be about us and they must be talking about us. And it's a real fear and I don't really know where that comes from.

Whether Clark's observation that Māori programming does not have any audience appeal or O'Regan's comments that television programmers fear what they cannot understand is correct or not, the fact remains that, so far, Māori programming –either te reo Māori programmes or programmes of interest to Māori– given the small number found on TVNZ's schedules, does not 'serve the interest and informational needs of Māori audiences' as stated on its charter.

10.1.2 Confinement of Māori programmes to non-commercial slots

Despite the Government's undertaking to the High Court in 1991 to ensure that Māori programmes are broadcast on mainstream television, the actual achievements have been very limited. Since 1994, Te Māngai Pāho (TMP) has provided funding of around \$5 million per annum for Māori language programmes that until 2004 and prior to the launch of the Māori Television Service had been primarily broadcast by TVNZ.³ NZ On Air also indicated that it intended to provide up to \$3.9 million for general mainstream

³ See TMP Annual Report, funding for the year ended 30 June 2005, TVNZ Māori programmes, p. 9.

programmes featuring Māori in the 2005/2006 financial year (NZ On Air Statement of Intent, p.27). Despite the commitment of the two broadcasting agencies in funding Māori programmes, they have been relegated to the non-commercial hours on weekdays and on morning weekends, evading the objective of “mainstreaming”, that is the broadcast of Māori programmes in prime-time (6 pm-10 pm) to a substantial New Zealand audience.

For instance, programmes like *Marae* –and *Waka Huia* before it– for years have been broadcast on TV One on Sunday morning. TV One, furthermore, does not promote those programmes on air –even though the charter says TVNZ should promote the Māori language and Māori history, culture and issues and “include programming intended for a mass audience material that deals with minority interests”.

The reason that *Marae*, a current affairs programme taken seriously by Māori leaders and Pākehā politicians alike, and which also appeals to non-Māori viewers is hidden away on Sunday mornings becomes obvious when watching it. There are no ads, and no interruptions at all over the entire hour. That is because the Broadcasting Act bans adverts on TV before noon on Sundays, so that is where broadcasters accommodate programmes they think will not appeal to their advertisers.

Marae's Producer Derek Wooster explained, “It does frustrate me that we're there on Sunday mornings. But we've been there for some years now so our viewers know it's there at that time, so they do tune in. But, however, you know, weatherwise –if it happens to be a fine day and the Saturday was a terrible day, well, everyone's outdoors and the ratings drop quite a bit. But certainly with the charter in place now and TVNZ now having appointed the

kaihautu I hope there will be moves to find a more acceptable time for the *Marae* programme.”⁴

The removal of the ad free Sunday morning, as television networks have been advocating, because none applies on radio or in print, would certainly threaten what broadcasters perceive as non-commercial programmes, including Māori programmes.

10.1.3 General interest as opposed to Māori interest programmes

Another reason explaining the shortage of Māori programming is the dichotomy which is set up between “Māori interest ” programmes, and those for the “general public”. According to AGB Nielsen Media Research, Māori and “European” viewers do have different tastes. For the year 2004, for instance, the top 10 different programmes in terms of audience numbers among Europeans were:

Rank	Programme	Channel	Rating	000s
1	Dare to be free	TV One	26.3%	612.8
2	One News	TV One	24.5%	571.4
3	NZ Idol Grand Final	TV2	24.4%	568.7
4	Fair Go Ad Awards 2004	TV One	23.9%	558.9
5	Coronation Street	TV One	23.4%	546
6	Animal House	TV One	23.2%	542.2
7	Fair Go	TV One	23.1%	538.4
8	F&P Intl Netball	TV One	22.2%	517.9
9	Mucking In (PM)	TV One	21.6%	503.3

⁴ Personal communication.

10	Holmes	TV One	21.3%	497.5
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* *European aged 5+. Potential (000s): 2334. Sample: 673*

The top 10 programmes overall with Māori viewers were:

TABLE 20				
<i>TOP TEN PROGRAMMES 2004 –“MĀORI” VIEWERS</i>				
Rank	Programme	Channel	Rating	000s
1	NZ Idol Grand Final	TV2	28.0%	107.1
2	The Green Mile	TV2	22.8%	87.4
3	NZ Idol	TV2	22.4%	85.7
4	Wild Child	TV2	21.5%	82.2
5	Legally Blonde	TV2	21.2%	81.2
6	World Idol	TV2	21.0%	80.5
7	Schick Quattro Fight for Life	TV3	20.6%	78.9
8	Autopsy 9: Dead Awakening	TV2	20.2%	77.2
9	Lara Croft Tombraider	TV2	19.8%	76
10	F&P Intl Netball	TV One	19.8%	75.9

* *Māori aged 5+. Potential (000s): 383. Sample: 105*

Although no “Māori” programmes were included among the top 50 for either European or Māori viewers, the only programmes in common in the top 10 lists were the Grand Final of New Zealand Idol (a singing competition) and the netball games.

The Māori audience is basically young, reflected in its overall choice of the programmes available. Three movies, three music shows and two sports programmes were among the top 10 list for the year 2004 and eight out of the top 10 programmes were screened on TV2, a channel whose target audience is the age group between 18-39. On the other hand, the European audience overwhelmingly watched TV One (nine out of top 10 programmes were

screened on TV One) whose target audience is the age group between 25-54, reflecting an adult audience not only for the selection of channel but also for the programmes included in the top 10 list. A selection of news and current affairs, drama, sports, consumer advocacy, animal and gardening programmes were among the most viewed programmes in 2004.

The evident discrepancies on television viewership habits between the mainstream –Pākehā– public and Māori create a dilemma for television programmers whose job performance is measured against the size of audience ratings. Special interest groups, like the Māori, have no significance if they are neither wealthy nor a sufficiently large proportion of the mass audience to make a substantial difference to the ratings of programmes in general.

10.1.4 The production of Māori television programmes

The size of the New Zealand market and the relatively small programming budget TVNZ has is another major factor working against Māori programming. Even after the charter's implementation, TVNZ still has to be profitable, so programme cost is calculated against revenue contributions. This calculation weighs cost versus revenue benefits and unless there is external subsidy from NZ On Air or TMP, or highly successful programme schedule requirements (e.g. One News), then Māori programming always struggles because of its far greater costs compared with imported material which is priced at the margin by US, Australian and British exporters.⁵

Another factor constraining the level of Māori programmes is the restricted funds of NZ On Air which underwrites and subsidises television productions to meet its statutory objectives to “reflect and develop the New Zealand

⁵ According to TVNZ, the cost of producing local children's programming is five times higher than imported material; entertainment programmes costs 13 times more than imports and drama and comedies can cost 50 times as much as an imported series.

identity and culture by promoting programmes about New Zealand and New Zealand interests; and promoting Māori language and Māori culture” (Broadcasting Act 1989. Part IV. Broadcasting Commission. 36) Functions of Commission). Nevertheless, NZ On Air’s contribution to Māori programme funding on television in absolute terms is small –the NZ On Air subsidy to television programming featuring Māori in the financial year 2004-05 was around 5.6 percent (\$3.5 million out of the \$62.5 million devoted to local television content).⁶

NZ On Air’s funding criteria for Māori interest programmes has also been criticised by some Māori programming advocates. Although claiming over recent years that it has provided a significant level of funding, NZ On Air has tended to include in this category any programme that features Māori, aimed to a mainstream audience and irrespective of whether the programme is truly of interest to Māori or not.

Māori interest programmes are seen in different ways, depending on the perspective. From a non-Māori perspective they may be regarded as programmes which show Māori in a situation of interest to a wide New Zealand audience. These programmes can be positive, negative or otherwise. From a Māori perspective, Māori interest programmes are those which are of interest to Māori first and foremost, and provide an interesting, informative and insightful view of the Māori experience for any audience.

With limited funds and conflicting ways of defining Māori interest programming, NZ On Air faces yet another decision between investing in budget productions and maintaining target hours with a risk of compromising programme quality, or accepting that fewer hours will be produced in order to

⁶ According to the *NZ On Air Annual Report 2004-05*, funding for general television mainstream programmes featuring Māori as at June 2005 summed \$3.532.104 million (p.38).

allow programmes with higher on-screen production values. Once again, the key factor is money to fund such niche audience programmes when ratings matter.

10.1.5 The mixed mandate of TVNZ

The commercial framework in which TVNZ has to survive makes its role of revitalising the Māori language and promoting Māori culture difficult. The exchange between Linda Clark and Hana O'Regan (*Nine to Noon*, 26/11/2003) highlighted the issue.

Clark: ...[T]he two big channels that we've got here, I mean TV3 is just here to make money, you know, the television is the way they do it but they're not here to be, you know, to subsidise a culture or a language development. And TVNZ, okay it has the charter, but it also has very strict instructions from government that it needs to cover its costs, it needs to pay a dividend and that's what you come up against time and time again.

O'Regan: Well they've also got a responsibility to the development of culture and identity in the country and that is definitely the things that you'll see within their charters, that that's what they're committed to, and I guess what I'm saying is we need to see that commitment in the flesh. Now TV3 and TV2 do a lot of sponsorship in things within the community that are outside what just the programming costs are and I think you could even look at a slot for Māori language and Māori culture in prime time as a sponsorship thing. You know, it's New Zealand on Air, it's the thing that's meant to be holding up our culture and identity.

Clark: But one of the reasons that whenever these programmes appear they're in the sort of, you know, they're either on very early in the morning when nobody is up or they're on very late at night when everybody has gone back to bed, is that, you know, the logic of television programming is that one programme builds the audience to the next programme. So if you put on a Māori television programme at say eight o'clock what the programme schedule would probably show is that... if you put it on Television One for instance, say 8.30 after Coronation Street, what you'd probably see is that the audience figures

would hold through the news, through the Holmes programme, here comes Coronation Street, there's a big surge of viewing and then at 8.30 they just die off and they won't come back in half an hour later when that Māori programme is gone. So that's why they end up being at either end of the day.

O'Regan: But that's the key though Linda, put it in the middle, put it in between the weather, the news, the weather and then before Holmes comes on. Have it as a 15 minute slot of Māori language, Māori television. I don't even mind if you have sub-titles but have something in there where they can go and have a cup of tea if they want during the break and then come back because they know that they're going to want to watch Holmes. Or put it before Coronation Street and then we know they're not going to go away.

Although the old discourse of the market economy ('consumption', 'product', 'viewer choice') that ruled TVNZ while a State owned enterprise (SOE) has been displaced by a new or revived discourse of 'national purpose and identity', 'creative risk-taking', 'diversity of cultures', 'promotion of the arts' and 'education'⁷, major critics of TVNZ programming still are ethnic minority groups, among them Māori as they have not seen any substantial improvement relating to their programming after the implementation of the charter. Even though TV One and TV2 Māori programming hours increased in 2004 when compared with 2003, this was solely due to repeat programming with no new programmes debuting in this genre, according to the *New Zealand Television Local Content 2004 Report of NZ On Air* (p.21).⁸

10.2 TVNZ'S MĀORI PROGRAMMES: SOME EXAMPLES

Among the limited selection of Māori programmes broadcast by TVNZ is *Waka Huia*, an archival series broadcast on Sunday mornings on TV One. It began as a result of the success of the *Te Māori* exhibition produced in New

⁷ All these words and phrases come from the 2001 Charter.

⁸ TV One registered 259 total hours, an increase of 10 hours. This was solely due to an increase in the hours of repeat programming. The total hours of Māori programming in TV2 increased by 2 to 48 with no new programmes screened.

York in 1986. Whai Ngata and the late Ernie Leonard came out with the concept of the programme while reflecting on the disastrous consequences that would result if the airplane full of kaumātua travelling back from the United States happened to suffer an accident. They were mindful too that iwi knowledge was a diminishing resource.

Since its first transmission in 1987, *Waka Huia* has recorded and preserved the language and concerns of fluent speakers of the Māori language. The archival aspect is reflected in the particular history being spoken of, or in the ‘snapshot’ that is taken of a certain moment in time of the Māori world.

The kaupapa covered have ranged from traditional iwi and hapū histories, to the political, social and cultural concerns of the moment. The programme content is wide and varied. In the course of a single year’s transmission many rohe are visited.

Another example of Māori programming that allows TVNZ to comply with its Charter is *Mai Time*, a Māori youth programme broadcast on TV2 on Saturday mornings in English and Māori. It began in 1993, and reflected the trends Māori youth were into –African-American music and cool speak. *Mai Time* producer Greg Mayor says it has started to move away from that and is now more inclined to promote Māori music, Māori personalities and Māori language.⁹ For instance, you are more likely to hear “Kei runga noa atu” than “You’re the bomb” –although that is partly because the current presenters are more fluent in Māori. Other occasional Māori programmes include *Tikitiki* (TV One) and *Kapa Haka* (TV One). None was scheduled for prime-time.

To illustrate the Māori voices heard in mainstream television, exploring and explaining Māori issues to a mainstream audience and defining the

⁹ Personal communication.

information agenda of Māori, two Māori programmes are analysed. The first is *Marae*, a current affairs programme now broadcast on Saturday at 10 am¹⁰ but for years on Sunday mornings. While this programme is primarily in English, Māori language clips are often used. The second programme chosen for examination is TV One's *Te Karere*, a wholly Māori language news programme which is broadcast at 5:15 pm and repeated at around 6 am the following morning from Monday to Friday. Despite the fact *Marae* is not a solely Māori language programme, both *Te Karere* and *Marae* are fully funded by TMP.

10.2.1 Te Karere

Te Karere was the first regular Māori language programme on television, although it was a reluctant commitment by TVNZ. When TVNZ executives decided to celebrate the Māori Language Week, Te Wiki o te Reo Māori in 1982, they came up with the idea of a brief, daily news bulletin in te reo Māori. The proposal was conceived as a straight translation of the general news.

Derek Fox, who worked for TVNZ at the time, was given the orders to make the translations and read them on air. Still, he saw more value in a Māori news bulletin on issues of interest to Māori for which he borrowed some cameras, shot footage at hui with the help of a couple of friends and compiled a programme in Māori, about Māori.

After Te Wiki o te Reo Māori 1982 concluded, the pressure from Māori for more 'Māori news' made TVNZ relinquish a two-minute spot. By 1983, a four-minute spot was given over for a permanent *Te Karere* news bulletin on

¹⁰ This change has occurred since March 2005.

TV2 –with a system that switched over to TV One for East Coast viewers for exactly those four minutes.

By 1984, another minute was added to the programme, and by 1985 it went to ten minutes. More staff were hired, mostly for their fluency in Māori rather than journalism experience. There was no time or place for training so they learnt their craft on the job. By 1987, the programme was 11 minutes long, with a repeat of the bulletin the following morning.

Te Karere has come under the wing of Māori Programmes rather than news and current affairs. It is edited by Noari Stafford and fronted by Scotty Morrison. Current reporters are Hinerangi Goodman, Miki Apiti, Hiniri Henare, Maihi Nikora, Martin Rakuraku, Mihingarangi Forbes and Joe Glen. It has also served over the years as a platform for successful broadcasting careers for Māori journalists such as Tini Molyneaux (*One News* Māori affairs reporter), Te Rangihau Gilbert (Reporter/ director of *Waka Huia*) and Wena Harawira (*Te Hēteri*, Māori Television).

The kaupapa of the show is to “promote and use the Māori language five days a week during its 15 minute news bulletin on national television” and “satisfy its audience with a service that will convey Māori issues that are of National significance, whether it be Māori grieving the loss of their loved ones, celebrating their achievements, or voicing their concerns” (TVNZ, *TV One* website at http://www.tvnz.co.nz/view/tvone_story_skin/411856?format=html).

10.2.2 Marae

Marae is an hour-long current affairs and magazine programme in Māori and English broadcast nowadays on Saturday mornings on TV One.

Before *Te Karere*, the only window into the Māori world on television was *Koha*, a current affairs programme in English. It came on in the 1970s and was a particularly palatable programme for Pākehā viewers for whom te ao Māori was an unknown world. It had an explanatory approach, rather than provocative or challenging.

After *Koha* disappeared in the 1980s, *Marae* surfaced in 1992 and has done a similar job. It came from the newly-formed Māori Programmes Department headed by the late Ernie Leonard and has examined social and political developments affecting Māori. The *Marae* team, as described on its website (http://www.tvnz.co.nz/view/tvone_story_skin/414450?format=html) has three goals:

- To excite viewers about the vibrant culture within the Māori community;
- To educate and inform viewers about issues impacting on and important to Māori;
- To motivate viewers to take an active role in understanding the diverse opinion of Māori towards New Zealand and its place in the world.

Marae seeks to remind Māori of the richness of their culture and aims to bring a greater understanding of the Māori lifestyle to non-Māori viewers.

In the late 1990's when TMP insisted on a 100 percent te Reo approach the programme lost some of its following but *Marae*'s Producer Derek Wooster reinstated a 50/50 language mix, "I've got this template where various parts of the programme have to have minimum amount of Māori language and maximum amount of English –that's how I balance it throughout the whole

programme. Our ratings show that a good 44 percent of our viewers every week are non-Māori,” said Wooster.¹¹

10.3 TVNZ ATTITUDE TOWARDS MĀORI PROGRAMMING

While TVNZ’s Māori programming critics are aplenty, in terms of the amount and variety offered and their broadcasting in off-peak hours, TVNZ argues that steps are being taken to improve the current situation. In terms of programming, TVNZ highlighted in its Annual Report 2004 the successful negotiation with TMP in 2004 for continued funding of *Te Karere*, *Waka Huia* and *Marae* until the end of 2006, making its broadcasting commitment a three-years affair instead of a yearly matter. TVNZ also secured additional funding toward two half-hour series to screen in the *Marae* timeslot during the summer break.

As well as continuing to produce *Mai Time*, TVNZ commissioned another series of *Tikitiki*, a pre-school Māori language series and *He Wai*, a Māori language music series for youth. TVNZ has also aired one-off productions such as the *Māori Sports Awards* and *Māori Media Awards*.

TVNZ also claims an enhancement to its range of programmes on both channels in 2005, referring to the Māori current affairs series *Eye to Eye* on TV One and the children’s animation series on TV2 *Lost In Place*, which is a series of ‘shorts’ on a range of Māori place names and their meanings. Moreover, *Te Karere* has been re-packaged with English subtitles and is re-run in the mornings. Programmes like these, however, “are small fry compared with what’s planned –and even smaller with what’s needed,” said Wena Harawira (*Mana* magazine, Issue No. 28, June-July 1999, p.29). So while

¹¹ Personal communication.

some occasional Māori sights and sounds are seen on mainstream television, they are insufficient for Māori viewers.

10.3.1 Qualitative audience research of Māori programming

The new emphasis on social objectives overriding the commercial ones, has driven TVNZ to measure the implementation of the Charter and research was conducted to evaluate all TVNZ Māori programmes. The objective of the study was to measure the number of programmes that serve Māori audiences and measure programmes that enable all New Zealanders to have access to material about Māori culture, including language.

The research identified a number of issues in the current format for each of the programmes evaluated. While the current menu of Māori programmes remains largely intact, as a result of the research *Marae* was moved from Sunday to Saturday morning because viewers had difficulty distinguishing *Marae* from *Waka Huia*; and some key challenges were identified with *Te Karere* such as broadcast language quality, story structure and resourcing, all of which are being addressed with the transition to news and current affairs unit and the appointment of an Executive Producer (TVNZ Statement of Intent 2005).

10.3.2 TVNZ's kaihautu (advisor)

Among the steps taken by TVNZ in relation to Māori and its charter-driven stance, was the appointment of Hone Edwards as its kaihautu (advisor) in September 2003. Former chief executive Ian Fraser likened Edwards' new role to the person in a waka, or Māori canoe, "who calls the paddlers to order steering the vessel in the right direction. The kaihautu will work internally and externally to integrate Māori awareness and issues with TVNZ's business

objectives” (Press release, TVNZ website at http://corporate.tvnz.co.nz/tvnz_detail/0,2406,235298-242-255,00.html).

The appointment was welcomed by some Māori broadcasting groups –such as Nga Aho Whakaari, the representative body of Māori in film and television– believing that the new position would assist TVNZ to fulfil the objectives of its charter, helping to ensure there is a significant Māori voice on both its channels. However, such appointment was met with some apprehension from others who were concerned that the new position might be compromised by commercial imperatives at TVNZ. In the political arena it was seen as the Labour Government’s policies of political correctness gone “mad”, as described by National Party broadcasting spokeswoman Katherine Rich (Press release from the National Party website at <http://www.national.org.nz>, retrieved in August 2003) and a “completely frivolous waste and misuse of taxpayers money”, according to Deborah Coddington, ACT New Zealand broadcasting spokeswoman (Press release from the Act Party website at <http://www.act.org.nz>, 11 August 2003).

To date, his work has not been perceived so much on screen but, according to TVNZ’s Statement of Intent for the year to June 2005, within the company, “The kaihautu has been responsible for ensuring the views of Māori in programmes and programme planning is being taken into account and in liaising with the independent production community, specifically in relation to Māori programmes, and with the Māori Television Service and TMP, on whom TVNZ relies as a significant contributor to the funding of Māori programmes.”

10. 4 SUMMARY

The history of Māori programmes in mainstream television has been one of continuous pressure from Māori to government. Currently, even after the introduction of TVNZ's Charter, qualitative and quantitative research on Māori programmes and a Māori senior advisor appointment, Māori programmes represent less than 3 percent (2.33 %) of overall broadcasting time on TVNZ and are not given a high priority within the prime-time schedule.¹²

Because of its high profile as New Zealand's major state-owned television broadcaster, TVNZ remains at the centre of political and social debate. With increased competition, constrained by a profit-driven bureaucratic intervention, and even in periods of economic recession, TVNZ has lifted audience levels, pursued quality and local relevance in programming, built a solid regional strategy for the new technologies and the new media, and it has provided its owner with an improving return on its investment. But its ability to serve the interests and informational needs of Māori audiences –and other minority audiences, for that matter– has been severely constrained.

Whether it is for more quantity, more diversity, more quality, or more prime-time Māori programming, the questions of where and how to find the money to fund it lie at the core of any development. However, if Māori are to achieve their objective in television –to promote the language and the culture, not just to Māori, but to all New Zealand, then mainstream television seems the most economically efficient route.

¹² Examination of the programmes schedules as published in the *Listener* (Programmes for July, Saturday 23 to Friday 29, inclusive).

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE MĀORI TELEVISION SERVICE

The opening [of Māori Television] was such a surreal occasion. It was like 30 years of oppression being lifted. The shackles that prevented Māori Television from going to air were broken that day. That was the feeling, a feeling of freedom –freedom to speak Māori on primetime television seven days a week.

*Te Anga Nathan, News Editor of Te Kāea in
New New Zealand ideas, Waikato
Winter 2004, pp22-23.*

11.1 INTRODUCTION

The focus of this chapter is the Māori Television Service as a grassroots medium, a more flexible and adaptable form of media for Māori media needs, encouraging Māori involvement in a way that the mainstream media do not. These media do not follow Western programme forms adhered to by the mainstream media because their form and content are shaped by the people they serve. At the same time, as noted in previous chapters, this is not an argument for Māori people to participate only in Māori media. It is essential that they have access to the mainstream media as well so that their communication needs can be represented by a range of media. The grassroots-

type of media, however, are ideally placed to complement the mainstream media, as they can offer tikanga Māori-specific programmes in te reo and also make use of its many dialects. The mainstream media, at best, take a pan-Māori approach, which does not, as stressed in Chapter Two, reflect the many iwi and dialect differences among Māori and their cultural agendas.

11.1.1 The first trial: Aotearoa Māori Television Network

In 1996, the Government tested special purpose Māori television by piloting a television service in the Auckland region, the Aotearoa Māori Television Network (ATN). Te Māngai Pāho (TMP) –which in 1995 assumed responsibility for funding Māori broadcasting– received \$8 million from Government to fund the new television station. It began broadcasting on 1 May, 1996.

Although the station received substantial support from Māori broadcasters who saw the opportunity to make Māori television a reality, the project was poorly planned and under-funded and soon became unsustainable. The ATN channel was not expanded nationwide and it did not reach its potential audience, reporting a peak evening audience of only 7-16,000 people (AGB-McNair Surveys).

In its year-long life –it went off air in July 1997, ATN found itself amid a series of scandals and allegations of governance and financial mismanagement. For instance, it was said that one of the four founding directors of ATN was paid excessive director’s fees, and even that he continued to receive his salary after resigning his directorship; that two executive producers abused overseas trips and clothing allowances (the incident referred to in the media as “Undiegate”); that a deal took place in which the vendor of some old TV equipment would get double the agreed

price if Government funding was obtained; there was an investigation by the Serious Fraud Office (SFO) concerning the expenditure of public money; and the suspension of a previously granted Government fund of \$4 million citing “serious reservations about the financial management and controls in place at ATN...” (Press release from the then Minister of Communications, Hon Maurice Williamson and the Minister of Māori Affairs, Hon Tau Henare, 10 February 1997, ‘Aotearoa Television Network Funding’, retrieved from <http://www.spectrum.net.nz/archive/thn1002.htm>).

For some Māori broadcasters, such as Derek Fox, the ATN experiment did not tell anything new and it did not lay foundations for anything worthwhile, “...in a business as starved of dollars as Māori broadcasting – was how anyone could justify spending \$8 million on a pilot that could prove nothing” (*Mana Magazine*, Issue No. 21, April-May 1998, p.23). Instead, the ATN project was seen as a desperate effort by Government to avoid being admonished by the courts for failing to promote Māori language through broadcasting, as it has a Treaty obligation to do so. The Government had promised since 1991 to set up a Māori channel without taking any real action until then, “the channel had to be up and running in a matter of weeks, seeing that a High Court hearing was looming” (Fox, *Mana Magazine*, Issue No. 21, April-May 1998, p.23).

For other Māori broadcasters, as Wena Harawira, the ATN episode had at least one benefit. “The Government learned that to set up a TV channel (even one you don’t take seriously) you need time and thought” (*Mana Magazine*, Issue No. 28, June-July 1999, p.29).

11.1.2 Background to the Māori Television Service

In December 1998, a National Government facilitated the establishment of a Māori Television Trust to govern and manage a separate channel. A working group was also set up to develop a trust deed, advise on appointments procedures including the appointment of initial trustees and advise on how the operation of the trust should be funded. As a result, Te Reo Māori Television Trust [Te Awhiorangi] was established, the necessary UHF frequencies were reserved and a suitable Māori broadcasting enterprise to operate a service on a contractual basis was sought.

In 1999, Te Reo Māori Television Trust presented its business case and a purchase agreement was signed by the (then) Minister of Communications, Maurice Williamson. However, in December of that year an incoming Labour Government put on hold the release of funds and assets for the new channel to the trust citing concerns that the service would be under-funded and wanting to further consider options for Māori television.

By 2000, Cabinet agreed that the establishment of a Māori television channel was a government priority within the Māori broadcasting policy area and transferred the responsibility for Māori broadcasting policy advice from the Ministry of Commerce to Te Puni Kōkiri. As a consequence, the Māori Broadcasting Advisory Committee (MBAC) was established by the Minister of Māori Affairs, following an invitation from the Māori Caucus to a number of Māori recognised for their expertise as practitioners in the broadcasting industry.

Although the committee considered a vast amount of information over a six-week period, the report *Toward a Māori Broadcasting Strategy*, released in September 2000, provided a comprehensive historical context describing the

struggles Māori have endured with the Crown over the past 80 years of radio in New Zealand and 40 years of television to gain recognition of the importance and place of te reo Māori in broadcasting.

The accounts correlated the struggles with the steady decline in the proportion of the Māori population fluent in te reo Māori,¹ concluding that whilst Māori have been marginalised in the broadcasting sector, te reo Māori has declined to a ‘perilous state’.²

The reasons given by the committee for Government’s investment in Māori broadcasting included the Crown’s obligations under the Treaty of Waitangi, the judicial directive of protecting te reo me ōna tikanga and even the democratic imperative. The arguments could be summarised as:

- the opportunities that Māori broadcasting offers for improved communication;
- the contributions that Māori broadcasting will make to achieving the key goals for public sector policy and performance;³ and
- the improvements in quality and increase in volume of local content that Māori broadcasting will deliver.

¹ In 1973 13% of Māori had high fluency in te reo. By 1995, after the National Māori Language Survey, it was established that 8.1% of Māori had high fluency in te reo. The Government promised it would take action to reverse the decline. By June 2000 Māori language proficiency had declined again by 50%, only 4% of Māori showed high fluency in te reo.

² Words taken from the Waitangi Tribunal (April 1986), ‘Report of the Waitangi Tribunal on the te reo Māori claim (WAI 11).’ Waitangi Tribunal, Department of Justice, Wellington, New Zealand.

³ The Government published a set of 6 key goals to guide public sector policy and performance: Strengthen national identity and uphold the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi; Grow an inclusive innovative economy for the benefit of all; Restore trust in Government and provide strong social services; Improve New Zealanders’ skills; Close the gaps for Māori and Pacific people in health, education, employment and housing; Protect and enhance the environment.

The MBAC committee believed that a macro approach based on the principles of protection, participation and development would allow for Māori broadcasting aspirations to be met at the micro level of programme-making relevant to Māori.

Māori, in all their different identities of New Zealand citizens, tangata whenua, whanau, hapu, iwi, neighbourhoods, communities, sub-population; and within the diverse realities that make up their everyday experiences do not see themselves only through the lens of Māori language programming. They do not live either/or lives of some policy analyst. They want the re-creation of their pasts in Māori and in English; they want to see and hear themselves in their modern lives of joy, grief, drama, comedy, art, craft, music, soap; they need to be exposed to thoughtful, analytical, diagnostic, critical pieces on current events domestically and internationally that reflect their cultural context; they like to hear and see the chronicling of good and bad news stories about the everyday lives of themselves, their neighbours, their relations, their geographically distant but emotionally close tribal happenings. In short, Māori want to see and hear themselves in ways that are relevant to them (MBAC, 2000, p.11)

Following the MBAC report, the Prime Minister and the Minister of Māori Affairs directed officials to consider the report and provide further advice on options for establishing a viable Māori television service. In 2001, the Government announced the establishment of a Māori Television Service (MTS), an interim Māori Television Service Board was established, operational and programme funding were confirmed and the Māori Television Service Bill was introduced to Parliament.

11.2 ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MĀORI TELEVISION SERVICE

The Māori Television Service (Te Aratuku Whakaata Irirangi Māori) Act passed in May 2003, established the channel as a statutory corporation. The key principle for the establishment of the Māori Television Service was that together, the Crown and Māori have a Treaty obligation in preserving,

protecting and promoting te reo Māori. Hence, the principal function of the channel was set up to promote te reo Māori me nga tikanga Māori, “through the provision of a high quality, cost-effective Māori Television Service, in both Māori and English, that informs, educates and entertains a broad viewing audience, and, in doing so, enriches New Zealand’s society, culture and heritage” (Māori Television Service, Te Aratuku Whakaata Irirangi Māori, Act 2003, Section 8: Functions of Service, subsection 1).

The Service must also ensure that during prime-time it broadcasts mainly in te reo Māori; broadcasts a substantial proportion of its programmes in te reo Māori at other times; ensures that in its programming the Service has regard to the needs and preferences of children participating in te reo Māori immersion and all persons learning te reo Māori; and that the service provides broadcast services which are technically available throughout New Zealand and practically accessible to as many people as possible (Māori Television Service, Te Aratuku Whakaata Irirangi Māori, Act 2003, Section 8: Functions of Service, subsection 2).

The channel has two stakeholders –the Crown and Te Putahi Paoho (The Māori Electoral College) whose main role is the appointment and dismissal of directors⁴. The Crown has two responsible Ministers: The Minister of Māori Affairs and the Minister of Finance. Te Putahi Paoho, representative of Māoridom, comprises Te Kohanga Reo National Trust, Te Ataarangi Inc, Te Runanga o Nga Kura Kaupapa Māori, Te Tauihu o Nga Wananga, Nga Kaiwhakapumau i te Reo Māori, National Māori Council, Māori Women’s

⁴ There are seven directors, three appointed by the Crown and four appointed by an Electoral College.

Welfare League, Māori Congress, Te Whakaruruhau o Nga Reo Irirangi Māori, Kawea te Rongo, and Nga Aho Whakaari.⁵

After the ill-fated experience of ATN, the accountability and transparency of the Māori Television Service are safeguarded through several means: an annual Statement of Intent and output agreement; quarterly progress reports; an annual report; an audit via the Office of the Auditor General; and compliance with the Official Information Act (From the Māori Television Service website, corporate section at <http://corporate.maoritelevision.com/>, retrieved on 14 June 2005).

Funding to cover the initial operating capital costs of Māori Television was received from the Government which committed \$11.53 million (excluding GST).

TMP provides annual, direct funding for in-house programme production, acquisition of international indigenous programmes and subtitling and reversioning of programmes. The total provided for the year to June 2004 was \$14.5 million (excluding GST). Indirect funding is also received from TMP in the form of programmes that have been produced by independent producers to be screened in Māori Television.

Māori Television's vision is to be a world-class, indigenous broadcaster and its mission is "to provide an independent, secure and successful Māori television channel making and broadcasting programmes that make a significant contribution to the revitalisation of tikanga and reo Māori" (From

⁵ Te Putahi Paoho, the Māori Television Electoral College was established under Section 12 of the Māori Television Service, Te Aratuku Whakaata Irirangi Māori, Act 2003. Each of the organisations listed may appoint one representative to be a member of Te Putahi Paoho (See Section 13 of the Māori Television Service, Te Aratuku Whakaata Irirangi Māori, Act 2003 on Membership of Te Putahi Paoho).

the Māori Television Service website, corporate section at <http://corporate.maoritelevision.com/>, retrieved on 14 June 2005).

The main goals of Māori Television are to promote and normalise te reo Māori me ōna tikanga; to gain market position that will enhance the promotion of te reo Māori me ōna tikanga and create commercial opportunities; to achieve a level of financial security that enables quality production and programming, and full independence; to maintain editorial independence and credibility; to increase the capacity of Māori to participate in the broadcasting industry; and to be cost effective (From the Māori Television Service website, corporate section at <http://corporate.maoritelevision.com/>, retrieved on 14 June 2005).

Māori Television's long-term objectives are to significantly contribute to te reo and tikanga Māori becoming increasingly valued and embraced, and to be an independent national Māori channel that is successful with an assured future. Māori Television aims to gradually increase te reo Māori programming as the customer base becomes more proficient in te reo Māori, and to promote dialectal differences which exist with different iwi and in different parts of the country (From the Māori Television Service website, corporate section at <http://corporate.maoritelevision.com/>, retrieved on 14 June 2005).

The Māori Television Service is determined to be independent from Government and other political interests to ensure editorial integrity. The channel is also committed to being responsive to the needs of the Māori population who are its potential customer base and to providing enjoyable programmes that educate, inform and entertain (From the Māori Television Service website, corporate section at <http://corporate.maoritelevision.com/>, retrieved on 14 June 2005).

The Māori Television Service was launched with a dawn ceremony on March 28, 2004. Te Arikini Dame Te Atairangikaahu opened the door to Māori Television's Newmarket premises in Auckland, as Māori remembered those people who battled with the Crown, especially those who lodged a claim in the early 1980s with the Waitangi Tribunal, challenging the Crown to take responsibility for reviving te reo Māori which they insisted was a taonga and, under the Treaty, demanded that it be rekindled.

11.3 MĀORI TELEVISION PROGRAMMING

Māori Television claims its programming offers something for everyone, “vibrant, cutting edge programmes in both te reo Māori and English showcasing our history and culture, our old people, our young people and our dreams for the future” (From the Māori Television Service website, at <http://www.maoritelevision.com>).

In its seven-and-a-half hours of daily transmission (from 4 pm to 11.30 pm), viewers can see programmes that reflect Māori and the diversity of the country. Among them, daily news (*Te Kāea*); sports (*Code*); current affairs (*Te Hēteri*), tamariki (*Manu Rere*, *Pūkana*, *Koi*, *Ngā Kaapowai*, *the Slow Norris*, *Patupaiarehe*, *Bobtales*, *Spaceship Earth*, *Ngā Pūrākau o te Wao Tapanui*, and *The Wombles*); rangatahi, (*Coast*, *Haa*, *Kommikal's Chronicles*, *Tū te Puehu*, *Hākina Ahurea*); music; lifestyle; drama; documentaries; entertainment; classics and movies.

At first glance, its programme schedule does not seem different from any other channel: news and sports, a soap opera, children and youth programmes, a talkshow, reality TV, and the like. Most of it is in te reo Māori with some bilingual programmes and others in English. However, where Māori Television really differs from other channels is neither in its programming nor

its language, but in the style and treatment of its content. The shows have an unrefined dynamism, a daring ‘can do’ attitude combined with loose and colloquial conversations rather than the processed, sleek and impersonal images that ‘professionalism’ imposes on mainstream television. The differences are seen as product of particularly Māori cultural forms and methods of expression. It presents Māori culture to the entire country in an accessible way.

Furthermore, Māori Television, as a servant of the Māori language and culture, aims to become the leader in increasing knowledge and understanding of the Māori world for all New Zealanders. Te reo me nga tikanga programmes include *Taupatupatu*, an original series designed to test the te reo Māori and debating skills of its contestants; *Manu Kōrero*, a series that showcases the entrants and winners from the annual Ngā Manu Korero Speech Competition; *Kōrero Mai*, a Māori language education show; and *Toi Whakaari*, a national kapa haka festival broadcast showcasing every performance from Te Matatini National Festival 2005 and Tuhoe Ahurei 2005.

11.3.1 Māori news and current affairs programmes

The news and current affairs programmes are both considered as flagships of Māori Television, and as important means of redressing Māori cultural disadvantage by setting their own information and cultural agendas. A little more than a year on, the Māori Television Service was well into the routine of producing news and current affairs material every day, week in and week out.

Māori Television’s nightly news programme, *Te Kāea* broadcasts live every night starting at 8.30pm. The half-hour bulletin provides news stories from within Māori communities in Aotearoa/ New Zealand and mainstream stories nationally and internationally. These are “Māori news and not the news in

Māori” pointed out Tawini Rangihau, general manager of News, Current Affairs and Sport.⁶ *Te Hēteri* (Wednesdays at 9 pm) is Māori Television’s weekly current affairs show. A half-hour bi-lingual programme, which started in July 2004, *Te Hēteri* focuses on the Māori and on indigenous people elsewhere in the world.

For the analysis of *Te Kāea* and *Te Hēteri* participant observation was employed. This method was chosen because it has been extensively used in the study of news media and is also an observational method that, as Te Awa explains, “is conducive to the Māori oral traditions, as knowledge is gained through watching and talking to the participants” (1996, p.168). The field research was completed during the last week of August 2004.

The method of observation and documentation used was that identified by Frey, Botan, Friedman and Kreps (1992). Frey *et al* (1992) suggested that to observe and then document participant observation the researcher needs to move from the general to the specific. They described three levels of note taking in participant observation:

1	Descriptive observation which is the general description of the situation and components.	For this part of the study the researcher spent one week watching how a ‘routine day’ was carried out, from the assignment of stories and resources, through edition time, to the final presentation of the news programme.
2	Focused observations during which specific activities are noted.	For this part of the research informal interviews with reporters, editors and technical staff were carried out to elucidate

⁶ Interview.

		why certain practices were followed and what news values were applied in the selection and presentation of stories.
3	Selective observation, in which particular attributes or characteristics of those specific activities are noted.	For this part of the participant observation formal interviews were carried out, noticeable characteristics and general patterns were drawn out, and comparisons were raised against mainstream Māori television programmes.

Participant observation allowed the researcher to gain an intimate knowledge of the workings of the newsroom, and to explore the decision making processes in the newsroom that are not always apparent in the end-product.

11.3.1.1 Te Kāea (The Leader)

“Somebody tell a joke,” calls the chirpy sports presenter Julian Wilcox as he and Ngarimu Daniels receive the last brush strokes of makeup and compose themselves to anchor *Te Kāea*. At 8.29 pm, a minute from going live to air, a cameraman makes a comment which break the ice as the two presenters try to soak up their Māori news scripts and practise what sound like tongue-twister phrases.

Daniels and Wilcox are part of a new generation of Māori broadcasters who appear on Māori Television. The bi-lingual presenters follow the footsteps of pioneering broadcasters such as Wiremu Parker, Bill Kerekere, Whai Ngata, Merata Mita, Derek Fox, and the like.

“Five, four, three, two, one, roll opener,” orders the studio director. Opening titles roll of the new Māori political party, pictures of former Labour MP-turned Māori Party leader Tariana Turia, and a story on some aspiring

Taranaki Māori tae kwan do exponents. Then, a standing Daniels beams at the camera which captures her whole image –rather than the close-up used in mainstream television. “Tena koutou katoa ...” The 30-minute daily reo Māori bulletin begins.⁷

Nowadays, the nightly news programme is broadcast live each night at 7.30 pm and repeated at 11 pm. With Tawini Rangihau as general manager of News, Current Affairs and Sport, Te Anga Nathan as News Editor, Ngāti Porou’s Bailey Mackey as Executive Sports Producer, and a crew of 15 reporters,⁸ the *Te Kāea* team is committed to becoming the leading broadcaster of Māori news.

The immediate challenge for *Te Kāea* is that there is a limited pool of te reo Māori-speaking reporters. Rangihau explained, “we have turned young Māori radio journalists into television reporters, and it takes time to learn to script to pictures, and to marry script, natural sound, and pictures together. Although they are young, they show so much potential.” However, the demands from Māori viewers are even higher. While they have been inundated with calls and emails of support, there are others who want investigative journalists as well, and that breed of journalist is not grown overnight, reflected Rangihau.

Another challenge is the dwindling pool of te reo Māori-speakers who they can interview as sources for their stories. At present, they have to rely on translating English-speakers into Māori, but they hope Māori Television will encourage people to learn Māori, and that organisations will employ and recognise their Māori-speaking employees’.

⁷ Since January 2005, the format of *Te Kāea* was changed from two presenters to one.

⁸ It started with seven reporters.

Presented in 100 percent te reo Māori, the channel has been working towards broadcasting *Te Kāea* with English subtitles. When that happens, “we would have to take care what we say, because everybody would be able to understand us,” laughed Rangihau. The English language sub-titling initiative was successfully launched on 10 August 2005 during its late edition at 11 pm daily. Māori Television chief executive officer Jim Mather said: “The subtitled edition of *Te Kāea* is an important component of Māori Television being an inclusive broadcaster. We can now offer every New Zealander access to the ‘Māori perspective’ on important news issues relevant to us all.” Moreover, “the sub-titling of our flagship news programme, *Te Kāea*, reinforces our commitment to ensuring that 100 percent of our prime time programming is accessible to non-Māori speakers and those learning the language.” (Māori Television e-Pānui, Issue 75, 15 August 2005, retrieved from <http://www.maoritelevision.com/newsletter/issue75/>).

Back on the *Te Kāea* set, Daniels rounds up the bulletin with her closing lines: “No reira, kua mimiti te puna kōrero mo tenei po, mai nga ringa makohakoha a Te Kāea, noho ora mai.” Wilcox and Daniels look at each other and smile, closing credits roll, off-camera Wilcox delivers another joke.

One of the main differences with mainstream news is that the stories covered in *Te Kāea* are Māori news and not the news in Māori. According to Rangihau, if there is anything happening in the world that is of interest, *Te Kāea* will present the Māori perspective on it. “Our point of difference is that we will always try to present news which is not just mainstream news translated into Māori,” said Rangihau. “Some of it will be news that mainstream is not interested in and it would not always be about the bad news that is happening in Māoridom. We are not trying to compete for news with the other networks.”

Another issue that distinguishes *Te Kāea* from mainstream news is the scheduled time. Rangihau said “*Te Kāea* was deliberately scheduled late, at 8.30 pm, so that Māori would have more programming choices. We are not going to be an add-on to the cricket or kids hour like in mainstream. Also, we are not going to be put off by a boat race or a cricket game [referring to TVNZ’s Māori news bulletin *Te Karere*]. It is news seven days a week at a regular, accessible time that our people can watch.”

Te Kāea’s weather bulletins also differ from those presented in mainstream television. They do not just include temperature highs and lows, Māori maramataka (calendar) information is included with moon and tide updates, ensuring viewers know the best times to fish or plant their traditional vegetables, such as kumara and riwai.

The news programme also intends to reflect the many iwi and dialectal differences among Māori. For that reason, *Te Kāea*’s news team is made up of fluent Māori speakers from all over the country. The programme presenters represent a sample of them; Ngarimu Daniels (Tuhoe, Te Arawa Ngati Whatua ki Kaipara) and Oriini Kaipara (Tuhoe, Ngāti Awa, Ngāti Tuwharetoa) present *Te Kāea*, Julian Wilcox (Nga Puhi, Ngati Tuwharetoa, Te Arawa) is the sports presenter and Peata Melbourne (Tuhoe, Ngāti Kahungunu) hosts the weekends.

With state of the art technology, *Te Kāea* is in a unique position to be able to fuse technology with quality te reo Māori to tell Māori stories. A little more than a year on *Te Kāea* is carving a niche in New Zealand broadcasting, and breaking news that affects whanau, hapu, iwi and the Polynesian whanaunga (relatives).

11.3.1.2 *Te Hēteri (The Sentinel)*

“My hairdo looks funny, it has purple highlights...”, laughed *Te Hēteri* host Wena Harawira to the diligent makeup assistant. Harawira had just arrived from the hairstylist and was ready to start editing the intro of the programme – which she wrote while flying from Rotorua to Auckland earlier that morning. That day’s programme was an ‘easy’ one because a pre-recorded interview was to be aired and it only needed to be packed with a greeting, segment intros and a farewell.

While in the studio, heavy black curtains were opened and closed, three panels were dragged out from behind one of them, then the *Te Hēteri* logo was positioned and lights and sounds were tested. The veteran journalist sat in the centre looking crossways to the left side camera. Unruffled she waited until technical malfunctions were resolved and were ready to record. Lights went off and *Te Hēteri* recording started.

Te Hēteri, broadcast on Wednesdays at 9 pm⁹, is Māori Television’s flagship current affairs show. The half-hour bi-lingual programme covers from the latest in politics, business, technology and social matters to indigenous stories from around the world featuring live and extended interviews with audience polls, viewer feedback and authoritative commentary.

Harawira, whose background includes mainstream and Māori television and radio, is the face of the programme. Tired of the invisibility of Māori in mainstream media –for years, she used to report for *Te Karere*, a news programme she considers to have stagnated, and Mana Media– found a home at Māori Television, accommodating whanau life in Rotorua with weekly trips to Auckland for work.

⁹ Since August 2005, it is broadcast at 8 pm.

Te Hēteri aims to uncover some Māori achievers and heroes, not only focusing on Māori celebrities and politicians but on ordinary people. It also features stories which celebrate the achievements of kaumātua. It targets both Māori and non-Māori with stories about Māori issues nationally, locally and tribally, and includes stories from abroad about other indigenous peoples to look at how other cultures are resolving similar issues.

Te Hēteri has a short segment of tikanga Māori hosted by Waihoroi Shortland, a renowned actor, writer and cultural advisor, in which through the use of humour and te reo oratory he discusses current issues despite their seriousness and depth. The day participant observation was carried out, Shortland talked about the power of two wahine (woman) –Northland-based Ngāti Hine and Mahia-based Rongomaiwahine– mystically appealing to their hapu to reproduce prolifically and increase their population to be recognised as iwi under the Māori Fisheries Bill and be able to control their own assets: so explained Harawira.

For some media commentators, the current affairs programme is seen as TVNZ's *Marae* rival. In fact, it has a lot in common with *Marae*. Māori Television's general manager of news, current affairs and sport, Tawini Rangihau, described it as "bi-lingual, which will allow us to interview –and have longer interviews– in English with the people who are the movers and shakers, not just nationally but also in Māori communities. It is challenging and will challenge people to express opinions that Māori households and communities hold concerning major events and issues which happen in Māoridom".

Rangihau said *Te Hēteri* and *Marae* were not competing because Māori Television puts its news and current affairs programmes on prime-time.

“Sunday morning is not a good viewing time. And *Te Karere* is on at quarter to five in the afternoon –most Māori people don’t actually watch it– or can’t catch it. So our point of difference will always be that those are programmes which are flagship programmes for Māori Television –news and current affairs. On a Wednesday they’ll be able to sit and watch *Te Hēteri*. We’ve timed it deliberately for the middle of the week in order to catch politicians. We’ve always said we’re not in competition with the main networks or their Māori programming– so there’s room there for both sets of programming”.

But Rangihau also conceded that TMP might not always see it that way in the future. “I do know that they cannot afford to fund two national television news services and two current affairs programmes. Referring directly to the news budget allocated to TVNZ for *Te Karere and Marae*, I would expect that these budgets are totally contestable”.

So even though Māori Television and TVNZ’s Māori programmes may not be competing head-to-head for the same viewers, they could end up fighting for the same funds. *Marae*’s Producer, Derek Wooster, said key players in TVNZ worked to avoid the likelihood of that situation occurring. Whai Ngata, the general manager of Māori programmes at TVNZ and TMP signed a memorandum of understanding which committed TMP to fund *Marae*, *Waka Huia* and *Te Karere* on a long term basis –a period of three years. “So our funding will basically stay the same, but adjusted annually for CPI [Consumer Price Index]. It would give us some sort of sense of security” (Quoted by Colin Peacock on *Marae*, *Mediawatch* 28 March 2004, retrieved from Radio New Zealand website archives at <http://radionz.co.nz/nr/programmes/mediawatch/archive/2004/20040328r>).

However, if Rangihau’s analysis is correct when she said that TMP cannot finance two Māori news services and two current affairs programmes

indefinitely, TMP could face a difficult choice between funding the new Māori programmes on a channel which needs time to build an audience or supporting the established ones like *Te Karere* and *Marae*, even though TVNZ broadcasts them in its off peak slots.

In terms of viewership, although *Te Kāea* and *Te Hēteri* do not figure among the top-five programmes on Māori Television,¹⁰ only time will tell how Māori audiences respond to their own media and its Māori-specific information and cultural agendas in juxtaposition with mainstream media and whether they would be able to co-exist side by side. As Valaskakis (1993) articulated, indigenous audiences –as is the Māori one– like audiences anywhere else, are active, able to discern “parallel voices”.

11.4 MĀORI TELEVISION’S AUDIENCE

Audience research conducted by TNS Research Ltd in June 2005¹¹ commissioned by Māori Television to obtain audience data to inform the channel’s programming and marketing strategies and to measure audience attitudes found that:

- 97 % of Māori and 90 % of the general population are aware of Māori Television.
- 90 % of Māori and 59 % of the general population have watched Māori Television at some time.

¹⁰ Nielsen Media Research for Māori Television's first 12 weeks on air showed that the Top 5 programmes for the Māori 5+ audience were:

- Marae DIY
- Kōrero Mai
- Kai Time on the Road
- Nga Puna/Maumahara; and
- Sunday Movie

¹¹ 350 Māori and 350 general population New Zealanders were surveyed via Computer Assisted Telephone Interviews (CATI). Margin of error is plus or minus 5.2%.

- 86 % of Māori and 71 % of the general population agree that Māori Television is important for preserving and fostering te reo Māori and tikanga Māori.
- Māori Television is seen to contribute positively in a range of areas, including providing programmes that reflect the diversity of New Zealand, and preserving and fostering te reo Māori and tikanga Māori.
- The main reason given by both Māori and the general population for watching Māori Television is that its “programmes are interesting”.
- Programmes most liked by Māori and general population viewers are *Kai Time on the Road*, New Zealand documentaries, *Kōrero Mai*, *Mitre 10 Marae DIY*, *Toi Whakaari*, and international documentaries.
- Māori Television is perceived by both Māori and the general population to be a ‘rising star’ that is competing with other channels for viewers.

The research furthermore identified areas where the Māori Television Service is thriving, where further opportunities lie, and where improvements can be made.

Māori Television’s programme format reflects the fact that most Māori are in the younger age bracket, broadcasting tamakiki and rangatahi programmes most afternoons until 6 pm. Audience viewing numbers for the 12 weeks to December 5, 2004 showed that children and teenagers (5-19 years) had increased 97 percent over the channel’s first 12 weeks on air. Māori Television cumulative audience (viewers who have tuned in at least once for a minimum of eight minutes) has also increased to more than 667,000 viewers, up from 358,000 for the channel’s first 12 weeks on air (Nielsen Media Research. Dataline Service Cumulative Audience Analysis).

The ratings also showed that 45 percent of the Māori population watched Māori Television, and during peak times –6 pm to 10.30 pm– more than half the Māori Television audience was Māori. Māori Television Chairman Wayne Walden credited the growth in audience to the channel’s unique style of programming which included a high percentage of New Zealand-made programmes and quality international documentaries and movies.¹²

The wish to connect with indigenous television stations and broadcasters in the Pacific and around the globe is shown with the screening of programmes about indigenous peoples from around the world. It enables viewers to get an idea of where indigenous peoples are as a whole and it gives a perspective on how Māori fit into the rest of the world.

Common complaints levelled against Māori Television are first, that it should be on air for longer every day, and second, that its advertisements are repetitive (perhaps since so far there are few to chose from). Māori Television Chief Executive Jim Mather also acknowledged the audience’s growing pressure for English sub-titles. “We are aware that in order to continue to grow our audience we must ensure our programmes are accessible to all New Zealanders, particularly in terms of understanding the language. But we must ensure we do this while continuing to fulfil our responsibility for revitalising te reo Māori. Programme accessibility, by using tools such as subtitling and story boarding, is a key priority for us” (Quoted in the Māori Television website, latest news section, ‘Māori Television a permanent broadcaster’ at <http://www.maoritelevision.com/latestnews/maori%20television%20a%20per m%20broadcaster.htm>, retrieved on 11 August 2005).

¹² Personal communication.

11.5 SUMMARY

This chapter has indicated that it is highly unlikely that Māori Television can be self-supporting because of the type and range of services the channel offers, and the small size of its audience when compared to the mainstream media. However, the Māori Television Service seems a valuable instrument as it showcases Māori productions, thus encouraging Māori producers. It has also started to grow its audience with programme exchanges, supplementing Māori content with programmes featuring other indigenous peoples around the world.

Almost two years on from its screen debut, Māori Television has been through chief executive scandals, employment disputes and plenty of political criticism. However, the channel is firmly on the broadcasting map and has in many eyes gained respectable viewing figures. So far, Māori have finally found their own forum to watch issues important to them rather than being relegated to a daily 15-minute news bulletin and Sunday morning television programmes.

Broadcasting media, and in particular television, are powerful cultural resources enlisted by the dominant paradigm to win consent for particular ideologies (Gramsci, 1988). But Māori media, too, in their various forms, represent grassroots cultural resources which have the potential not only to contribute to the management of society offering an alternative perspective to that of mainstream media, but also to operate counter-hegemonically. The challenge for Māori Television now is to move from the “social justice” paradigm that sprung it into life to a “creative excellence” approach to Māori production and broadcasting that would dictate its future.

WĀHANGA TUAONO

PART SIX

CONCLUSIONS

CHAPTER TWELVE

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY, SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH AND CONCLUSIONS

*Ko te manu kai i te Miro Nona te ngahere,
Ko te manu kai i te matauranga nona te ao.*

*(The bird who eats of the Miro tree owns the forest,
the bird who eats of the Tree of Knowledge
owns the world).*

Māori whakataukī (proverb)

12.1 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Before some suggestions for further research are made and the conclusions of this research are drawn, it is useful to highlight some of the limitations the researcher faced in conducting this study. These are:

The single most important limitation of this study is the fact that the researcher lack **te reo Māori proficiency** and was a major factor that prevented in-depth research into Māori printed and online publications. When researching the history of Māori printed journalism the researcher heavily relied on translations found in The Māori Niupepa Collection, at the New Zealand Digital Library of the University of Waikato, on its English section found at

[http://www.nzdl.org/cgi-bin/library?gg=_cgiarggg_&e=p-00000-00---0niupepa--00-0--0-10-0---0---0prompt-10---4-----0-11--11-mi-50---20-about--00-0-1-00-11-1-0utfZz-8-00&a=p&p=about&l=en] and on translations made by selected authors. When studying editorials of current Māori publications, although all editorials are written in English and most of the publications are bilingual, the pieces in te reo Māori were left unread and therefore important information might have been lost in connection to the political voice and idiosyncrasies of the publications.

The researcher is not of Māori descent nor she considers being a Pākehā. Born overseas, her background is foreign from these two historical stances. Some scholars thought that it would be rather beneficial to have an “outsider” investigating the role of media and Māori in the present context, since it has not been done before and the researcher does not represent any specific school of thought, which frees her to make an attempt at bridging various views presented in contemporary research in a novel way. However, the **cross-cultural limitations** of this research have to be mentioned. Before embarking into the study the researcher had to learn in haste about essential cultural issues concerning Māori, for instance, on marae protocols and on ethical and methodological approaches of research on Māori, and thus the ensuing cultural limitations of this study must be acknowledged.

Another limitation concerns the **cross-disciplinary nature** of this research project. Māori use and participation in the media was studied within the context of media and journalism practices and their output. There is an apparent danger involved whenever concepts are borrowed from related disciplines, for instance, from the fields of Pacific Studies, Indigenous Studies or more specifically Māori Studies, and then applied in the present context (such was the case of kaupapa Māori research used as kaupapa Māori journalism). The author does not have any degree in any of those areas, but

she has had several discussions with scholars specialising in these areas when particular concerns have arisen.

A further limitation has to do with the extent to which the findings can be **generalised** beyond the cases studied. Although case studies were spread over different time frames and used different methods of study to avoid making the same mistakes time and again, they are too limited for broad generalisations. For instance, the current issues facing iwi radio stations were gathered from visits to seven out of the 21 radio stations and interviews with selected radio employees, management and media academics. The examination uncovered many of the same issues therefore it was assumed that all iwi radio stations shared them. Further empirical evaluations, however, are needed to replicate the findings in different contexts and surroundings.

12.2 SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

There has been an exponential growth over the last three decades in the academic study of Māori representation in the media. However, many areas of Māori media highlighted in this study await further research and a few of these are suggested below.

The case studies included in this research cover a wide spectrum, from well-known examples, such as *Mana News*, to examples that have not been previously documented in academic papers or journals –as the iwi radio stations' *Ngāti Porou*, radio *Waatea* and *Te Ūpoko Ō Te Ika*. However, there are other examples of Māori media outlets in the Aotearoa/ New Zealand media environment. Further case studies should be carried out, and the analysis procedures should then be re-run on the expanded dataset, to obtain a more complete understanding of them.

This research has performed analysis of some of the current Māori online publications at a fairly descriptive level. However, as explained in the limitations of the study, there were a number of technical reasons why this is so. The analysis of the content of Māori online publications should be carried out in greater depth. Findings from this research should help in the development of such a communicational tool by highlighting the specific areas in which Māori online publications differ from conventional web-based publications.

This work has highlighted the need for further research into Māori reporters and journalists' behaviour; specifically with regard to training, employment, development opportunities and the interaction between New Zealand's mainstream media attitudes and Māori journalists employment and management decisions.

This research supports the call for the increasing use of media legislation to drive the market. However, the vast majority of existing and forthcoming policies retain a broadcasting-only focus –it has not been framed with consideration for printed media neither for Māori media as a whole. Further research is required to better understand the relationship between Māori broadcasting policies and the struggle of Māori printed media and the underdevelopment of Māori web-based publications.

12.3 CONCLUSIONS

This dissertation has identified some ideas that to Māori seem most effective for their own communication and participation in the media and some of the ways in which different media formats have been used to further Māori cultural, social, economic and political agendas. A number of ideas and assumptions about 'our' world are systematically reinforced and legitimated

by the media. Alternative views tend to be marginalised or ignored. But alternative ways of thinking, alternative assumptions, and alternative histories and stories do exist, re-framing the interpretation of events; and alternative ways of constructing and maintaining notions of culture as seen throughout this dissertation.

From the time of the first European contact, Māori have been represented from a Pākehā perspective –as the ‘other’, a dying race, the welfare-dependent, the drunk, the activist, the stirrer, the threat to existing order, and the invisible when complying with the established Pākehā order. None of these images is the product of Māori themselves.

Therefore, in an effort to redress the balance of representation this thesis has focused on studying the Māori media sphere or Māori use of and participation in selected media formats such as printed publications, online websites, radio and television in order to illustrate the extent and diversity of Māori media in Aotearoa/ New Zealand. Through the examination of the different media formats Māori are using, the thesis has explored the question of which media models seem the most effective for Māori communication and participation, and which media have furthered Māori cultural, social, economic and political agendas.

The thesis advocated that Māori need to actively participate in mainstream media as well as to create their own media, in agreement with Fox (1988) and Hodgetts et al (2005), so that they can define their information and cultural agendas. It was noted that this has been increasingly possible since the 1980s as a result of various findings of the Courts, including the Waitangi Tribunal, and a number of Cabinet decisions rather than as a result of New Zealand’s media self-evaluation.

In *Chapter Two*, the links between Indigenous language revitalisation, cultural regeneration and the media were expanded on. This chapter argued that all media content is culturally constructed as observed by Krippendorff (1993) and that it is vital for Māori to have access to this form of cultural expression. This is particularly necessary in Aotearoa/ New Zealand, not only because Māori are largely absent from mainstream television and radio, and therefore there is little culturally specific content on the mainstream media for Māori, but also because they are often misrepresented and negatively stereotyped in these media. This sort of content has done little to promote inter-cultural understanding; in fact it has contributed to the perpetuation of negative Māori stereotypes.

The thesis did note that mainstream media might be sympathetic to the broadcast of some Māori programming or publication about some Māori issues, but it was argued that those still left control of the programme production and programme scheduling in the hands on non-Māori. Self-determination for many Māori requires Māori control. In practice, this means not imposing a media model to follow or a niche slot on Māori, but providing instead the resources necessary to determine their own media models and forms of media –as Freire suggested ‘from the grassroots up’ (Freire, 1993). Only when this happens, will Māori be effectively ‘participating’ in the mainstream media.

It was argued in *Chapters Two, Nine and Ten* that Māori content on the mainstream media is valuable, as these media are influential and can ‘legitimise’ Māori culture and promote inter-cultural understanding in the ways suggested by Hornik (1988) and Schramm (1971). By producing and broadcasting Māori material aimed at a general audience, these media can signify the importance of Māori culture and its place in society. However, if programmes containing Māori content on the mainstream media are to be

really effective, it was stressed that they have to be placed at prime-time to reach a substantial New Zealand audience. It was argued that a variety of programming is also important because Māori programmes run the risk of being ‘ghettoised’ as for Māori audiences alone.

Following on from this, *Chapter Nine* examined commercial and mainstream radio and *Chapter Ten* explored the contribution mainstream television in Aotearoa/ New Zealand, in particular the work of TVNZ as a public television broadcaster, has made to Māori content. What became clear in these chapters was the failure of mainstream ‘national’ models to contribute even a reasonable amount of Māori material. Moreover, it was clear from the case studies that the mainstream media have been put under pressure to provide a full broadcast service as cost-effectively as possible so that the greatest number of listeners and advertisers can be attracted in order to maximise profitability.

As a result of this economic pressure, these media have favoured cheaper programmes that are readily available and other programming which are thought to have general audience appeal, over the more expensive and less ‘appealing’ Māori programmes. It was stressed throughout these chapters that the need to cover costs, to make ‘each minute pay’, also meant that these broadcasters are less likely to ‘take a risk’ with Māori programming as they assume this only has minority appeal. The mainstream television and radio stations consequently have not been prepared to produce and broadcast reasonable Māori content.

Chapters Nine and *Ten* also argued that although public service broadcasters’ mandates specifically require them to provide a ‘national’ service, inclusive of minorities’ interests, even so there are problems. In the case of TVNZ, it was pointed out that Māori are just one of many groups this organisation is

supposed to cater for and the Māori unit at TVNZ has not been given the freedom to fully determine its own productions, being subject to TVNZ programming standards and NZ On Air funding criteria for most of its programmes. At RNZ, the situation is not much more encouraging. The lack of adequate funding and inappropriate scheduling hampers the in-house production of Māori radio programming. The reality shows that the majority of National Radio programmes are supplied by Waatea News.

The thesis then detailed the advantages of using Māori-owned media –which generally take the form of small media outlets– to promote Māori cultural diversity, and argued that these media should not be marginalised or labelled away as ‘alternative’, but seen as legitimate communication outlets. This is essential, because if we accept that the media are major sources of information and cultural material, and that the combination of factors listed earlier disadvantage Māori by not providing them with appropriate content or sufficient opportunities to participate in the mainstream media, then it needs to be recognised that these small media are in many instances the ‘main’ media for Māori.

These media, as the thesis showed, have offered Māori their first real opportunity for Māori control and access. Māori have in turn used and adapted small media to serve their needs for information, along the lines suggested by Freire (1993) and Molnar (1994). The case studies and examples in the thesis illustrated this further, and showed how Māori are using small media as part of the process of ‘tribalisation’ referred to by Schlesinger et al (2003), and in doing so, the ways in which they are resisting the one-way flow of Pākehā content.

Chapters Four and Six examined small –regional– Māori print and online publications, and found they are much more cost-effective and adaptable for

Māori communication than the more costly and less flexible centralised – national– media models. These chapters also noted that because of the smallness of the technology involved, makes it easier for editors and producers to experiment with Māori forms and content. *Chapter Eight* detailed the ways Māori are using radio in Aotearoa/ New Zealand for iwi communication, cultural expression, collective action and Māori networking. It was noted that this oral medium has been particularly successful as an outlet for Māori communication, and that it has had considerable impact in the area of language regeneration and revitalisation.

In the course of examining the different media models, the thesis argued consistently that each has a particular advantage for Māori, and that the most effective Māori media model would combine national, regional and iwi-based media models, because this combination could cater for the diversity of Māori groups and information requirements that exist.

Throughout the discussion of particular media models, governments in Aotearoa/ New Zealand were criticised for their failure to provide adequate support for these media. Government shortcomings discussed included inadequate policies and funding; the imposition of media models supposedly for the benefit of Māori development and education; technologically determined policies that preclude adequate consultation with Māori about their communication needs; policies which misunderstand the resourcing necessary for the media; inadequate resourcing notwithstanding commitments to Māori production prior to the services being established, or no actual provision for training Māori staff to produce Māori content.

It became clear in the examples and case studies presented that Māori writers and broadcasters in Aotearoa/ New Zealand have to work in conditions and with resources that are often vastly inadequate. Permeating these case studies

was the sense of a continuing struggle to develop Māori content in the face of limited government support. At the same time, it was obvious that Māori media would not be where they are today if Māori broadcasters and publishers had waited for governments to act. However, while the commitment of Māori to Māori content has meant that in many instances they have made the best of what they have, it was stressed that Māori television and radio could be operating far more effectively if there was more government support.

For this to happen, governments in Aotearoa/ New Zealand must, in consultation with Māori people, determine clear guidelines for the funding and development of Māori media for a medium to long-term period. The tendency at present is for Māori broadcasting to exist precariously lurching from year to year, and for Māori printed media to have no security of existence at all. This is not only demoralising, it is also destabilising, and results in time-consuming application-after-application for government funding. Māori broadcasters need to be clear about what funding they can expect for capital costs, equipment and staff so that they can better plan their services.

This is particularly important, because funding cutbacks often appear to be made in a knee-jerk fashion. Little consideration, for example, appears to be given to seeking out alternative means of finance, or to the potential long-term effects these cutbacks will have on the revitalisation of te reo Māori, Māori culture development and Māori communicational needs. If the present situation is to improve, governments in Aotearoa/ New Zealand will have to give Māori media a higher priority. At present, Māori media, broadcasting in particular, appears an afterthought, something that is tagged on to the rest of the Māori development funds. There is much rhetoric about the use of the media for language revitalisation, cultural purposes, education and development, but governments need to back up rhetoric with concrete action.

Even providing adequate resources does not go far enough. There should be policies in place requiring a quota or percentage of all mainstream television and radio to be Māori produced; encouraging the mainstream media to train and employ Māori professionals to carry out this work. It was noted that government, while expressing the need for Māori content, has not legislated adequately to make this a reality.

It was also argued that in addition to more resources, comprehensive training programmes as discussed by Stuart (2002) and Robie (1995 and 2006) are vital if the Māori media in Aotearoa/ New Zealand are to develop further. It was noted that many Māori have received their training and previous work experience in Pākehā media or at Pākehā training institutes, and that western notions of professionalism have been reinforced. The regional training project at the Waiariki Institute of Technology has certainly helped to rectify this situation operating in Rotorua and sensitive to Māori cultural concerns. However, this school is the only place that provides journalism training from a Māori worldview which inherently emphasises on the processes and protocols involved in the reporting of Māori issues, there is an over-concentration on short courses¹, and the school has a limited capacity to take on students.

Looking ahead there is cause for both optimism and pessimism. Optimism because Māori media and in particular Māori broadcasting in Aotearoa/ New Zealand has developed over the past two decades and has at present a vibrancy and a momentum of its own. This growth will stand Māori broadcasting in good stead for future development. Pessimism, because unfortunately governments are yet to show any real commitment to funding this sector adequately, so the struggle to produce Māori content and to develop further Māori media is set to continue for the foreseeable future.

¹ There are two journalism courses available at Waiariki Institute of Technology: the Certificate in Journalism (18 weeks) and the Diploma in Journalism (18 months).

APPENDIX A

A CASE STUDY OF TVNZ'S ONE NEWS COVERAGE OF THE SEABED AND FORESHORE HIKOI, MAY 2004

When reviewing literature on the reasons for the emergence of Indigenous media, several national and international authors pointed out to the way in which Western news conventions both determine and frame Indigenous issues. Also, when looking at the New Zealand literature, opposite patterns such as 'Good Māori/ Bad Māori' identified by Nairn and McCreanor and 'Tame Māori/ Wild Māori' as described by Abel were reiterated as present throughout the review (Fox, 1988; Walker, 1989; Stuart, 2003; BSA, 2005).

However these patterns were found in studies from the 1990s. Therefore, to confirm or deny them as current a case study of a Māori issue (in this case, the seabed and foreshore hikoi) covered by mainstream media (One News) was analysed. This case study follows the line of those realised by Abel in 1990, 1994 and 1995 when she examined television coverage of Waitangi Day. The intention is to allow for a comparison of the changes in news practices over time in different cross-sections, her first analysis and this one most than a decade apart.

TVNZ's One News report on the arrival to Parliament of a hikoi to protest about a proposed legislation on seabed and foreshore rights and ownership in

May 2004 provided the focus of this case study. Its coverage raised a number of concerns about the way TV defines news and packages it.

Firstly, the selection of story. The hikoi fitted into the event-oriented value of a news or newsworthiness, more so because the provision of drama ‘as it is happening’, perfect for ‘live’ coverage in TV news. It also had a commonly found news theme –a civil disturbance versus institutional power– and as an established news category, a pre-existing formula was used to cover the news.

From a journalist/ editor/ producer point of view, it meant it could be quickly put together with a beginning, a middle and an end. This type of production, however, ignores the complexities and particularities of the issue, and instead concentrates on the event of the day only. In this way, the news media fit whatever content they are able to gather into a pre-existing formula, which has a pre-determined treatment and worst of all, a known outcome.

Moreover, the construction of the One News report gave the impression that the hikoi was a confrontation between Māori and the Pākehā establishment or its representative, the Crown; and of the police, the protectors of Pākehā society’s law and order against the invading Māori ‘hordes’.

Regarding the visual treatment of the news with the camera work, it used wide angled shots which characterise the treatment of marches and protests, but it further emphasised the rowdiness of the marchers by depicting the marchers as ‘a mob’. It is known that the camera is never a neutral ‘mirror on the world’, it is operated according to a set of conventions which in turn represent certain meanings to its audience. These meanings favour some groups, for example authorities such as government officials, who are privileged by the use of medium to close-up shots usually in quiet surroundings, while disadvantaging

others, such as the Māori marchers who were seen by the camera as an anonymous rabble.

The news media always choose ‘known actors’ to lend authority to their reports; in this instance One News chose Tame Iti despite the fact it would have been more appropriate to interview the organisers of the hikoī for their views. Given the pressure of deadlines, it possibly was much easier for One News to rely on a ‘known’ face and an easily accessible actor rather than spending the time seeking out the people that organised the event.



Iti’s familiarity with the media also meant that he understood how the television news works and was able supply the necessary 30 to 60 second comment required. Unknown ‘actors’ with less or no media experience might not have been able to do this as easily, and consequently could have affected the viability of the story.

The choice of Iti is, however, not neutral, and immediately angles the story in a particular way because he is known as being anti-establishment, and with this background any comments he made would be viewed in this context. One News further reinforced this stance by labelling him as Māori ‘activist’, a word with negative connotations which is seen as unreasonable and threatening. His physical appearance and non-verbal expressions, also contributes to his selection as newsworthy and is ideal to represent Māori discontent. He is a fully-tattooed well-built man, with aggressive mannerisms when expressing discontent. A softly spoken, ordinary looking Māori would not have the same visual impact as ‘dissident’ and anti-establishment than Iti.

The One News report would have had quite a different impact to the audience if the journalist had sought the views of a range of lesser-known Māori attending the march without labelling them. But for this to happen, the journalists and camera crew would have had to challenge the established news formats risking the chance of ‘losing’ the story and not being included in the news bulletin at all. As it was, the report was reduced to ‘just another protest’ (about land, rights...) since the media rarely provide the context for stories, particularly disputes.

The march was categorised as a conflict from the start, even before deciding which interviewees, what visual segments of the hikoi will make the final edition, what 30-seconds or so sound bites will be highlighted and possibly even before the hikoi started. By doing so, the journalist did not seek out the reasons for Māori concern. Moreover, the apparent ‘violence’, captured by the camera, of the crowd surging forward was the result of a policeman knocking down an elder and some of the marchers reacting to this. The shaking of a large wire gate seen on TV, and the angry words, were not about land rights, but about this particular incident.

Obviously, for this case study to be completed One News agenda-setting policies and practices, the background of the reporter, cameraman, editor and other people involved in the news bulletin and several other issues involving the final news product or report would have to be studied in detail. However, this rushed and shallow study suggests that the coverage of Māori issues is not different to that described by Abel in 1990 and that at least one of the three impediments she listed in her book *Shaping the News. Waitangi Day on Television* (1997) to any change in the news still applicable in 2004: the ‘culture’ of news organisations and use of traditional news values (p.195).

APPENDIX B

MĀORI MEDIA REPRESENTATION THROUGH EDITORIAL CARTOONS

Like any convention of human communication, the meanings of symbols must be widely diffused and learned before they can be used effectively in social interactions.

Beninger, James (1983, vol. 48, p.103)

Editorial cartoons have extensively been employed as an instrument for directing public attention and shaping public opinion to the benefit of those people or group of people possessing the power in society. Indeed, cartoons, together with television images and printed photographs, are critical visual factors in maintaining what Durkheim (1915) called “collective representation,” the concepts and symbols that have common meaning to members of a particular groups or society.

This case study assesses the contribution of editorial cartoons on the shared symbolic environment of Aotearoa/ New Zealand when defining Māori people. The cartoons of the mainstream press which have been analysed here are one obvious registry of cultural symbols shared by a large portion of New Zealand society.

Two consecutive months (January and February) of 2004¹ were examined from the *Dominion Post*, the *New Zealand Herald* and *The Press* for cartoons whose subject matter were related to Māori. The criteria for selecting this particular timeframe arose out of the interest of seeing the situations in which Māori were represented on editorial cartoons a month previous and a month after to Don Brash's "Orewa speech" delivered on January 27, 2004 at the Orewa Rotary Club². The timeframe also concurred with the period –at the beginning of a year– when relatively greater attention is devoted by the media to Māori issues because of the closeness to Waitangi Day celebrations³.

Newspapers were chosen by four general criteria applied roughly in the following order: 1) availability at the University of Canterbury Central Library; 2) daily publication throughout the sample period by one or more cartoonists of national standing; 3) large circulation in a major metropolitan area; and 4) geographical dispersion between newspapers.

Cartoons by Tom Scott were published in the *Dominion Post*. The *New Zealand Herald* published the work of Emmerson and Paul Ekers and *The Press* that of Tremain and Al Nisbet.

Of the 135 issues scanned over a nine-weeks period in the three newspapers studied, there were 38 cartoons relating to Māori. Among the cartoons analysed there were ones in which Māori people were depicted (whether as a

¹ A total of 9 weeks were scanned, starting on Monday, January 3 and finishing on Friday, February 29, 2004.

² In what local media named as a "State of the Nation" address, Don Brash said Māori should not enjoy especial privileges over any other New Zealanders and that the Treaty of Waitangi should not be used as the basis for giving greater rights to Māori, and pledged to abolish Māori seats in parliament, causing a spiral of anti-Māori protests and xenophobic discussions.

³ See, for instance, McGregor, Judy, 1991. *News Values and the reporting of Māori News* (Working Paper Series No. 91/3). Palmerston North: Massey University, Department of Human Resource Management; Sue, Abel, 1992. *Television News and monoculturalism: a case Study of Waitangi Day 1990*. Unpublished thesis. MA, University of Auckland, Auckland; and Abel, Sue, 1997. *Shaping the News: Waitangi Day on Television*. Auckland University Press, Auckland, N.Z.

commoner or a Māori personality), labelled or named in conversations (i.e. Māori, Māoridom) and those in which the Māori-subject matter was implicitly suggested (i.e. conversations and scenes among politicians or about the Treaty of Waitangi).

Among cartoons of Māori people, portrayals of Māori politicians, bureaucrats, and common Māori people were found in two different roles: activists and moderates. Interestingly, not a single Māori hero or role model was featured.

Politicians (office-holders and opponents) were regular subject matter on the cartoons analysed. According to Charles Press, in his analysis of political cartoons (1981)⁴, cartoonists act as watchdogs in Western democracies, “keeping power-holders honest and accountable” (1981, pp.52-53). When portraying Māori politicians, mainstream newspaper cartoonists featured them with two obvious connotations: passive and unskilled.



NZH, February 5, 2004

For instance, Emmerson’s cartoon (*New Zealand Herald*, February 5, 2004) portrays a tiny Georgina Te Heuheu listening to what an oversized Don Brash is saying. Although both are portrayed on board of the ‘One Notion’ boat, that ‘notion’ is that of Brash. Te Heuheu is illustrated unmoving and

speechless, that stillness could be equated with a passive attitude.

⁴ Press, Charles. (1981). *The political cartoon*. New Brunswick, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press.

The representation of Māori politicians also exposes them as separatists and xenophobes. They are anti-New Zealand, anti-West and anti-Pākeha.



TP, February 26, 2004

share with 'us' the country.



NZH, February 28-29, 2004

Māori too, came from somewhere else, therefore canoeing back to 'wherever they came from'. This type of representation seriously misleads public perceptions by putting forward the assertion that Māori are not genuine 'tangata whenua' of Aotearoa/ New Zealand and challenges any veracity of Māori claims.

The *Press* cartoonist (Tremain) chose to portray Tariana Turia sending an innocent-looking Pākeha family to 'wherever they came from'. With a Māori-looking security man standing at her back, the hidden connotation is that they [Māori] do not want 'us' in New Zealand, neither 'they' want to

Mocking the same Tariana Turia's statement, the *New Zealand Herald* cartoonist, Paul Ekers, went further and portrayed several canoes leaving New Zealand shores, including one of Māori people⁵.

The cartoon's view suggested that

⁵ Note the 'Māori' canoe full of electro domestics, such as a stereo, a TV and a stove.



TP, January 15, 2004

The Māori bureaucrat's images prevalent were that of a State handouts-receiver and a lazy one. In *The Press* cartoon of January 15, 2004, both attributes are shown. At a Māori Television Service desk, the man reading the newspaper says to his 'co-workers' –who are also seen 'busy' polishing their nails and taking a cup of coffee– that 'we' [meaning Māori] should take drastic action if the government insist in deducting taxes from MTS. Two ideas are apparent from the imaginary conversation: the first, is that Māori demand and expect privileged treatment from the government, the second is that because they continuously strike, nobody would notice if they do so once again. Reinforcing the 'Māoriness' of the scene, none of the three employees are actually working.

Among the Māori commoners found in mainstream press cartoons, there were two opposite characters, one of a gentle Māori, submissive to Pākeha rules and that of a dissenter Māori, likely to use indiscriminate violence against Pākeha. The 'moderate' Māori was cutely represented –when complying with Pākeha ways– in comparison to the rudeness depicted in the 'activist' Māori.

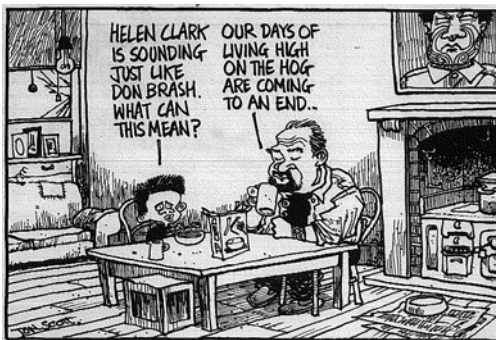
The moderate Māori were almost without exception, portrayed as passive and full of childlike obedience. A common portrayal of a moderate Māori is a naïve indigenous (using traditional outfits) interacting with Pākeha. Their main features are primitiveness and lack of character and are generally relegated to the background of a Pākeha speaker.



DP, February 6, 2004



TP, February 6, 2004



DP, February 28, 2004

Another dimension of Māori commoners was found in the *Dominion Post* (February 28, 2004) in which a father and son are talking about national politics. Their house and clothes are unkempt, their food meagre, living in poverty. However, it is suggested

in the father's comments that the poverty affecting them [Māori] is product of their own laziness (as if they take pleasure being unemployed-scheme beneficiaries) erasing any claims of poverty as a product of historical disparities and discriminatory social policies.

Māori activists also dominated cartoons. Their representation spins principally around violence from which Māori are responsible. Attention was given to Māori people as confrontational and capable of physical aggression, as if being Māori also means having an inherent violent dimension.



DP, January 7, 2004



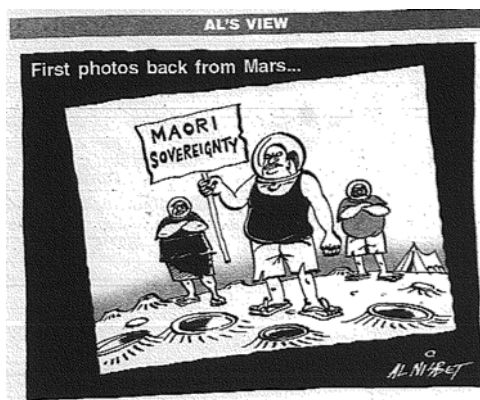
DP, February 7, 2004



NZH, February 7-8, 2004

Those ‘suffering’ the Māori aggression or being target of their impulsive violent nature, were portrayed as ‘victims’, in the moment of aggression and ignoring, in general, any antecedents for Māori reactions.

The *New Zealand Herald* cartoon (February 7-8, 2004) wording also use ‘they’ referring to Māori, in direct opposition to ‘us’ –Pākeha.

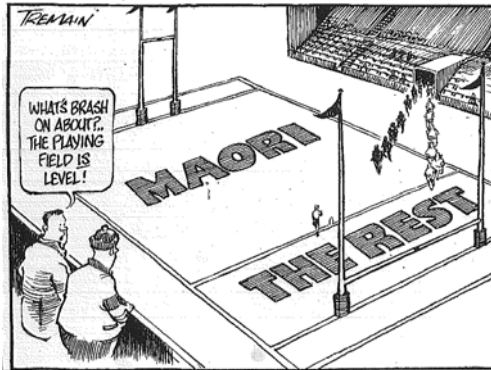


TP, January 20, 2004

In the cartoons examined, the line of discourse challenged the truthfulness of Māori land claims as well as its historical roots, making them appear as ‘new’ claims and negotiations. At a time in which the scientific community celebrated the first photos from planet Mars, *The Press* cartoonist,

Al Nisbet, used the occasion to assert that Māori claim sovereignty indiscriminately –even on Mars.

Summary



TP, January 31, 2004

A continuity of focus by the editorial cartoons stressed the ‘need’ for government to set one law for all ‘levelling’ the playing field (as suggested in *The Press*, January 31, 2004) and to take control over Māori affairs – ostensibly for their own “good”.

A focus on the need for government control existed throughout the whole sample. There were two components parts to this control strategy. The first, was the agenda of control and assimilation itself. Despite the media’s potential to play a key role in promoting consultation with the Māori and to promote Treaty principles generally, mainstream newspapers’ cartoons induced the general public to accept as true the apparent necessity that Māori do indeed need to be ruled. The second component was an intimate knowledge by newspaper editors of the nature of key facets of “uncrystallised”⁶ public opinion: the already existing general public assumptions about Pākehā superiority as well as the general unspoken demand for an end to preferential treatment based on race.

It could be argued that various interpretations could be drawn from the visual messages which are present in mainstream newspapers’ cartoons. However, what can hardly be disputed is the core message: that Māori are incapable of self-determination (being lazy, poor, trouble makers, violent aggressors, separatists, confrontational, and inept among other attributes). This focus was

⁶ This word was used by Streicher (1967) when defining a public opinion not yet formally shaped or assessed but many of its components/ hypotheses are already being tested in public conversations.

used time and time again, both in written words and in visual imagery, to justify stripping the mana and power of the Māori over their affairs.

APPENDIX C

DATA CODING CHART

1	Title	Mana	1
		Pikiao Pānui	2
		Pipiwaharauoa Turanganui a Kiwa	3
		Te Karaka	4
		Tū Mai	5
2	Media	Magazine (M)	1
		Newspaper (N)	2
3	Year	2000	1
		2001	2
		2002	3
		2003	4
3.a	Date	Specific (dd/mm/year)	*
4	Issue Number		*
5	Focus	Social	1
		Economic	2
		Political	3
		Human Interest	4
		Other (Such as Sports, Religious, International affairs, etc.)	5
6	Theme	Land and resources	1
		Human rights, indigenous rights	2
		Judicial, crime	3
		Self-development, participation, representation	4

		Environment	5
		Discrimination, race relations	6
		Health	7
		Education	8
		Language	9
		Cultural survival, cultural differences, being Maori, intellectual property rights	10
		National government	11
		Social and economical conditions	12
		Arts, entertainment	13
		Sports	14
		Mainstream media	15
		Maori media	16
		Other (non-Maori-related)	17
7	Type of editorial	Argumentative	1
		Informative	2
		Story telling	3
8	Direction	Favourable	1
		Unfavourable	2
		Neutral	3
9	Title of editorial piece		*

* Coded for reference only

APPENDIX D

EXISTING <.IWI.NZ> DOMAIN NAMES

<.IWI.NZ>	
hikairo.iwi.nz	Te Runanganui o Ngati Hikairo ki Tongariro
hinewaka.iwi.nz	Ngāti Hinewaka me ona Karangaranga Claim Committee
holdings.iwi.nz	Te Runanga O Ngai Tahu
kahungunu.iwi.nz	Ngati Kahungunu Iwi Incorporation
kaitahu.iwi.nz	Te Runanga O Ngai Tahu
kearoa-tuara.iwi.nz	Ngati Tuara Ngati Kea
koata.iwi.nz	Ngati Koata Trust
maraetaonga.iwi.nz	
maniapoto.iwi.nz	Maniapoto Maori Trust Board
muaupoko.iwi.nz	Muaupoko Tribal Authority Incorporated
ngaitahu.iwi.nz	Te Runanga O Ngai Tahu
NgaiTahuEducation.iwi.nz	Te Runanga O Ngai Tahu
ngaitahu.iwi.nz	Te Runanga O Ngai Tahu
ngamahangaatairi.iwi.nz	Te Kotahitanga O Nga Mahanga A Tairi
ngarauru.iwi.nz	Nga Rauru Iwi Authority Society Inc
ngapuhi.iwi.nz	Te Runanga A Iwi O Nga Puhi
ngatiapa.iwi.nz	Te Runanga o Ngati Apa
ngati-tama.iwi.nz	Ngati Tama Manawhenua Ki Te Tau Ihu Trust
ngatiawa.iwi.nz	The Ngati Awa Trust Board

ngatihei.iwi.nz	
ngatihine.iwi.nz	Ngati Hine Alliance
ngatikahu.iwi.nz	Te Runanga a Iwi o Ngati Kahu
ngatimanu.iwi.nz	Ngati Manu Trust
ngatimutunga.iwi.nz	Ngati Mutunga Iwi Authority Board
ngatipaoa.iwi.nz	Te Runanganui O Ngati Paoa
ngatiporou.iwi.nz	Te Runanga O Ngati Porou
ngatipu.iwi.nz	Te Runanga O Ngati Pu Inc
ngatirarua.iwi.nz	Ngati Rarua Iwi Trust
ngatirehua.iwi.nz	Ngati Rehua Ngatiwai Ki Aotea Trust
ngatipukenga.iwi.nz	Ngati Pukenga Incorporated Society
ngatitama.iwi.nz	
ngatiraka.iwi.nz	Tataiahape Marae
ngatiwhare.iwi.nz	Te Runanga o Ngati Whare Iwi Trust
kearua-tuara.iwi.nz	Ngati Tuara Ngati Kea
ngatitua.iwi.nz	Te Runanga O Toa Rangatira
ngatiwai.iwi.nz	Ngatiwai Trust Board
ngatiwhakaue.iwi.nz	The Proprietors of Ngati Whakaue Tribal Lands
ngatiwhanaunga.iwi.nz	Ngati Whanaunga Claims Committee
ngatiwhatua.iwi.nz	Te Runanga O Ngati Whatua
property.iwi.nz	Te Runanga O Ngai Tahu
rakaipaaka.iwi.nz	Te Iwi o Rākaipaaka Incorporated
ranginui.iwi.nz	Ngati Ranginui Iwi Society Inc
rangitane.iwi.nz	te Runanga a Rangitane o Wairau
rangitaane.iwi.nz	Tanenuiarangi Manawatu Incorporated
rangiwehehi.iwi.nz	Te Maru o Ngati Rangiwehehi
raukawa.iwi.nz	Te Runanga O Raukawa
rongowhakaata.iwi.nz	Rongowhakaata Charitable Trust
ruapani.iwi.nz	Ruapani Incorporated Society
umutahi.iwi.nz	Ngati Umutahi Marae Trust
seafood.iwi.nz	Te Runanga O Ngai Tahu
tamanuhiri.iwi.nz	Ngai Tamanuhiri Whanui Charitable Trust

tapuika.iwi.nz	Tapuika Iwi Authority Incorporated
terangihouhiri.iwi.nz	Ngai Te Rangihouhiri II Hapu
tewiwinaati.iwi.nz	Te Taurahere o Ngati Porou ki Tamaki Makaurau Soc Inc
te-kawerau-a-maki.iwi.nz	Te Kawerau A Maki Trust
teatiawa.iwi.nz	Wellington Tenths Trust
tearawa.iwi.nz	Te Arawa Maori Trust Board
tereroa.iwi.nz	Te Iwi o Te Roroa
terarawa-ki-tamaki.iwi.nz	
terarawa.iwi.nz	
tourism.iwi.nz	Te Runanga O Ngai Tahu
trotak.iwi.nz	Te Runanga O Turanganui A Kiwa
ttoh.iwi.nz	Tauwhenua O Heretaunga Trust
tuho.e.iwi.nz	Tuhoe-Waikaremoana Maori Trust Board
tukorehe.iwi.nz	Te iwi O Tukorehe Trust
tuera-hinearo.iwi.nz	Ngati Tuera / Ngati Hinearo
tuwharetoa.iwi.nz	
waihao.iwi.nz	Waihao Runaka
waitaha.iwi.nz	Te Runanganui O Waitaha and Maata Waka Iwi Authority Inc
whakaue.iwi.nz	The Proprietors of Ngati Whakaue Tribal Lands

* Source: <.iwi.nz> Home Page, at <http://www.iwi.nz/>.

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<http://www.reotupu.co.nz/wakareo/>

INTERVIEWS

Andrew Tumahai. Former *Te Māori News* editor

Ata Putaranui. *Tū Mai* magazine editor

Bailey Mackey. *Māori Television* Executive Sports producer

Derek Fox. *Mana Magazine* editor

Derek Wooster. *Marae* producer

Gary Wilson. *Mana Māori Media* manager

Gideon Porter. *TV One* Māori issues journalist

Graham Pryor. *Mai Media* Ltd. Managing director

Greg Mayor. *Mai Time* producer

Joe Glen. *Te Karere* journalist

Julian Wilcox. *Te Kāea* sports presenter

Ngarimu Daniels. *Te Kāea* presenter

Ope Maxwell. *RNZ News* Māori issues journalist, Auckland

Paul Diamond. *Kawea Te Rongo*, National Māori journalists Organisation treasurer
and *RNZ News* Māori issues journalist, Wellington

Pere Maitai. *Ruia Mae* manager

Rangi Mataamua. University of Waikato researcher

Rau Kapa. *Waatea News* Editor-in-chief

Tainui Stephens. *TVNZ* Māori issues advisor

Tawini Rangihau. *Māori Television Service*, General Manager of News, Current
Affairs & Sports

Vanesa Bidois. *Māori Television* publicist

Wayne Walden. *Māori Television* Chairman

Wena Harawira. *Te Hēteri* current affairs programme presenter and producer

Whai Ngata. *TVNZ* Māori programmes producer

Whare Akuhata. *Pū Kāea* newspaper editor