
**TE WAIRUA AUAHA: EMANCIPATORY MĀORI
ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN SCREEN
PRODUCTION**

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A thesis submitted to Auckland University of Technology in
fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy (PhD)

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**TE ARA POUTAMA - FACULTY OF MĀORI
DEVELOPMENT**

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Attestation of Authorship

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Pio Terei: series of images

Parents Inc & Pio Terei

‘Mana Wahine Party’ for Māori Television
(2008): Footage

Fala Media

Keri Kaa: Image

Ministry of Women’s Affairs

‘The Hibiscus’, short film (1995): Footage

Whetu Fala, He Taonga Films

International Symposium on Māori and
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Haami & Karen Sidney: Image

Tuafale Tanoa’i for Te Ara Poutama

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Renata, Annie Collins: Image

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Graeme Mason, Tearepa Kahi, Nicole Hoey:
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Tuafale Tanoa’i for Te Ara Poutama

Merata Mita interview, and excerpt of
‘Bastion Point: Day 507’ from *‘Nā Te Whatu
Māori’* (1990): Footage

Produced by Ella Henry

Te Reo Māori

The Māori language that is used in the documentary text and written exegesis is italicised, and translations provided in the Glossary, except for the word ‘Māori’, which is a commonly accepted word in the New Zealand English language. Māori personal names have not been translated, as these names are often associated with ancestors or events specific to the *whānau*, *hapū* or *iwi* of the individual. Macrons have been used to highlight extended vowel sounds.

Ethics Approval

This research received approval from AUTC on November 2nd 2009 for a period of three years until 30th October 2012. The Ethics Application Number is 09/224.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis-exegesis is presented as a written work and documentary. The documentary drew on narratives from Māori producers. The documentary is available on DVD from AUT Library, but is not available for download on-line. The written work provides the detail of the research. The study explored, analysed and developed theory about Māori in screen production, and how their identity and experiences combined to their shape careers and entrepreneurial intent.

The literature review focussed on Kaupapa Māori, Māoritanga, ‘insider’ research; identity theory; career theory; social, indigenous and emancipatory entrepreneurship. This literature was supplemented with a history of Māori involvement in screen production.

The research comprised two phases, an on-line survey and in-depth interviews with Māori who own production companies that have produced a significant body of Māori-centric work. The original contribution of this thesis is the development of a theory of emancipatory Māori entrepreneurship in screen production, which has grown out of the data, founded on the following propositions.

When one experiences and fosters:

Mana Tangata

People who shape, inform, empower and encourage life choices, career pathways and entrepreneurial endeavours; AND

Mana Whenua

Places that nourish and shelter, birth-places, schools, communities, work-places, sites that enhance achievement in chosen fields; AND

Mana Atua

Purpose and power that infuses the passion, fuels the vision for story-telling, career and entrepreneurship; AND

Mana Motuhake

Self-determination for Māori is an important aspiration, taking control of Māori story-telling, the drive to create organisations in which one can enact authentic identities and inwardly-derived values; THEN Wairua Auaha may emerge.

Wairua Auaha: Emancipatory Māori Entrepreneurship

Wairua Auaha means creative spirit, the creative spirit of Māori entrepreneurs in screen production. Story-telling is the visible sign of emancipatory Māori entrepreneurship, which eventually is reflected in the creation of production companies that are underpinned by the desire to take control of the story-telling process, to participate in the revitalisation of Māori language and culture, and the achievement of *tinu rangatiratanga* through creative enterprise. The notion of creative spirit, *Wairua Auaha*, has been adopted to describe the essence of the invincible Māori-ness of a whānau of extraordinary talent that has been driven by entrepreneurial endeavour.

The theory of emancipatory Māori entrepreneurship in screen production provides a framework for the development of strategies and programmes that enable:

- Māori to train and develop creative writing, story-telling, production and business skills, in ways that reinforce Māori identity and self-efficacy;
- Māori entrepreneurs in screen production to setup organisations that reflect their cultural, social and business aspirations;
- Māori to network and support each other in the screen industry;
- Māori production companies to derive greater certainty about long-term programming needs, ensuring consistency in decision-making about future investment in funding;

The challenge for those in Māori media education is to concurrently deliver *Kaupapa Māori* foundations alongside technical skills, nurture self-belief and creativity, ensuring that future generations are connected to their identity as Māori and story-tellers. The Model provides a theoretical construct against which ideas can be tested, including how and when the ‘creative spirit’ of Māori entrepreneurship can be enhanced, and how we can *manaaki* (support) future generations so their *Wairua Auaha* is both ignited and strengthened.

PREFACE

I would like to begin this thesis by telling the story of my journey into the world of Māori screen production, as a preface to the thesis. It is not a systematic review of literature, but a systematic review of my experiences, an anecdotal narrative, which I hope will add colour and texture to the research that follows.

As is the way with my people, I must begin at the beginning. My mother was of the *Ngāti Kurī* tribe, guardians of *Te Rerenga Wairua* in the Far North of New Zealand. Her father was an Irishman who left the bright lights of Auckland in the 1890s, to work as a book-keeper in the gum-fields around *Kaitaia*. He met my grandmother, who bore him nine children, and he never returned to ‘civilisation’.

My father hailed from another two of the Far North tribes; *Ngātikahu ki Whangaroa*, the tribe whose boundaries lie between *Mangonui* and *Whangaroa* on the East Coast, on the side of his father; and *Te Rārawa*, from the wild West Coast, on the side of his mother. My parents met in the gum-fields, and married in 1936. I was the seventh and youngest child, the *potiki*, born in 1954. By the time I turned five, and started at the *Ahipara* Native School in 1959, all my siblings had left home and married, and all but one had moved to Auckland, part of that ‘fantasy contagion’ (King, 1983) that emptied the valleys, bays and *kāinga* (homesteads) of the North.

In 1960, my parents realised that if they ever wanted to spend time with their grand-children, they would have to go south as well. So, like the Clampetts in *Beverly Hillbillies*, they loaded up the truck and we moved to the ‘big smoke’. In an instant I was transported from a small, rural community, surrounded by *whānau* and familiar faces, where the only white one was the Headmaster of my school, to the factory wastelands of West Auckland.

I didn’t know we were poor till I arrived in Auckland and saw how lavish other people’s homes and lives were. It was a lonely time, my parents left early for work, my father at the tanneries, my mother at the potteries. Over the next ten years, I went from being the over-indulged *potiki*, to a surly, introspective, ‘brownie’, a part of that transplanted generation of Māori who found solace in the streets of the sprawling urban metropolis.

At the age of fifteen, I left school, unceremoniously! Like so many other young Māori at the time, it was expected that I would walk out of the school grounds and into the factories where my family worked. I tried it. It wasn't particularly successful for me, or the factory owners. And there began an odyssey which would envelope the next five years of my life, shiftless, wandering the country, engaging in risky behaviour, looking for a place to call home, in a country that was supposed to be my homeland.

Finally, I knew at nineteen that I didn't like my life, my country, or my people, who by 1974 were most noticeable by our shabbiness, our lack of wealth, and our lack of ease in this turbulent metropolitan domain. So, I packed a small suitcase and headed for Australia, an equally scary, mono-cultural, cosmopolitan nightmare. Thus began a nomadic life that took me around the world, working on prawn trawlers, delivering yachts, living in Australia, Africa, Europe, Britain and the USA.

In 1983 I was sitting in a bar in Antibes, on the French Riviera, awaiting the start of my next job, cooking at a small hotel in Courchevel for the ski season, when I looked around the room to find other stragglers, women who had been around the block a few too many times, sad faces, sadder stories, and I had an overwhelming desire to walk my own lands again after ten years. So, at the age of twenty-nine, I gathered together the few remnants of a decade on the road, and came home for Christmas.

The New Zealand I had left in 1974 was not the one I returned to on the threshold of 1984. There was vibrancy, and excitement, change was on the horizon. After ten years of ignoring my Māori heritage, it was everywhere, newspaper stories, television items, Waitangi Action Committee, *Ngā Tamatoa*, the Māori activist group, the bold face of Donna Awatere, the strident voices of Hone and Hilda Harawira, it was heady stuff. Even among my normally conservative, apolitical, industrious *whānau*, there were rumblings of discontent, a new-found enthusiasm for Māori culture and identity. It was wildly exhilarating. But, at thirty, I was still an out of work, over confident and under-educated, a 'hori sheila' (*hori*, a derogatory term for Māori; Sheila, NZ slang for woman), with a 'toff' accent and, clearly, delusions of grandeur about my capabilities.

At the start of 1985, a dear friend who was a mature-student at university encouraged me to 'do a course'. I had left school ignominiously in the middle of 4th Form, what possible

courses could I take? At that time, bless them, Auckland Girls Grammar were enrolling 'mature-aged' students into School Certificate and University Entrance. I enrolled in School C English, attending classes one day a week, working around my day job. After only a month, my teacher, Bronwyn Smith, who shall remain forever in my heart, said she thought School C was beneath my ability and suggested I transfer to UE English, which I passed with flying colours. She also recommended I enquire about the New Start programme at Auckland University. As its name implied, it was a New Start for mature students. I enrolled in August 1985, and there began a journey which has transformed my life ever since.

Along the way, I found myself pregnant and alone. So it was that in March 1986, I enrolled in a Bachelor of Arts at Auckland University, with a three-month old baby in my arms. University was a revelation; I was like a sponge, gathering information with an unquenchable thirst. But that first year was also traumatic, I had no idea what I was doing, where this study would take me, but I am eternally grateful to the Government for providing a Training Incentive Allowance and the Domestic Purposes Benefit, so that I could complete that degree. I figure I have repaid that investment in me many times over in the taxes I have paid since. I also found out along the way, that I might just be intelligent, and not just a smart-arse!

In December 1987, I met a man who was to change my life. He had just completed the *He Tāonga i Tawhiti* film and television course at *Waiatarau* Community Centre, set up by Don Selwyn and Brian Kirby. Within months we were in a relationship, from which came our two daughters. His mother and step-father were both involved in the Māori film and television sector, she as a journalist and film-maker, he as an artist and writer.

One day in 1988, he asked me to pick up his mother from a meeting. I went to a house in Herne Bay, the home of Merata Mita, where I met Barry Barclay and Don Selwyn. I found out they were a group who called themselves *Te Manu Aute*. When they found out I was at uni', they asked if I could take notes, thinking of course that all university students carried pens and paper, and could stitch a sentence together, which fortunately I did.

Their conversation, the issues that they spoke about, were compelling, and resonated for me, as a Māori, a woman, and an unrealised 'creative', especially as I was studying sociology and Māori studies, where the truth of my history, the infamy of our nation's past was peeled back

and exposed. I was invited back, and offered the formal title of Secretary, which of course I accepted. Over that year, I was asked on occasion to help organise things, a *Hui* with the Film Commission at *Hoani Waititi Marae*, and, much more significantly, a film screening at the University. At that time, I was the Student Parent Resource Officer with the Auckland University Students' Association, which gave me access to resources and support. Also, as a Māori Studies student, I was able to use *Waipapa Marae* for screenings. Thus, in October 1988, Auckland University hosted the first Māori Film Festival. We screened works from Barry Barclay, Merata Mita, Pita Turei, Ramai Hayward, Ted Nia; other films were provided by the New Zealand Film Archive. These were screened on the *Marae* over a three day period and attracted a wide audience, from Māori communities bussing into the city, to on-campus intellectuals, Māori activists and students. We were committed to making the screening available for free. I will always be grateful to Jan Bieringa, who was then with the New Zealand Arts Council and Jonathan Dennis from the New Zealand Film Archives for their support and advice. *Te Manu Aute* thought it was a resounding success, and began plans for another in 1989. I was exhausted, but ready to roll!

In 1988, I decided to run for political office in the Students Association. I ran and was elected to the position of Media Officer in 1989, which of course gave me access to resources for the 1989 Auckland University Māori Film Festival. That year we went large, booking out the Maidment Theatre on campus, providing an even wider range of films, especially newcomers like Lisa Reihana, whose short film 'Wog Features' was a revelation, and went on to international recognition, as well as a number of the *Tangata Whenua* TV series, directed by Barry Barclay in 1974 and screened only once on New Zealand at that time. Along the way, I applied for funding to make a documentary about the Festival. I was fortunate to secure the assistance of Liz DiFiore, who had just completed Diploma in Broadcast Communication at Auckland University, but had also worked in the industry in New Zealand, Canada and the US. Together we made *Nā Te Whatu Māori: Through the eye of the Māori*. The Festival attracted wider media attention, and we really felt that we had made a contribution to advancing the aspirations of Māori in film and television, we began planning for 1990.

Late in 1989, Merata asked me to do her another favour. She was due to speak at the inaugural Indigenous Women's Film Festival in Vancouver, where she was to introduce her internationally renowned documentary, 'Bastion Point: Day 507'. I barely hesitated a moment before agreeing, even though I was three months pregnant at the time. Who could

turn down the opportunity to act as guardian for one of the most important documentaries made by a Māori, a woman, a New Zealander, at a prestigious international forum? I met the most extraordinary women there, Alanis Obomsawin from Canada, Loretta Todd from the US, Tracey Moffit from Australia. It was breath-taking, and empowering, and glorious, even when the white guys protested and jostled us outside the theatre, because they were aggrieved that women of colour should have their own, preferential festival, clearly they hadn't been to the Oscars!

Also, during 1989, I had another outbreak of political activism, and decided to run for President of Auckland University Students' Association. For some reason I cannot explain, as the Presidency was usually a boys-own domain, I won the Presidency for 1990. In that same year, I attended a *Te Manu Aute Hui* in Wellington, where the calls were made for a Māori Television authority to sit alongside New Zealand on Air, a Māori television, and a Māori film funding body to sit alongside the New Zealand Film Commission. I had also completed my Bachelor of Arts, majoring in Sociology and Māori Studies, and was due to graduate in 1990. Oh, and I had a beautiful baby girl in June of that year. Needless to say, I was a little busy. As were the other *Te Manu Aute* stalwarts. Don Selwyn was in post-production for *E Tipu E Rea*, the first ever television drama series made under the *Kaupapa*, for with and by Māori, which my partner Mark worked on. He was also working on the re-creation of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi; Merata was editing *Mana Waka*, the documentary based on footage shot by RG Manley in 1937 about the construction of two Waka for to commemorate the Treaty Centenary in 1940, commissioned by Princess Te Puea Herangi,. Barry had buried himself away somewhere, writing furiously. Plans were afoot to film Alan Duff's book, '*Once Were Warriors*'. It was the sesqui-centennial. Māori had the right to take grievances to the Waitangi Tribunal, retrospective to 1840. There was an air of optimism among the Māori film-makers I knew. That sense was a sense of optimism continued we dove into the 1990s. Then the 'mother of all budgets' was foisted upon the nation in 1991, which further eroded the well-being of our most vulnerable Māori communities.

At the same time, I was accepted into the Master of Commerce, after finishing my year as President of AUSA. Mark was working regularly, on a wide range of projects, not so many Māori ones came along after '*Once Were Warriors*' in 1993, and things were relatively quiet for the Māori screen industry, but I was pre-occupied with young family and a Masters' to complete.

Then, in 1996 the government began consultation with Māori about a television service, in the aftermath of the Māori Broadcasting claim to the Waitangi Tribunal. So, a group of us got together in September, and started planning a new entity, one with legal status, which flew in the face of the *kaupapa* of *Te Manu Aute*, to operate entirely outside the *tauiwi* (Pākehā) legal and state system. However, we wanted to be represented at the table with the Crown, so in October 1996, fourteen of us gathered in Grey Lynn and formed *Ngā Aho Whakaari*: the association of Māori in film, video and television.

Our ‘pioneers’, Don, Barry, Merata and other stalwarts of *Te Manu Aute*, Wi Kuki Kaa, Tungia Baker and Tama Poata, were ambivalent, and probably tired after twenty years of struggle, but we forged ahead, and over the next three years organised Annual Hui, engaged in consultation with the Minister of Broadcasting and demanded that our voices be heard. We were concerned at the contestable process the government had developed to set up a Māori television channel. We knew it would pit the tiny group of skilled Māori broadcasters against each, and dilute our capacity for working collaboratively. They didn’t pay much attention to us, and thus was born Aotearoa Television Service, an entity that was fatally flawed from the outset, because the Directors worked in isolation from people and organisations that could have supported their growth and development. Regardless of the reasons for the dissolution of ATN (Aotearoa Television Network), within two years, no-one can refute the fact that they made hundreds of hours of Māori-language programming, on minimal budgets, and trained dozens of new entrants, many of whom are still in the industry. It was a tragic setback for Māori aspirations for a television channel. During that same period, Barry was so disenchanted with the Film Commission and their lack of support for Māori film-making, that he set up a tent embassy in Wellington, and on a visit to Auckland managed to convince a group of us to join him as Claimants in a Waitangi Tribunal Claim against the Film Commission. That Claim sits somewhere amongst in the Tribunal records, who knows, maybe one day it will be resurrected.

Also during this, I had given birth to another daughter, finished a Masters degree, spent a couple of years out of the academic world, as the Executive Director of Greenpeace NZ. I returned to academia fold, as a lecturer in Management Studies at Auckland University in 1996. So it was that the 1990s passed, with some losses and some gains for Māori screen production.

By 2001, I was ready for a change again, from being what one of my colleagues described as ‘a brown freckle on the white face of Business Studies at Auckland University’. There was very brief stint as a Humans Rights Commissioner, but that story is for another *Kaupapa* altogether. I then went off to become the Head the Puukenga the School of Māori Education at Unitec for two years. In the twenty years since I had returned to New Zealand, and taken a tentative step towards learning about my Māori heritage, I had given birth to three daughters, completed two degrees, found myself single again, and continued my occasional dalliance with Māori screen production. However, on the threshold of turning fifty in 2004, I decided I wanted to go home to my tribal roots, so I sold up in Auckland and bought a house in the Far North. After a few months, I realised the Far North was no longer my home, it was an alien landscape, I was out of place and unhappy, so dragged my family back to Auckland.

On my return, I auditioned for a part on a new Māori TV show, Ask Your Auntie, and was pleasantly surprised to be offered the role of presenter. From the beginning of 2005 until the end of 2007, I had the privilege of hosting an extraordinary group, in a show, unlike any other before or since that celebrated the wisdom, bawdy humour and beauty of Māori women. It was a joy, and as a consequence, I was offered other acting, presenting and writing roles, but by the end of 2007, the Māori Television was looking for something new, and I was jobless again. Then, a position, lecturing in Te Ara Poutama, the Faculty of Māori Development at Auckland University of Technology, became available. I applied and was offered a job in 2008, which is when my thesis journey began.

I still did a bit of TV work, an ongoing acting role on Shortland Street (a long-running ‘soap’ on TV2, and one series of Kōrero Mai, a Māori drama used to teach *Te Reo*, produced by Cinco Cine, and occasional invitations to be a commentator on Māori issues. In that time, *Te Paepae Ataata* was launched. This was Barry Barclay’s dream from the 1990 Hui, to have a Māori Film Commission. Admittedly, it was under the control of the New Zealand Film Commission, but at least it existed. I saw Barry at the launch late in 2007; he looked frail but quietly optimistic. Māori had finally achieved all three of those dreams, a Māori television funding authority (Te Mānga Pāho in 1993, the Māori Television channel in 2004, and in 2007 the Māori film commission, to be run for, with and by Māori, to produce Māori films in our own voice and our own way, albeit under the aegis of the NZFC. I probably should have felt more jubilant, but I was a little busy with my day job.

Late in 2009, out of the blue, I got a phone call from Merata. I hadn't seen her in a few years, she was mainly based in Hawai'i, teaching and working in the international arena with a whole new generation of indigenous film-makers. She looked fantastic, but was pensive; she had been commissioned to direct a documentary for Māori Television about infanticide. It had been years since I had sat and chatted with Merata about the 'ails' of the world, and it was enervating. Early in 2010, she asked me if I would help her organise a Hui. She wanted to bring some of her old friends together, from the indigenous film-making world. It was time for indigenous film-makers to come together and plan strategically for the future. Merata wanted to do this under the umbrella of WIFI, the World Indigenous Film Institute.

I had realised a long time ago that, when Merata asked me to do something for her, I would inevitably receive back more than I contributed, so I readily agreed to find some funding, and start organising. I sent off an application to Ngā Pae o Te Māramatanga, the Centre for Māori research Excellence, which we would host at Te Ara Poutama. The week I received the letter that we had been given a grant of \$15,000 towards the Hui, Merata died on the steps of Māori Television, the organisation that she had dreamed and planned and fought for. I like to think part of her Wairua will rest and keep watch over the place. However, I now had approval for a Hui, but my mentor was gone. Over the next few weeks, I wrestled with what to do, then I decided to go ahead, but make part of the *Kaupapa* of the *Hui* a memorial for Merata. The next few months sped by, but other funders, and guests came on board. By the time we had the Pōwhiri for the International Symposium of Māori & Indigenous Screen Production on the Marae at Te Ara Poutama, we had two guests from Australia, prominent Aboriginal artists and film-makers, Romaine Moreton and Jenny Fraser, and three from Canada. One of Merata's oldest and dearest friends from the indigenous film-making community, Alanis Obomsawin, came all the way from Toronto. Alanis was 78, and had just finished her latest feature documentary, like Merata she has spent the last four decades making films about her people, the Abenaki, and other indigenous peoples, their struggles, hopes and dreams. Neil Diamond from Montreal, the director of *Reel Indian* an extraordinary view of the way indigenous peoples in America have been portrayed by Hollywood, and Jobie Weetaluktuk, an Inukjuak from Quebec were able to join us. People also came from across the Māori and Pacific screen industry, over one hundred and fifty throughout the weekend, to celebrate our achievements, develop strategies for the future, and honour those who had left us behind, most especially Merata. It was an amazing event to be part of, with too many helpers and

supporters to mention here, but it was well and reported on (see Henry and Spooner, 2010). As always, Merata had found work for me that filled me with pride and joy. But, there was still the tiny matter of a PhD to finish.

So, here I am, hopefully, putting the final touches to a PhD on Māori entrepreneurship in screen production, looking back over the last twenty three years, of having a casual rather than ongoing relationship with Māori screen production, but enjoying friendships with a wide range of Māori practitioners, many of whom I have known since they first entered the industry, and have come to love and respect as their careers and body of work has evolved.

Unfortunately, over the same period, we have lost too many of the pioneers, people who inspired, enthused and empowered the generation of us who followed them, who knocked on the doors of opportunity until they crumbled. Those pioneers fought for *Te Reo Māori* and Māori Broadcasting, they fought for the setting up of training programmes for Māori in screen production, they fought to have a five-minute news broadcast in *Te Reo*, to make Māori television and films, that told the truth about our history, and revelled in our stories.

This work is dedicated to all of those whom I had the privilege of knowing and sometimes of working with and for: Ernie Leonard (1932-1994) who pushed back all the barriers to create Māori programming within TVNZ; Hana Te Hemara (1940-1999), the bearer of the Māori language petition to Parliament in 1972, who taught me that grace can achieve so much more than aggression; Tama Poata (1936-2005), strong, political, incisive, who worked so closely with Barry, and was a staunch proponent of *tinu rangatiratanga*; Tungia Baker (1942-2005), so proud and beautiful, she embraced and encapsulated *wahine toa*, every year on July 27, we wear bright lipstick to remember and honour her; ; Wi Kuki Kaa (1936-2006), a brave and brilliant actor, whose body of work spanned over thirty years, who once turned up out of the blue to support me at a job interview in Wellington, to sing my waiata, just to *tautoko* a sister; Robin Kora (1949-2007), the gentle soul who was one of the first Māori to front television news; Don Selwyn (1936-2007), actor, film-maker, opera-singer, a gentle but firm father-figure, absolutely dedicated to the *kaupapa*; only a short time Henare Te Ua (1933-2007), a beautiful, gentle soul who shared insights into the Māori world, primarily though radio, for over forty years; Barry Barclay (1944-2008), who broke down so many barriers for Māori creatives, as a writer, director, producer, poet, political voice, and always provided wise counsel; Merata Mita (1942-2010), a passionate advocate for *Kaupapa Māori*, an intelligent,

articulate, fearless film-maker, persuasive, beautiful, inspiring and inspired, dedicated mother, grand visionary, and dear friend. These are the people who have breathed life and hope into my small contribution to Māori screen production, and who achieved so much more, with so much less, that I have no right to expect any less of myself.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

This thesis has grown out of my interest in Māori on the one hand, and film and television production on the other. When I first registered as a PhD candidate, in June of 2008, I was not clear on a topic, or a research question, but at that stage, I knew I was also interested in Māori women, because that had been the focus of my Master's research. Also, I had been conducting and publishing research on Māori entrepreneurship in recent years (Frederick & Henry, 2005; Henry, 2007). I was also a member of a research team undertaking a longitudinal study of careers in film production. With Dr. Rachel Wolfgramm from the University of Auckland, I was focussing on Māori careers. So, I wanted the PhD research to build on, or draw together these topics. I read widely, discussed these areas of interest with colleagues, advisors and friends in the screen industry, and over time the research topic began to take shape.

However, before fine-tuning a specific set of research questions, I wanted to explore Māori in film and television production, and the context, rooted as it was in the desire for Māori to tell Māori stories in moving images, and the decades of protest and activism that precipitated the creation of Māori broadcasting, as part of the ongoing struggle for revitalisation of Māori language and culture.

Māori have traditionally used oratory as a means of passing on knowledge, maintaining tribal histories and sharing stories that ensure the cohesion and durability of community identity. Individuals were chosen to maintain these roles, either as *kaikōreo* and *kaikāranga* on the *paepae* or *taumata*, as *tōhunga* with responsibilities for holding and sharing knowledge from the baskets of knowledge, *te kete aronui*, *te kete tuauri*, and *te kete tuātea*, or as *mātua* and *kaumātua* regaling younger generations with tales of the past, some celebratory, some cautionary. These latter were also encapsulated in *paki waitara* and *whakatauki*, and passed on through ancient Māori institutions such as *Whare Wānanga*, *Whare Tapere*, *Whare Pora* (Royal, 1998) and *Kōhanga Reo*. However, with

the impacts of colonisation including the loss of land, language and culture, and the encroaching effects of Eurocentric ways of thinking and doing, traditional Māori communities and responsibilities for the inter-generational transfer of knowledge through oratory began to fall away. Without the ethnographies written by *Pākehā* such as Percy Smith (1910) and Elsdon Best (1924), many traditional bodies of knowledge might have been lost, or isolated in small Māori communities, struggled to survive. However these histories have been written, albeit through a *Pākehā* lens, which have only in recent decades been refuted and reconsidered by Māori writers (Walker, 1990; Henry & Pene, 2001).

The practise of the Māori story-teller, oratory, has been subsumed by written text, and the New Zealand educational system has reinforced the value of written over oral transmission of knowledge. However, with the advent of film and television production in New Zealand, a new body of Māori story-telling has evolved. Into this realm, a wave of Māori working in screen production has grown, to the point that the ‘Māori screen industry’ is now a reality, incorporating Māori films that have received critical success and Māori Television, which has become widely accepted as a part of the broadcasting landscape. This then, was to be the context of this study, the story of Māori story-telling in film and television.

Māori broadcasting has also been a field of contention between Māori and the Crown. The Te Reo Māori Claim (WAI 11), lodged with the Waitangi Tribunal in 1985 claimed that *Te Reo Māori* was a *taonga*, whose protection was guaranteed under Article II of the Treaty of Waitangi. That Claim spawned the Māori Broadcasting Claim (WAI 150), lodged in 1990. It was recognised by the Crown that legislation and policies had systematically undermined Māori knowledge systems and cultural practices, including *Te Reo*, since the earliest days of colonisation (Williams, 2001). As a consequence, these Claims underpinned significant governmental responses to ensure the protection to *Te Reo Māori*, particularly through broadcasting.

However, despite governmental support for Māori and screen production in recent years those working in the sector have not been studied in detail. Among the limited information that is available (Akuhata-Brown and Henry, 2009), there is the suggestion that those ‘creatives’ who build a career, develop businesses and produce for film, television and other screens are a small but highly motivated, well educated, and very successful sector of Māori society. Yet, little is known about the demographic, cultural, or socio-political drivers that underpin the lives, careers and businesses of those Māori working in screen production. Without more in-depth research, those with an interest in training for, and building the capacity of the sector have limited knowledge on which to base policies and programmes.

Furthermore, there is little information about the Māori screen industry to further embellish the context of a study such as this. There has been some work on Māori and indigenous cinema (Dennis & Bieringa, 1994; Dunleavy, 2005; Murray, 2008; Himple, 2008; Lysaught, 2010; Limbrick, 2010), but whilst these texts provided a useful overview of cultural representation, Māori history, and film theory, they were not particularly pertinent to this study, because they did not incorporate a business, career or entrepreneurship perspective. As the research topic and questions evolved, the bodies of literature that seemed most relevant related to identity, particularly cultural and Māori identity, careers, entrepreneurship and specific information about the Māori screen industry.

By 2009, the topic domains had been selected and a systematic literature review begun to find relevant research that would elaborate on the topics and inform the researcher on potential research methods. This enabled an application to go to the AUT Ethics Committee, which was approved in late 2009. Thus, by the end of 2009, the research questions and methodology had been confirmed. Those topics and questions have remained at the heart of the study throughout and are presented below. Some of the questions relate more to the researcher’s ontological, epistemological and methodological frames of reference, the others relate more specific to areas of research that would be investigated.

The following is a summary of the research questions that have underpinned this study:

1. How does the researcher enact Māori values in the research methodology?
2. What relevance does Māori knowledge, *Māoritanga*, have to this study?
3. How will the researcher reflect on her insider-status, as in insider in the Māori screen industry?
4. What are the social and cultural sources of identity for Māori in screen production?
5. What do Māori careers in screen production look like?
6. How and why have Māori become entrepreneurs in screen production?
7. How do Māori in screen production reflect their self-belief?
8. Are political and cultural issues relevant for Māori in screen production?

The key task of this study was to explore, understand and develop theory about the identity and experiences of Māori in the screen industry, and how these dimensions and characteristics might combine to shape their careers and entrepreneurial intent. Thus, the broad scope of literature that was selected focussed primarily on *Kaupapa Māori* research, *Māoritanga*, ‘insider’ research, identity theory, career theory and entrepreneurship. This literature was to be supplemented with an overview of the Māori screen industry, to provide historic and political detail.

The research methodology that evolved encompassed two separate studies, one a survey of Māori practitioners would deliver a broad brush-stroke of Māori experiences and backgrounds; the other, in-depth interviews with Māori who owned production companies to explore their careers and entrepreneurial experiences. Also during this period, it was decided to make a documentary, focussing on the producers, if they consented to participate, as the research was about screen production, and they were screen producers. Thus a documentary would provide a creative output that might be viewed by a wider audience, particularly in the Māori community of interest.

Therefore, from late 2009 the task herewith of developing and implementing the research method, analysing the data collected, and synthesising a theory has been ongoing, resulting in the thesis-exegesis that is submitted herein. The thesis is a creative work, the documentary, which expresses the views of the participants more eloquently and persuasively, than any written interpretation of their stories could do justice to. The exegesis, this written report, provides the background; the literature, research design, data, analysis and findings. The written report complements and reinforces the documentary, but the heart of the story of Māori story-telling resides within the Māori story-tellers, and is expressed in the documentary.

In the final Chapter, a theory emerges, which brings together all the elements investigated in this study, and which is proffered as a Māori theory, for, with and by Māori. *Wairua Auaha*, literally translated as ‘the creative spirit’, encapsulates the essence of emancipatory Māori entrepreneurship in screen production.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

INTRODUCTION

A literature review should be a prerequisite of any research endeavour. For Riley, “It usually takes place after the researcher has decided on an area of interest, but before the research question has been formulated”, (1997, p. 49). He stated that, “a literature review should ‘provide the background or rationale for the study, a demonstration of how previous research is related to the study and a framework for viewing the study’”, (1997, p. 50). In summary he noted that literature reviews help the researcher:

- Identify and define key concepts
- Determine the type of study to be undertaken
- Formulate research questions

Kennedy further helped to define literature, and added a cautionary note, when she wrote, “there is no clear understanding of what constitutes a body of literature. Each reviewer must decide which specific studies to include or exclude from a review and why. And each decision alters the character of the set as a whole and could also alter the net conclusions drawn from the set”, (2007, p. 139). Further, Andrews discussed the merits and process of the ‘systematic literature review’. He concluded that, “systematic reviews are good at identifying what is available, and their explicit criteria for inclusion and exclusion make them replicable and eminently open to criticism”, (2005, p. 413) These writers have defined the process and practice, and clarified the strengths and weaknesses of the literature review, as a precursor to conducting one.

This review draws together literature around the two areas of interest, Māori knowledge and identity, and screen production as a site of creative and entrepreneurial endeavour. The personal background and rationale for this area of interest was provided in the Preface. However, there are a wide range of studies that could facilitate the identification and definition of key concepts, relating to these two areas of interest, which in turn help to determine the shape of the study to be undertaken and the research questions to be asked.

One could focus on the broad area of historical and political factors that have shaped Māori society and screen production. Or, one could focus on the technical aspects of screen production. But, what has been of primary interest over many years of being a part of this industry, is the ways that Māori have entered the screen industry, produced Māori-centric stories for film and television, and flourished as practitioners and business-owners, thereby increasing the volume of Māori productions, professionals and pathways for other Māori into this sector. Therefore, the primary focus of the literature review has been on those bodies of knowledge that inform the researcher about Māori creativity and story-telling; work and careers; and entrepreneurship; as well as the unique characteristics of Māori history, society and culture, as they have impacted on screen production.

Thus, this chapter draws together a range of literature from a variety of disciplines, through a systematic review of literature from a range of disciplines, which inform the description and exploration of the dimensions, in particular the characteristics of entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship, to better understand and explore the experience of Māori in the screen industry, and how these dimensions and characteristics might combine to shape their creative and entrepreneurial spirit.

The first section reviews the *Kaupapa Māori* literature. The second section provides a brief discussion of Māori knowledge, Māoritanga, which has informed the analysis of the data that was gathered during this study. The third section examines the insider-outsider literature, as the researcher has acknowledged her insider status in Māori-centric screen production, yet conducts the study from an ‘outsider’, academic perspective. The fourth section explores the literature on ‘identity’, and specifically Māori identity. The fifth section looks at careers, in particular the research on ‘boundaryless careers’, and ‘enactment’ theory’. The sixth section reviews the entrepreneurship literature, with a specific focus on social, indigenous and emancipatory entrepreneurship. This chapter concludes with an overview of Māori participation in screen production, including industry surveys, census data and media, as it is the context in which this type of Māori entrepreneurship has evolved.

However, this review begins by reflecting on theory and theory development, first by considering Mintzberg’s work, because the development of theory is central to this study, and his work has helped to shape the way the study has evolved. Mintzberg stated that, “all theories are false. They are, after all, just words and symbols on pieces of paper, about the

reality they purport to describe, they are not that reality. This means we must choose our theories according to how useful they are, not how true they are”, (2005, p. 356). This point has implications for Māori intellectuals, who seek to find ‘truths’ that are ‘useful’ for Māori, and that can make a meaningful contribution to the further development and empowerment of Māori.

For Mintzberg, “We don’t discover theory, we create it”, (2005, p. 357), and we do so by pursuing intellectual, rather than methodological rigour. He cited Ghoshal, who wrote, “I cannot get over the regret of description, insight and speculation losing out to citation, definition, and tightness”, (2005, p. 358). Mintzberg asserted that scholars too often confuse rigour with relevance, and deduction with induction. He explained the distinction as follows, “let me try to clarify the use of the terms ‘quantitative’ and ‘qualitative’ when we mean ‘deductive’ and ‘inductive’. Theories can be assessed without numbers, just as numbers can be used to induce theories”, (2005, p. 359). Thus, a combination of research methods can deliver information that will inform both deduction and induction, providing insight and allowing speculation, whilst ensuring intellectual rigour.

Mintzberg outlined a process of theory development that resonated for this researcher, because it focused on finding information, relationships between bodies of information, and explanation, as an ongoing, iterative process.

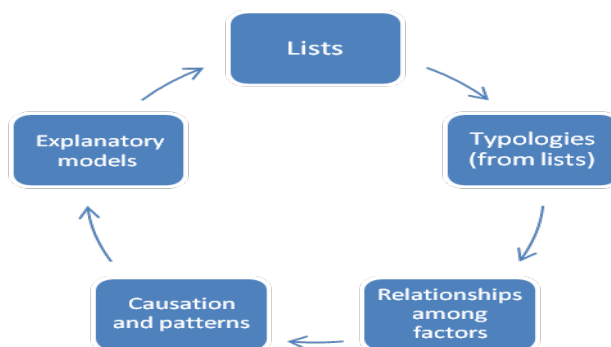


Table 2.1: Theory as Explanation (Mintzberg, 2005, p. 360)

Mintzberg summed up his thinking by stating, “We get interesting theory when we let go of all this scientific correctness, or to use a famous phrase, suspend our disbeliefs, and allow our

minds to roam freely and creatively, to muse like mad, albeit immersed in an interesting, revealing context. Theory is insightful when it surprises, when it allows us to see profoundly, imaginatively, unconventionally into phenomena we thought we understood. To quote Will Henry, ‘What is research but a blind date with knowledge’, (2005, p. 361), and he went on to quote Berger, who wrote, “In science, as in love, a concentration on technique is likely to lead to impotence”, (cited in Mintzberg, 2005, p. 361). These insights are important for the researcher conducting research in a field in which they have worked and have some familiarity of, by ‘allowing the mind to roam freely’ in familiar territory, we may explicate theory from phenomena we feel we know intimately.

In a similar vein, Haugh (2011) stated that, “Theory is more than a set of findings; it provides a universally applicable explanation for why and how something occurs”. She referred to Weick (1995), who wrote that “A good theory explains, predicts and delights”. Further, Haugh noted that, “Assertions must form a coherent and parsimonious framework that is sufficiently general to capture a broad range of empirical situations but precise enough to allow scholars to test hypotheses”.

For Haugh, the three key components of theory are:

1. A phenomenon of interest, exploring areas where there are gaps in understanding, and explaining it in a theoretical way;
2. A set of inter-related variables or constructs: Constructs are related to each other by propositions and variables are related to each other by hypotheses;
3. The specification of the relationships between the variables or constructs.

Furthermore, according to Anderson (2011), “Knowledge is never ‘true’ but only the best so far. Our job is to understand, so that we can explain”. As academics we are charged with identifying phenomena and explaining them and their relationship to other phenomena. He went on to state that, “Theories work by making connections, they provide explanatory links, where and when these relationships occur”. For Anderson, “A theory links concepts in an explanatory framework”, and, “the organisation of ideas is a concept, the organisation of concepts is a theory”. Speaking specifically about entrepreneurship, Anderson argued for a, “social ontology of relatedness: because it is the connection to events, people and places that become entrepreneurship”. In conclusion he focused on the key components of good theory as, “explanatory, plausible, explicit and parsimonious”

Mintzberg, Haugh and Anderson's work has provided an invaluable starting point for this researcher, in terms of thinking about, and preparing the outline for the research and the writing. They have done so with humour and insight in such a way that the path forward seems not only clear, but enervating. Thus, the literature review is seen as an accumulation of information that will inform the 'lists', which will in turn help to shape thinking about the research domain and questions, regardless of whether the gathering of data to inform those lists and typologies is gathered using quantitative or qualitative research techniques. The primary goal of theory-building in this study is to develop hypotheses and propositions that will inform the development of theory which is useful to and for Māori.

However, this review begins by exploring the philosophical standpoint of the researcher, and the ontological and epistemological position that shapes the researcher's interests in this particular field of study.

KAUPAPA MĀORI

The researcher is deeply committed to extending the depth and breadth of *Kaupapa Māori* as a research and theoretical paradigm, predicated on the notion of, 'for, with, and by Māori.' This has led to a deeper investigation of the literature on *Kaupapa Māori* as an ontological position, which in turn has led to a broader examination of 'research' as an intellectual activity. Thus, ontology and epistemology emerged, as a necessary area for scrutiny, before engaging in further review of other bodies of literature.

Ontology has been defined as a theory of being, about which it is stated, "It was originally called 'first philosophy' by Aristotle. In the 18th century Christian Wolff contrasted ontology, or general metaphysics, with special metaphysical theories of souls, bodies, or God, claiming that ontology could be a deductive discipline revealing the essences of things", (Britannica, 2009). Flowing from this, epistemology has been defined as, "The theoretical study of knowledge, what knowledge is; how it might be assessed; what the grounds, assumptions for an idea might be; what claims to truth might be made; whether true, knowledge can be achieved", (Arrowsmith, 2009). These definitions are useful because the terms, ontology and epistemology are applied to the *Kaupapa Māori* paradigm, as they shape the researcher's thinking about theories of 'being' and the study of 'knowledge'.

Kaupapa Māori research has evolved as a body of literature since the 1980s, as Māori intellectuals have sought to define Māori knowledge, in the face of the dominant *Pākehā* culture, Eurocentric constructions of knowledge and knowing. In a previous study (Henry and Pene, 2001), *Kaupapa Māori* was teased out as an ontological and epistemological standpoint, a philosophy out of which knowledge production occurs for, with and by Māori.

The early wave of Māori academics that focussed on *Kaupapa Māori* as a research domain, also helped to define it. They include:

- “Research by Māori, for Māori and with Māori”, (L Smith, 1995);
- “Research which is ‘culturally safe’ which involves mentorship of *kaumātua* (elders), which is culturally relevant and appropriate while satisfying the rigor of research, and which is undertaken by a Māori researcher, not a researcher who happens to be Māori”, (Irwin, 1994);
- “A desire to recover and reinstate *mātauranga Māori* the indigenous system that was in place before colonisation”, (Glover, 1997);
- “Kaupapa Māori challenges a universal approach [it must be] able to address Māori needs or give full recognition of Māori culture and value systems”, (Reid, 1998)

It is clear from these definitions that early writers on *Kaupapa Māori* saw it as a reaction to, and release from the ‘science’ of the dominant culture. Some Māori intellectuals made explicit distinctions between *Pākehā* and *Māori* approaches to the acquisition and construction of knowledge. For example, Cram (1993) argued that the purpose of Māori knowledge is to uphold the *mana* of specific communities. She stated that *Pākehā*, on the other hand, view knowledge as cumulative, whose component parts can be drawn together to discover universal laws. Thus, we can conclude that the *Kaupapa Māori* paradigm embraces traditional beliefs, whilst incorporating contemporary resistance strategies that embody the drive for ‘*tinō rangatiratanga*’, self-determination and empowerment for Māori people, as opposed to the subjugation of colonial experience.

On that basis, *Kaupapa Māori* can be viewed as both a set of beliefs (that which is *tika*, or true), and concomitant social practices (*tikanga*). For example, certain *tikanga* are used in the *Kaupapa Māori* literature to articulate appropriate practice. For example, the importance of the collective is exemplified by *whanaungatanga*, the interdependence between and among all living things is expressed as *kōtahitanga*; the intimate relationship with the spiritual dimension is reflected in *wairuatanga*; and the inherent acknowledgement that humans are guardians of their environment is an expression of *kaitiakitanga*. These and other similar values, shaped Māori beliefs and behaviour in traditional society, and continue to resonate in contemporary society. These *tikanga* shape the Māori worldview, which in turn underpin Māori activities, whether they are in research, education or in creative domains, such as screen production.

These *tikanga* are resilient, in that they have resisted the impacts of colonisation, and the imposition of Eurocentric worldviews. They are a fundamental part of the revitalisation of Māori culture and knowledge production. Taken together, these *tikanga* can be viewed as ‘ethics’ in the philosophical sense, which inform traditional Māori ontology, insofar as ontology informs assumptions about human nature, that is, ‘what is real’ for Māori. Traditional Māori ethics and philosophy underpin Māori epistemology, which, for the purposes of this review means to live and act according to principles that are ‘true’ or *tika*, that which ‘*tikanga Māori*’ embodies. Thus, Māori ontology is the *Kaupapa Māori* essence of ‘being’; and Māori epistemology is embodied in the truth, which ‘*tika*’ exemplifies.

In the New Zealand context, Seuffert offered a critique of ‘traditional Eurocentric epistemology’ which she noted has ‘claimed universal applicability across disciplines, cultures and historical periods’ (1997, p98) through a process of colonial imposition, or ‘epistemic violence’. Whilst Seuffert focused her analysis on a critique of positivist epistemology and ‘science’, she acknowledged that ‘postmodern’ theorising has also been challenged by Māori intellectuals. According to Seuffert, Johnston and Pihama (1995) were ‘clearly asserting that their conception of identity is based on a knowledge base, or theories of knowing, that are not encompassed by postmodern strategies and epistemologies’. This is because the ‘silence about the sources of its location, and its implication that postmodern strategies must be applied to all texts, can be interpreted as claims to universality’ despite the tendency of postmodern theory to repudiate the ‘universalising tendencies’ of traditional Eurocentric epistemologies”, (1997, p. 121). Eurocentric epistemology has been challenged

because of the recognition that knowledge is ‘situated’, founded as is all epistemology, on cultural and historical specificity.

Further, we find evidence that *Kaupapa Māori* can be seen as a methodology, that is, as a set of research methods and procedures, which in turn are shaped by our assumptions about what is ‘real’ and what is ‘true’. Methodology in this context is not so much a matter of distinguishing ‘quantitative’ from ‘qualitative’, or ‘deductive’ from ‘inductive’ methods, but of recognising that *Kaupapa Māori* is a framework, a paradigm for understanding what is real for Māori, how Māori live according to tikanga (principles), and how knowledge can be created out of those *tikanga*.

For Smith, ‘*kaupapa*’ is a plan, a philosophy, and a way to proceed. She affirmed that, “embedded in the concept of *kaupapa* is a notion of acting strategically or proceeding purposively”, (p.1). She stated that, “there is more to *Kaupapa Māori* than our history under colonialism or our desires to restore *rangatiratanga*. We have a different epistemological tradition, which frames the way we see the world, the way we organise ourselves in it, the questions we ask and the solutions we seek”, (1999a, p. 5)

Kaupapa Māori writers have argued that the research on Māori, conducted by the dominant culture, the ‘coloniser’, has resulted in the objectification of Māori, and the diminution of Māori language, culture and epistemology. For Smith, “Māori people have had to be convinced that research can have positive, pragmatic and innovative outcomes, that research can be useful and sympathetic and, that not only can Māori be partners in research but Māori can also carry out research ourselves”, (1999a, p. 2).

Furthermore, she states, “Being a Māori researcher does not mean an absence of bias, it simply means that the potential for biases needs to be considered reflexively”, (1999a, p. 8). This is a cogent point for Māori conducting research in and with their community, and must be continually considered and reflected upon.

To inform that reflexivity, Smith articulated a set of principles that inform and shape *Kaupapa Māori* Research. Two of the principles she referred to that are of particular interest in terms of this study are *rangatiratanga* and *whanaungatanga*, about which she stated, “*rangatiratanga* is connected to the goal of control over one’s life and cultural well-

being. This involves control over decision-making processes; the principles of *rangatiratanga* would govern the ways in which the following critical questions are addressed:

- What research do we want to carry out?
- Who is the research for?
- What difference will it make?
- Who will carry out this research?
- How do we want the research to be done?
- How will we know it is a worthwhile piece of research?
- Who will own the research?
- Who will benefit?"

Table 2.2: Critical Research Questions: Smith, 1999a, p.11

In terms of the *whanaungatanga* principle in research, she wrote it, “is generally regarded as an organisational principle, a way of connecting with specific communities and maintaining relationships with communities over many years”, (1999a, p. 12). Thus, the *Kaupapa Māori* researcher is obliged to build, maintain and nurture relationships with the communities they engage in research with, rather than merely entering, and consequently leaving a community with a specific timeline and research agenda.

Smith also proffered a set of ethical principles which can guide *Kaupapa Māori* researchers in their endeavours, outlined in Table 2.3 below.

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

Table 2.3: *Kaupapa Māori* Ethics, Smith1999a, p. 13

Smith crystallised her thinking on *Kaupapa Māori* research in the following Model (see Table 2.4), in which she has articulated the multiple dimensions of self-determination for Māori, as an ongoing cycle comprising decolonisation, mobilisation, healing and transformation. First, Māori must survive the negative impacts of colonisation, and heal our broken communities, before we can embark on a pathway to recovery, through mobilisation and transformation. The *Kaupapa Māori* researcher has a role in every facet of this Model, providing the intellectual capacity to inform and support our communities, the body of

knowledge to point the way for further developments, the academic rigor within the Māori academy, nationally and internationally, to validate our work, our findings our science, and our knowledge. Interestingly, in recent years, it is not just Māori who have adopted the *Kaupapa Māori* paradigm, as non-Māori work alongside Māori in research, and other indigenous researchers adopt a similar standpoint (e.g. Foley, 2003; Paredo et al, 2004).

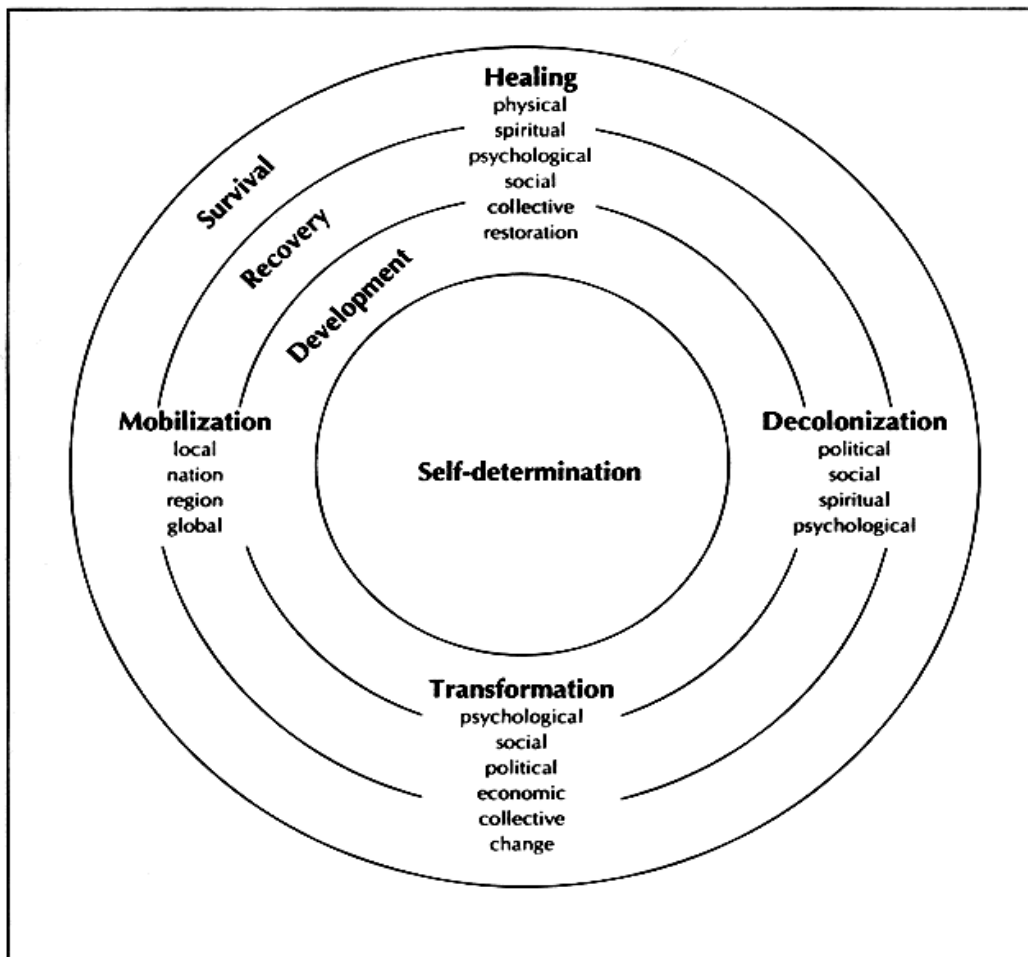


Table 2.4: The Indigenous Research Agenda, Smith, 1999b, p. 117

Porsanger is a Sami researcher, who has drawn extensively on the *Kaupapa Māori* literature to develop her own indigenous research model. She noted that, “The process of decolonization requires new, critically evaluated methodologies and new, ethically and culturally acceptable approaches to the study of indigenous issues, and then coming to know and understand theory and research from our own perspectives and for our own purposes”. She stated that,

Our purposes' are those of indigenous peoples, and 'our own perspectives' are the indigenous approaches that allow indigenous scholars to decolonize theories, develop indigenous methodologies and use indigenous epistemology. This whole process allows indigenous research to break free from the frames of Western epistemologies. (2004, p. 107)

Further, Porsanger wrote, "The main aim of indigenous methodologies is to ensure that research on indigenous issues can be carried out in a more respectful, ethical, correct, sympathetic, useful and beneficial fashion, seen from the point of view of indigenous peoples", (p. 108). Like a growing number of indigenous intellectuals, Smith and Porsanger have brought discussion around ontology and epistemology to the fore. There is the underlying recognition that research is a reciprocal relationship between the researcher and the researched, which is defined by the researcher's understanding of their 'ways of knowing' and their assumptions about reality, that are not necessarily Eurocentric in nature and origin.

Webber extended this thinking, stating, "If the goals of *Kaupapa Māori* are to continue to be realised, the time has come for us to act, rethink and revise the ways we actualize our commitment to this challenge. We need to be developing internal critiques and strengthening some of our ideas in order for Māori research practices to not remain entirely closed and static. The Māori subject is ever-changing and through the process of cultural ecology, all people create new realities, new knowledge and new cultural journeys, in sharing our research stories and methodologies, we validate the processes we have been through and ensure our research activities remain context relevant, ethical and beneficial", (2009, p. 4). Webber refers to some of the recent Māori-centric research models that are evolving, including Lee's 'pūrakau oral literature' method (2003); Martin, McMurchy-Pilkington, Tamati, Martin and Dale, who developed the 'Tūtahi Tonutanga' method (2003); and Cheung's (2008) 'Māori-Western complementarity' model, then concluded that, "further revisions of how research might proceed, for, with and by Māori, need to be embraced", (2009, p. 4).

Writing from an anthropological perspective, Kahotea wrote, "Anthropologists have sought to immerse themselves in the lives of the people they study to gain an 'insider's' point of view and then to translate and represent these 'Native points of view' to western audiences". He noted that, "The Māori anthropologist becomes both 'native informant' and 'native

anthropologist’, an advocate from within and for a community’’, (2006, p. 2). Kahotea’s perspective, the Māori researcher within a specific community has implications for this study, which are explored in more detail in the discussion on research design in Chapter Three.

In summary, philosophical debates about knowledge, what is true and what is real, across time and place, continue to reflect both intellectual and political struggles. It is in this broader intellectual and political context that *Kaupapa Māori* research can and must be situated, as it emphasises inter-dependence and spirituality as a fundamental component of intellectual endeavour and knowledge construction. It is implicitly founded on collective consciousness, and cultural concepts that are not necessarily reflected in qualitative-quantitative, or positivist-interpretivist categorisations and methodologies.

This does not negate the applicability of quantitative or qualitative research, but speaks to the underlying assumptions, processes, and application of research, for both the researcher and the researched. The *Kaupapa Māori* paradigm, as a foundation for research, can be seen as a manifestation of Māori cosmology, the drawing together of ontology, epistemology and methodology in a holistic research paradigm.

The *Kaupapa Māori* paradigm, articulated in writing by Māori intellectuals, is also manifest in the expressions and work of those whom this study acknowledges as pioneers of Māori screen production. Don Selwyn was frequently heard at *Hui*, workshops and on set talking about the *Kaupapa*, everything he worked on being measured against his intrinsic belief in doing things that would contribute to the development of Māori, by Māori. Barry Barclay had a lifelong focus on ‘authentic authorship’; and the rights of all indigenous peoples to tell our stories in our own voice. For Merata Mita, her work was the embodiment of *Kaupapa Māori* principles, peeling back the layers of New Zealand society, to explore the ways that Māori language, society and culture have been systematically undermined by the pervasive dominant culture. The contributions made by Don Selwyn, Barry Barclay and Merata Mita to Māori screen industry are briefly canvassed later in this discussion (p. 47). The following generations of Māori in screen production continue this legacy, through their stories, story-telling and production practices.

MĀORITANGA

The discussion of *Kaupapa Māori*, as a theoretical paradigm, encourages a deeper exploration of the knowledge system out of which *Kaupapa Māori* emerges. One useful source for such a discussion is the work of the Reverend Māori Marsden, who is acknowledged as an eminent writer on traditional Māori knowledge, about whom Royal has noted, “Māori prescribed and described a tremendous amount concerning the Māori worldview or *Māoritanga*. I now believe that he has bequeathed to us a complex and sophisticated model of *Māoritanga* that is appropriate for us today”, (2003, p. x).

According to Marsden, “The route to *Māoritanga* through abstract interpretation is a dead end. The way can only lie through a passionate, subjective approach. The charge of lacking objectivity does not concern me; the so-called objectivity some insist on is simply a form of arid abstraction, a model or a map... *Māoritanga* is a thing of the heart rather than the head”, (Royal, 2003, pp. 2). Further, he stated, “A man’s philosophy is the sum of his beliefs; the assumptions upon which he habitually acts. They comprise those views about the world by which he guides his actions”, (2003, p. 109).

Marsden, drawing on his teachings from *Te Whare Wānanga o Te Tai Tokerau* (the ancient school of knowledge in Northland), identified key elements of traditional Māori identity, originating out of the cosmological view of the universe and life. He compared Māori thinking with contemporary physics theory, when he wrote, “The three-world view of the New Physicists, with its idea of a real world behind the world of sense-perception, consisting of a series of processes and complex patterns of energy, coincides with the Māori world view. The Māori, however, goes beyond this schema and asks us to conceive of different levels of processes which together comprise the world of spirit which is ultimate reality”, (2003, p. 111). Father Michael Shirres has also noted Marsden’s writing. He stated, “this Māori model of the universe has several parallels with modern physics, quantum mechanics- the beginning from the nothingness, the development and expansion over a huge time period, the importance of consciousness, and the fundamental importance of energy”, (1997, p. 18).

The levels of processes about which Marsden wrote were bound up in the notion of *whakapapa*, or genealogical links and connections. He wrote, “In the beginning, IO existed alone in the realm of *Te Korekore*, in his passive state, as *Io-matamoe*, *Io-mata-ane*, *Io-kore-*

te-whiwahi (Io of the sublime countenance, IO of the calm and tranquil countenance, IO the unchanging and unadulterated in whom there is no confusion and inconsistency)”, (Royal, 2003, p. 16). Thus, nothing existed before IO. Furthermore, Marsden states, “All existent beings derive from a common centre; everything depends for its existence, whether in this world or in that behind it, upon *mauri* (life force) which originates in *Io-Taketake* (IO the first cause). From this basic conviction derives the holistic approach of the Māori to all life”, (2003, p. 111).

Therefore, the origin of the universe begins with *Io*, the root of the cosmological tree of life. *Io* is a numinous entity, the embodiment of potentiality, rather not a specific being. This swirl of cosmic energy exists across eons, spawning *Te Korekore*, *Te Kōwhao*, *Te Pō* (the void, the abyss, and the long night); the realms of potential being. These forces, which evolved over numerous generations and identities eventually formed *Te Pū*, the foundation principle of all things, comprising elemental energy, emerging consciousness and the realm of the mind. From *Te Pū* sprang words and wisdom, the first breath of the spirit of life, the realm of *mauri*.

It is in this time-space continuum that the first traces of life emerged, in the form of *Ranginui*, the sky father and *Papatuanuku*, the earth mother. They existed in the realm of *Te Pō*, creating a pantheon of children, ‘*ngā atua*’, the guardians of all aspects of life, including humankind. It was the children of *Rangi* and *Papa*, seeking light and life by forcing apart the tight embrace of their parents, who formed the world of light, *Te Ao Mārama*. This evolutionary process is encapsulated by the statement ‘*I te Kore, ki Te Pō, ki Te Ao Mārama*’, from chaos to cosmos, an often heard phrase in *whaikōrero*, traditional Māori oratory.

On this point, Shirres (1997, p. 23) also noted that Marsden provided:

“an understanding of the universe, which sees the universe as evolving *i te kore, ki to pō, ki te ao mārama*, ‘out of the nothingness, into the night, into the world of light’. It is a model of a universe made up of at least two worlds intimately linked, a world of spiritual powers and the material world we see around us. And it sees the human person as having a very particular role in the ordering of this universe, through the power of the word”.

Ngā atua, the children of *Rangi* and *Papa* generated life on earth. The name of the specific *atua* that created the first human varies across tribes, but the common notion is that *Hine-*

Ahu-One, woman fashioned from the earth, is the founding ancestor. Her daughter, *Hine Tītama*, the first woman, eventually mated with her father. Upon discovering her incestuous relationship, she was so appalled she submerged into the after-life, thereby becoming *Hine-Nui-Te-Pō*, the woman of the long, dark night, the guardian of death, the portal through which we all return to *Papatuanuku*, our mother the earth.

This *whakapapa* details the genealogical connection between humans, the universe and the spiritual realm. Our cosmological parents have imbued humankind with their spiritual gifts, as do all parents. Marsden has provided a summary of these spiritual gifts, *tāonga*, some of which are presented here:

Tapu: “*Tapu* refers to the state that an object or person is in, having come into possession of a *mana*. In order to remain in possession of this *mana*, one needs to fulfil certain conditions and adhere to certain practices (*tikanga* and *kawa*). This entire process, however, is predicated upon the presence of *mauri* within the object or person itself who becomes the receptacle (*taunga*) of this *mana*. The presence of *mauri* within a physical object or person is necessary before a *mana* can come into it”, (Royal, 2006, p. 7).

Ihi: the vital force or personal magnetism which, radiating from a person, elicits in the beholder a sense of awe and respect.

Mana: spiritual authority, power and charisma, about which Marsden wrote, “*Mana* as authority means lawful; permission delegated by the gods to their human agent to act on their behalf and in accordance with their revealed will... power in action, power to perform miraculous works, and the power of the spoken word. To the Māori, *mana* includes all these ideas, but eventually it means that which manifests the power of the gods”, (Royal, 2003, p. 4).

Further, Marsden noted that, “We can be nothing, we can do nothing, without *mana*, or power. Our *mana* is actualisation, the realisation of our *tapu*... All the *mana* of the human person can be seen as coming from the three sources and is named from those sources- *mana whenua* from the power of the land, *mana tangata* from our bond with the people, and *mana atua*, from our bond with the spiritual powers and ultimately with *Io*”, (from Shirres, 1997, p. 18). Shirres went on to state that, “It is from the spiritual powers that we receive our worth as

human beings, our intrinsic *tapu*, and it is from them we receive our power, our *mana*, to carry out our roles as human beings”, (1997, p. 28).

Shirres also provided a more in-depth definition of these key concepts relating to *mana*, as follows:

Mana Tangata: power from people

“To be a person is not to stand alone, but to be one with one’s people... The persons we stand one with are not only the living, but even more so, the ancestors. So basic to being a person and to being Māori is the *whānau*, family, not just with the living, but also with the dead”, (1997, p. 53).

Mana Whenua: power from land

“*Mana whenua* ensures a strong link with one’s own land. *Papatuanuku*, the land, is mother and the source of nourishment and shelter for the people”, (1997, p. 54).

Mana Atua: spiritual powers

“They, the spiritual powers, are our immediate source of *mana*. They are the source of our *tapu*”, (1997, p. 57).

Royal (2006) also contributes to the definition of *Mana Atua* when he writes, “In traditional pre-contact society, *mana* was alive everywhere – in forests, in waterways, in flora and fauna and in people. There was no ultimate source of *mana*, no monotheism, but rather there were many sources which were referred to as ‘*atua*’ or ‘gods’. Adherents were able to harness these *atua*, these energies and *mana* and cause them to flow into the world resulting in acts of extraordinary ability”, (pp 4-5).

Royal goes on to summarise these key concepts when he writes, “*mana* is the term we use for energy and consciousness that comes from beyond this world, from another reality, and flows into this world. *Tapu* is the term we use for the sacred and restricted nature of the vessel within which the *mana* is resident and *mauri* is the term for an energy within the physical vessel which is necessary for a *mana* to alight in that vessel”, (2006, p. 8).

Karakia: “The wider purpose of the *karakia* is to enable us to carry out our role in creation. One with the ancestors, one with the spiritual powers, our *tapu* enhanced, we have the *mana whenua*, *mana tangata*, *mana atua* to take our part in bringing order into this universe as the whole of creation moves from the nothingness, into the night, into the full light of day”, (Shirres, 1997, p. 60).

This model of Māori knowledge, takes as its founding principle the relationship between humankind and the cosmos, and the genealogical links between. Everything is connected, and interwoven into a pattern of evolution from the void at the beginning of time, to the world of light in which we all live. Our ancestral and cosmological heritage has bequeathed certain gifts, our spiritual essence, from which flow our energy and consciousness, and which guide us in our quest to contribute, to bring order to the universe.

Looking at Māori knowledge and philosophy from a different perspective, we find Elsdon Best, one of the most assiduous collectors of information and ethnographies about and by Māori in the late 19th and early 20th Centuries. Best wrote that, “In studying the religion and myths of barbaric folk such as the Māori people of these isles, it is by no means an easy task to do so in a sympathetic manner. Our own point of view differs so widely”, (1924, p. 2). He went on, “It is not a case of differing degrees of intelligence, for the Māori is a remarkably intelligent person; but of difference in outlook on life, on matters normal and supernormal, essentially the latter”, (1924, p. 34). However, Best acknowledged that, “though most natives often seem to lack application and incentive nowadays with regard to acquiring either European teachings or a knowledge of their own history, yet it would appear that such a condition is at least partially due to the great change wrought by the advent of the white man”, (1924, p. 35).

Best cited Kendall, the early missionary who accompanied *Hongi Hika* and *Waikato* to Cambridge University in 1820, where they collaborated on the first Māori dictionary. He wrote that Kendall made a curious statement when he wrote, “I am now, after a long, anxious, and painful study, arriving at the very foundation and ground-work of the cannibalism and superstitions in these islands. All their notions are metaphysical, and I have been so poisoned with the apparent sublimity of their ideas that I have been almost completely turned from a Christian to a heathen”, (1924, p. 45).

Clearly not all Europeans who came into contact with Māori saw our knowledge and philosophy as examples of barbarism and ignorance. However, many did. For example, Best cited Shortland who he felt drew attention to some of the peculiarities of the Māori character, for example, Shortland, “tells us that the Māori has a very limited notion of the abstract, hence the powers of nature were regarded by him as concrete objects, and were personified. He omits to note the far-reaching concepts of spiritual and intellectual potentiae of man evolved by the Māori”, (1924, p. 34).

Best then goes on to outline some of the other perceptions of Māori knowledge and philosophy emanating from his peers. He refers to Buller, who wrote, “Their moral side was a dark picture, it was relieved by only the faintest gleams of light, selfishness, in some form or other was the base-line of it. Chastity was rare, if known”.

Further, he cites Colenso who wrote, “Their intellectual and moral faculties, as a race, were of high order, however, stunted, warped, or debased they may have been through custom, habit or their strong or unrestrained animal propensities”.

Thomas wrote that, “many of the ills of native life were the result of neglect to cultivate reason and judgement. They are deficient in that sort of moral courage which causes men to execute the commands of reason and conscience”, (1924, p. 45).

Taken together, the views of these eminent scholars no doubt contributed to the negative, Eurocentric view of the Māori, which may in turn have exacerbated and underpinned the civilising mission, the ‘great change wrought by the advent of the white man’. It is a testimony to the enduring nature of traditional Māori philosophy and knowledge that it has survived, albeit wrought by change, to continue to shape, inform and serve Māori identity and action, the complex and sophisticated model of Māoritanga that remains appropriate for Māori in contemporary society.

The *Kaupapa Māori* paradigm underpins and drives this research endeavour, as an expression of the researcher’s commitment to, and for Māori. Also, *Māoritanga*, knowledge and philosophy inform the researcher’s understanding of the world and reality. Taken together, this literature provides a foundation, steeped in traditional knowledge in a contemporary

context, for developing the research questions and methods, as well as analysing and understanding the data which is collected.

However as someone with insider knowledge of Māori screen production a review of the insider-outsider literature will now be conducted, to explore the tensions and challenges of insider-research, and strategies for addressing these tensions and challenges.

INSIDER RESEARCH

The researcher is both an ‘insider’ in Māori screen production, as a practitioner; and is also an ‘outsider’, an academic attempting to conduct a rigorous investigation within the field. Whilst there is a growing body of work that looks at Māori ‘insider research’ (Smith, 1999; Moewaka Barnes, 2000; Kahotea, 2006; Webber, 2009), it has tended to focus on Māori researching ‘inside’ specific Māori communities and identities, which is juxtaposed against non-Māori ‘outsider-researchers’ who may have objectified those Māori communities and knowledge in their research, in the past.

Also, there is little ‘insider’ research on the creative industries in general in New Zealand, which covers a wide range of industry sectors including art, fashion, music as well as the screen industry (Rowlands, 2009). Māori screen production in particular (De Bruin and Hanrahan, 2003; Henry and Spooner, 2010) has received little attention. Thus, a study of the Māori screen industry involves a wide community, geographically and professionally. Therefore, this review of the literature has guided the researcher toward her goal of conducting rigorous research, in a specific Māori community, whilst ameliorating the tensions associated with doing ‘insider research’.

This ‘insider-outsider’ dilemma has created a distinct set of tensions for researchers. For Eppley, “Insider-outsider positions are socially constructed and entail a high level of fluidity that further impacts a research situation. A researcher, by nature, has to have some level of "outside-ness" in order to conduct research. This does not mean that the inside perspective is surrendered; both exist simultaneously. Researchers, then, can be neither Insider nor Outsider; they are instead temporarily and precariously positioned within a continuum. (2006, p. 11). Exploring a range of ways to operate and exist along that continuum will comprise the remainder of this section.

For the purposes of this research, the Māori screen industry has been defined as a specific ‘ecology’ rather than a distinct, geographic community. According to Hearn and Foth, “The term ‘ecology’ has a lot to offer communication research. This biological analogy opens up research into time and space dynamics, population growth and lifecycles, networks, clusters, niches, and even power relationships”, (2007, p. 1). In a similar vein, Cohendet, Grandadam and Simon note that, “creative activity must be considered as embedded in creative territories. In other words, these creative milieus should be considered as specific innovative clusters that allow for the creative process to be fully expressed”, (2009, p. 709). Thus, the Māori screen industry is seen as an ‘ecology of creativity’ (Wolfgramm and Henry, 2009), which can be investigated by a researcher who is part of that ecology, but who acknowledges that she is temporarily and precariously positioned along the continuum of ‘insider-outsider-ness’.

For Rabbitt, “Being familiar with the local culture and customs and having already established a relationship provides the opportunity for the researcher to gain participants easily and to be privy to ‘insider’ information that would not be trusted to a stranger. Yet being known has its shortcomings. Prior knowledge, underlying personal bias and preconceived ideas can render disadvantages to this intimate type of ‘insider research’ (2003, p. 1).

Wicks and Roland (2009) reviewed the ‘insider’ research literature from Merton (1972) whose research is often referred to as one of the originating studies in the field. They refer to Hockey’s (1993) recognition that the insider-researcher, “does not have to deal with culture shock, enjoys enhanced rapport with the subject, is able to measure the accuracy of the responses to questions, and is seen by the respondent as empathetic”, (Wicks and Roland, 2009, p. 2). They note that, “any potential concern about ‘bias’ and over-rapport is minimized by the academic integrity of the investigators”, (p.10).

Furthermore, Wicks & Roland identified a series of ‘map points’ (see Table 2.5) that they suggest will facilitate insider-research. These ‘map points’ are based on attributes that interviewer and interviewee might or might not share. They proposed this model so that researchers could better understand any identifiable points on their conversational journey,

which might influence the tenor of the conversation and the responses from the informant.

They outline these as:

- Curiosity: the researcher draws on their curiosity about a topic to elicit information
- Concurrence: the researcher and informant share a common point of experience that helps to establish and maintain rapport.
- Potential Conflict: The researcher fails to question the informant on a statement that academic rigor begs to be asked, but the researcher is consciously or sub-consciously conflicted about the topic.

They suggest that, by being aware of these potential tension-points from the outset, the researcher can better manage any consequent biases.

Map Point	Definition
Curiosity	
Researcher as ‘Learner’ and Informant as ‘Expert’	The conversation is about a situation of which the researcher does not have prior knowledge; the informant is able to teach the researcher.
Researcher as ‘Reviewer’ and Informant as ‘Explainer’	The researcher is reflecting on work and asking questions to gain greater clarity, giving the informant the opportunity to explain.
Researcher as ‘Confidante’ and Informant as ‘Seeker’	The informant confides in the researcher that might be shared only because the researcher is perceived to be one who would understand given the common background.
Concurrence	
Researcher and Informant on the Same Page	The researcher and informant share a common point of experience, philosophy, history, that helps to establish and maintain rapport.
Researcher as ‘Biographer’ and Informant as ‘Story’	The researcher is asking questions about the life history of the informant in order to gain insight and a more detailed picture of the life context.
Researcher as ‘Tangential Conversationalist’ and Informant as ‘Listener’	The researcher takes over the conversation and shares a story from past experience, to build rapport, or to share a point of common ground.
Potential Conflict	
Informant as ‘Inquisitor’ and Researcher as ‘Defender’	The informant turns the tables on the researcher to ask questions of the researcher.
Researcher as ‘Confidante’ and Informant as ‘Confessor’	The researcher is placed in the role of a confidante as the informant confesses a difficulty or a frustration.
Researcher as ‘Confidante’ and Informant as ‘Venter’	The researcher is placed in the role of a confidante as the informant vents a concern or frustration. It is assumed that the researcher understands and may have had similar experiences.
Researcher as ‘Inquisitor’ and Informant as ‘Defender’	The researcher pushes the informant on a particular point in an effort to dig deeper, to achieve greater clarity. This may push the informant out of a comfort zone. It may be motivated by the researcher's contextual history.
Researcher as ‘Sympathizer’ and ‘Informant’ as Evangelist	The researcher fails to question the informant on a statement that academic rigor begs to be asked, but the researcher is consciously or sub-consciously conflicted about the topic and thus fails to follow through on the conversation.

Table 2.5: Map Points in Insider Research (Wicks & Roland 2009, pp 6-8)

Chavez has also contributed to the discussion on insider-outsider tensions. She noted that the, "insider/outsider debate has been largely that, a debate. In line with the positivist tradition, the outsider perspective was considered optimal for its 'objective' and 'accurate' account of the field, while insiders, who possessed deeper insights about the people, place, and events, were believed to hold a biased position that complicated their ability to observe and interpret", (2008, p. 474). However, she concludes that, "If insider accounts are going to serve their role in bringing social justice to minority and indigenous communities, we must begin to attend to a systematic approach to being on the inside", (p. 491). To do this, Chavez has developed a framework of 'advantages' and 'complications' which insider-researchers can draw on to help them to better manage the disadvantages of insider Positionality.

Advantages of Insider Status	Complications to Insider Status
<p>Positionality</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • a nuanced perspective for observation, interpretation and representation • an equalized relationship between researcher and participants • expediency of rapport building • immediate legitimacy in the field • economy to acclimating to the field 	<p>Positionality</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • insider status unchecked can complicate or overwhelm researcher role • over-identification or over-reliance on status • social roles in community constrain researcher role and objectives • overload with exchange or reciprocity requests from participants • requests to take sides in community political and moral issues • the rise of value-conflicts as a result of research and community member role • compromised professional ethics and/or research results • participants' perceptions and expectations
<p>Access</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • expediency of access • access to more in-group activities 	<p>Access</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • bias in entering field and establishing rapport • limited access based on political climate
<p>Data Collection/Interpretation/Representation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • insight into the linguistic, cognitive, emotional, sensory and psychological principles of participants • knowledge of the historical and practical happenings of the field • stimulation of natural interaction and behaviour • detection of participants' hidden behaviours and perceptions • detection of nonverbal gestures of embarrassment and discomfort • identification of unusual and unfamiliar occurrences 	<p>Data Collection/Interpretation/Representation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • observer and/or participant role may be culturally inappropriate • selective reporting • difficulty with recognizing patterns due to familiarity with community • bias in selecting participants • breaking or maintaining relationships with participants when leaving the field • community interaction style compromises interview process or observation • 'insiderness' obscures representation due to turbulent or changing political and historical climate

Table 2.6: Methodological Advantages and Complications of Insider Positionality (Chavez, 2008, p.479)

Wicks & Roland and Chavez have developed this suite of tools and techniques that offer indigenous insider-researchers insights into potentially fraught aspects of the research. However, underlying these techniques is their commitment to encouraging and validating insider research, because of its capacity to reflect more accurately the thoughts and views of participants.

The *Kaupapa Māori* and Insider-Outsider literature might be seen as methodological issues. However, within the context of this study, they are also ontological and epistemological matters, and as such, have been investigated as part of the wider literature review, because they impact on underlying philosophical factors that shape the study, and the research questions, as well as methodological issues. Therefore, the findings from this review of the *Kaupapa Māori* and insider-research literature impact on both the thinking of the researcher, and the research design adopted for this study.

IDENTITY

To explore the ‘creative spirit’ of an individual, one must begin with an analysis and understanding of the individual. This is despite the previously noted collective-consciousness embedded in Māori culture and society, for it is primarily individuals that initiate creative and business endeavours, not necessarily *whānau*, *hapū* or *iwi* collectives. Thus, to better understand the Māori ‘individual’, one should start with literature that focuses on ‘identity’. One of the most comprehensive recent studies of Māori identity is the thesis from Houkamau (2007).

This chapter borrows heavily from her review of the identity literature, as a starting point for further developing the analysis of Māori identity. Houkamau began by acknowledging that there is no prevailing conceptualisation of identity, but that it is a rich and varied field. However, the study of the ‘self’ has long underpinned ‘identity’ research. For example, she cites Goffman (1959), who wrote about the ‘self’ as it is presented in social interactions as being ‘identity’. Tajfel (1981) saw ‘identity’ as a series of concepts about the ‘self’, which individuals internalised as part of their group affiliation and identity.

This focus on the ‘self’ has been the basis of a plethora of research in psychology. For, in psychology, “The experience of the self is viewed... as a cognitive, experiential phenomenon

that involves a combination of the person's awareness of themselves as an object and as an actor in the social world", (Houkamau, 2007, p. 5). Among the earliest writers in the field, Baldwin (1897) proposed that the construction of the 'self' was derived from the dialectical process between the individual and those in their immediate environment. Cooley (1956) further developed this thinking by referring to a concept of the 'looking glass', through which people became aware of themselves, and formed ideas about themselves based on the views of those around them. Mead extended these notions of 'self', by stating that 'individuals acquired a sense of self from what they believed other people thought of them' (cited in Houkamau, 2007, p. 6). In her discussion of the contribution made by Baldwin, Cooley and Mead to the identity literature, Houkamau noted that, "All three saw the 'self' as both a cognitive and experiential phenomenon that operated on and was affected by the world in which the person was a part of (2007, p. 7).

'Identity' relates to specific sets of knowledge that one holds about oneself, within the wider notion of 'self'. For example, Harre (1998) recognised that 'identity' refers to those elements of self-experience that relate to one's type, group, or race. Erikson suggested that 'identity' is made up of the combination of a person's self-labels and the groups to which they belong. Woodward (2000) identified the major determinants of identity, including: race, ethnicity, gender, nationality and sexual orientation, and which could also include relevant social roles, e.g. parent, child, boss.

Another strand of research makes a distinction between 'identity' and 'personality'. The former relates more to something which the individual claims, whilst the latter is seen as a trait. Houkamau offered a useful illustration of these two concepts in this fashion. To say, "I am generous" one is referring to a personality trait. However, if one says, "I am generous because that is the Māori way", one is referring to an aspect of individual identity, in relation to the individual's membership of that specific category of people.

Houkamau then explored the social construction of 'identity' in more detail. She referred to the work of McCall and Simmons (1966) who, "observed that in any given society people occupy social roles. Some roles people are born into, such as gender and ethnicity. Some roles are derived from interpersonal relationships and include the role of mother or husband", (2007, p. 14). According to this analysis, we see ourselves as 'role occupants' and we define others by their role occupancy, which enables us to interact appropriately with them. Thus,

we are able to react to strangers based on our view of the role they occupy in our minds. If we believe them to be a threat because of the persona they represent, we will act accordingly. We do this by applying 'stereotypes' to others, which are the frame of reference we use to predict and guide our responses. According to Houkamau, "day to day interactions may be constructed as a series of role identity enactments with individuals acting toward each other according to sets of socially constructed regulations", (2007, p. 15).

This focus on the social construction of identity, which in turn guides our behaviour, has been used in the social sciences to explain the ways that individuals use 'norms' to shape social conventions. On this point, Houkamau stated, "By differentiating social and personal identities, social identity theory increases the relevance of role theory for understanding identity because people's identities are seen as shaped by their group membership but not completely determined by them", (2007, p. 17). This notion was teased out by Stryker (1968; 1980; 1987) who focussed on both 'social role' and 'social context' to analyse identity. He advocated that individuals seek social acceptance, which encourages them to emphasise their membership in certain groups and role identities. Stryker maintained that, whilst social networks impact on identity, the individual may hierarchically organise different identities within a portfolio of the 'self-concept', yet still maintain a sense of 'real identity' within their own mind. This suggests that the individual has multiple identities, some of which are responses to social situations. On that basis, when a particular role-identity receives positive support from those around us, it gains prominence and salience, whilst those that do not receive positive affirmation may decline over time.

Houkamau looked at role theory and social identity, and asked what they contribute to the understanding of identity, "Taken together these variables account for how people form their identities through exposure to social norms around role occupation and group membership", (2007, p. 19). Thus, 'social acceptance', appears to be a factor, insofar as individuals value those identities which are most accepted by their communities. She went on to refer to Goffman's (1959) work, in which he argued that, "individuals create short-term situated identities, or temporary renditions of themselves, and change them according to social context", (2007, p. 21). Flowing from this is a body of research that has focussed on the ways individuals try to avoid social disapproval by denying or negating their membership in groups they perceive as negative or stigmatised, what Mills (1999) has described as 'passing', or being 'half-caste'.

Drawing on the ‘situational’ approach to the analysis of one’s identity, finds that people have a multiplicity of elements to their identity, and that we make choices about how we present our identity, depending on the social context. Nonetheless, underpinning these social contexts is the sense that one has a ‘true’ or ‘real’ identity.

According to Houkamau, “Erikson believed that individuals are driven to settle on a cohesive ‘picture’ of who they are and uncertainty about this issue peaks during adolescence”, (2007, p. 24). Marcia (1966) focussed on adolescence and developed the ‘identity status model’, which explained identity as a socially constructed psychological structure that is made up of the individual’s definitions, descriptions and evaluations of themselves. On this model, the more advanced or mature the development of one’s identity, the more one is likely to manifest self-awareness, confidence, purpose and meaning. Alternatively, when one does not have the strongly developed sense of identity, one is more likely to rely on the social context to provide direction and purpose. Marcia explained this process by defining four states, which could be used to describe identity-commitment in youth. The first state, ‘foreclosure’, described the time during which no specific identity options have been selected by the individual, but their values and beliefs were shaped within the family. During the ‘moratorium’ state, young people experiment with ‘possible identities’. During the ‘diffusion’ state, there is less emphasis on choosing or adopting any specific identity, and in the final, ‘developmental’ state, youth adopt a specific ‘identity status’.

A number of psychological tools have evolved out of Marcia’s work, including the Ego Identity Process Questionnaire (Balistreri, Busch-Rossnagel & Geisinger, 1995); the Extended Objective Measure of Identity Status (Adams, Bennion & Huh, 1989); and the Identity Status Interview (Waterman, Besold, Crook & Manzini, 1987). The latter (ISI) involves an extensive set of questions that explore the individual’s commitment to identity through exploration of specific domains, including family, personal relationships, interests, and beliefs. This work has contributed to our understanding of the ways that identity can be measured as a psychological construct.

Houkamau focussed specifically on ethnic identity and minority status, as the basis for her research on Māori women and identity. She defined ethnic identity as, “a generic term which refers to a person’s identification with a particular ethnic group or groups as well as their

personal understandings of what that identification means”, (2007, p. 45). She noted that one of the effects of racism and social stigma associated with ethnic identities may actually encourage members of those communities to focus more specifically on their ethnicity, as a means of affirming their social worth. However, she found that the extent to which individuals were affected by racism was dependent on their beliefs and experiences.

Therefore, to better understand ethnic identity the researcher needs to explore events and relationships that may shape how that individual defines, describes and evaluates his/her self as members of the group. Another key finding of her research was that those with greater knowledge of their culture were more likely to retain positive associations with their ethnic identities, and that positive ethnic identity was reflected in positive relationships that were predicated on that identity. Houkamau refers to the work of Carter (1991) and Parham & Helms (1985) who recognised that negative attitudes towards one’s ‘black’ identity, were more likely to be associated with lower levels of well-being, including self-esteem and self-efficacy.

In her summary, Houkamau noted that one needs to explore Māori history and the attitudes that prevail among *Pākehā* and Māori, to better understand Māori identity at any given point. Further, one needs to recognise that the prejudice and negative stereotyping which Māori have experienced must inform research to ensure that it is respectful of and culturally appropriate for Māori. She went on to argue that ‘enculturation’, which she defined as cultural knowledge and, “involvement in Māori social networks, the ability to speak Māori and an understanding of Māori culture”, (2007, p. 218), enhances self-worth, and promotes ethnic bonding, which in turn enhances social acceptance for group members. She stated, “Because of this an understanding of unique cultural experiences as well as personal relationships seems crucial for understanding Māori identity”, (2007, p. 73).

The focus of psychological research on the individual has been complemented by the sociological spotlight on other social phenomena that impact on identity, socio-historical factors. For example, Strauss (1959) noted that each generation of a family shares certain experiences, which shapes their characteristics and tendencies. By exploring those commonalities, one might investigate the impact of the socio-historical context on identity. One relevant study (Schulz, 1998) involved interviews with thirty-one Navajo women from different age cohorts about their identity. Schulz found that women from the same cohort

shared similar views on their identity as Navajo, and as 'Indians'. Those from the older age group (born prior to 1946), born on the reservation within their native culture, were more likely to resist being described as 'Indian', preferring to be described as Navajo. Those born between 1946 and 1960, during a period of assimilationist policies, which encouraged Native Americans to leave the reservation, were more likely have been influenced by the pan-tribal 'Indian identity' espoused by tribal leaders who wanted to reinforce group solidarity. Those from the youngest cohort (1961-1976) were more likely to view their culture as unique and valuable, which should be preserved, they argued for Native American rights to equality, defining themselves as both Indian and Navajo.

These findings were similar to those from Korgen (1998) who looked at self-definition, self-description and self-evaluation among bi-racial Americans (individuals with both African American and White American parents). She found that those born in the early 1900s were raised in an environment where bi-racial children experienced social disapproval, to the extent that they had to define themselves as 'Black', because they were not accepted by 'Whites'. From the 1960s, during the era when the phrase 'Black is Beautiful' gained social currency, inter-racial couples became more socially acceptable. This resonated clearly in the 1967 film, 'Guess Who's Coming To Dinner', which scandalised some communities by pairing the African American Sidney Poitier with Katherine Houghton, who represented a liberal, upper-class white American family. However, the film went on to critical claim and widespread appeal. Korgen found that those born prior to the 1960s were more likely to identify as 'Black', with a negative connotation, because they came of age before the Civil Rights era in the United States. Those born in the latter half of the twentieth century, had their identity shaped by the Civil Rights movement, and were more likely to embrace and value their Black identity, even though they might have experienced racial prejudice.

This body of literature highlights the psychological and socio-cultural sources of 'identity' and 'self'. It informs the analysis of Māori identity, which is both individually and socially constructed. This focus on the role of positive ethnic identity, as a means of affirming social worth, and the impact that knowledge of cultural identity has on well-being and self-esteem forms the basis for exploring Māori identity in this study.

CAREERS: BOUNDARYLESS AND ENACTED

As this research explores the life and work of Māori in screen production, a review of the career literature is useful. According to Arthur, Inkson and Pringle, “traditional career theory has long recognised the connection between careers and personal fulfilment. Underlying this recognition is the commonly accepted academic definition of ‘career’ as the evolving sequence of a person’s work experiences over time”, (1999, p.3).

Arthur *et al.* noted that much of the earlier career theorists focused on practical interventions. For example, personnel shortages in the workplace during World War II prompted a drive for personnel selection techniques and vocational placements that relied on ‘scientific’ methods such as individual assessments and aptitude testing. In the post WWII period, as Western economies grew exponentially, large corporations focused more on ‘manpower’ and ‘career planning systems’. For Arthur *et al.* “The vocational counselling industry is interested in careers as opportunities for individual choice and job matching. The profession of ‘human resource management’ seeks to enable companies to achieve business goals through the cultivation of stable workforces”, (1999, p.4).

Another approach to careers evolved out of the work of developmental theorists, who explored the different ages, or stages of development, which gave rise to research around the ‘mid-life crisis’, seen as an outcome of a particular age and family-stage. Arthur *et al.* stated that, “Developmental theories attempt to deal with the career as something more than a series of adjustments to the right job, or a pattern of chess moves imposed on a human pawn by a clever corporate employer. Rather, a career is seen as a dynamic developing entity, cumulative and recursive, the greatest value of development theories is not in the detail of the patterns they seek to discern in a shifting economic world, but in their focus on careers as organic entities, with developing life-cycles, which are shaped by complex interactions between personal make-up and choice and the external forces of family, class, and economic and organisational circumstance”, (1999, p.5).

According to Sears, “Career development is the total constellation of psychological, sociological, educational, physical, economic and chance factors that combine to shape the career of an individual over the life span”, (1983, p.139). This focus on career development, as a theoretical paradigm has itself undergone development and transition. For Patton and

McMahon (2006) there has been a change in emphasis from an interest in ‘career development’ to ‘development through work and other life roles’. This has allowed theorists to focus in greater detail on the career development of women and racial and ethnic minorities.

On the matter of career theory and race, Thomas and Alderfer (1989, pp 133-134) stated, “Statistics on the occupational status of racial minority groups suggest that race is a strong predictor of position in the labour market. The concept of career holds particular promise for our understanding of individual-organisation interaction in general and the occupational experience of racial minorities in particular”. Thus, the earlier ‘scientific’ approaches to career theory were challenged by a greater focus on the individual, and their experiences in the workplace.

Another strand of theorising sought to move beyond ‘macro’ and ‘micro’ analyses of career, and borrowed from the work of Bourdieu which, “allows the strengthening or the re-introduction of themes like multi-level analysis, simultaneous action-structure view, combining ‘objective’ and subjective’ perspectives, power distribution, social hierarchy and thus social inequalities into career research”, (Iellatchitch, Mayrhofer and Mayer, 2003, p.731). Their work drew on Bourdieu’s (1994) concepts of ‘field’, ‘capital’ and ‘habitus’, about which they wrote, “Fields are the social contexts within which practices take place. They correspond to a network of positions, to a playground where agents realise individual strategies, playing according to, and thereby openly reproducing, the rules of the game as defined by the specific set of capital most valuable for holding power within the field. Career fields are the social context within which individual members of the workforce who are equipped with a specific portfolio of field-relevant capitals, try to maintain or improve their place in the given and unfolding network of work-related positions through a patterned set of practices which are enabled and constrained by the rules of the field and, in turn, contribute to the shaping of these rules”, (2003, p.732). Thus, careers are not a field in and of themselves, they unfold within a field, and ‘work’ transforms social and cultural capital into economic capital, which in turn becomes ‘career capital’, and that body of ‘career capital’ shapes the structure of one’s ‘career field’.

Iellatchitch et al., identified the nineteenth century as the era in human history when social status became defined by the work one did. They wrote that, “labour is codified and regulated

through a complex legal framework. But the crucial point of 'having a career' is that labour may be defined as giving status, i.e. a person's relative position on a recognised scale or hierarchy of social worth. The dramatic importance of this change needs to be underlined. It is the pre-condition for the belief that social status is not decided by birth. But that the social ladder can be climbed through education and hard work. The moment of the emergence of this belief is also the moment of the emergence of the modern notion of career", (2003, p.733).

These perspectives on careers have helped to focus research on both the individual and the social institutions that act on individual choice. According to Arthur et al., "These perspectives consistently emphasise the interdependence of a system's elements (in our case, careers) over time, rather than traditional one-way, cause-effect relationships. The same perspectives also emphasize the elements' self-organising properties in adapting to their surrounding environments", (1999, p.10). They went on to explore the more recent strand of career theory, the 'boundaryless career', and wrote, "One platform for exploring the consequences of increased employment mobility, and providing a counterpoint to traditional career theory, involves a focus on boundaryless careers. This perspective is based on the straightforward observation that because of the mobility documented above, nearly all careers cross multiple employer boundaries", (1999, p. 11).

Another development from the boundaryless careers literature is the 'enactment' perspective. According to Arthur et al., "All workers use their accumulated resources to enact their careers upon the surrounding environment. As individuals enact their careers they enact the environment itself. The enactment perspective stands in contrast to traditional career theories. As the years have gone by, internal and external company boundaries have fallen away, swept aside by larger forces such as information technology, the globalisation of business, the pressure of competition, and the development of flatter and more flexible forms of organising", (1999, p. 12).

On the distinction between those who 'build a career' and those who 'build a business' Moore stated, "Until recently, the gap between the two was viewed as a chasm, primarily because it was thought that the behaviour of people in organisations was governed by one set of values, acquired as one developed the skills to cope with a bureaucratic hierarchy, and the behaviour of the self-employed by another set of values, with the internal motivation to be

independent and in control at the core”. Further, “The old meaning of being employed was one’s occupation or business. The new meaning is that current employment may be one in a series of temporary stops in an evolving career. Owning your own business may well be part of your rich new career”, (2000, p. 4).

Moore’s views reflect a wider intellectual discourse related to changing perceptions of careers, which is seen as a transition from the focus on objective to subjective careers. As stated by Walton & Mallon, “The divide between the two has been given renewed attention with a growing belief that the objective career as we knew it, as a path up hierarchies, has disappeared in the face of organisational change.... in the absence of such external markers, the objective career dissolves and in its place the subjective career becomes externalised and treated as a framework for career growth”, (2004, pp. 76-77).

We see from this literature a new emphasis on the ‘subjective career’ as a framework rather than a pathway, one that is ‘boundaryless’, and in which individuals may ‘enact’ their careers and the environments and industries in which those careers exist. This literature lays a foundation for analysing the careers of Māori working in screen production, in an industry which barely existed one generation ago, in organisations which they themselves formed, thereby enacting their careers and their businesses.

ENTREPRENEURSHIP

The study of entrepreneurship is relatively new, as a field of management studies and economics, though theories of economic activity and change have been evolving in human society over the millennia. Ricketts (2006, p.35) stated that, “When the whole of society is viewed in terms of duty and obligation in the performance of a divinely assigned and sanctioned role; and when preparation for the next life rather than the improvement of material conditions in this one has a higher priority, entrepreneurship could hardly be expected to feature prominently in the prevailing academic thinking”.

According to Dees (1998) the term ‘entrepreneur’ originated in 17th Century French economics (Say, 1836) and is taken to mean someone who ‘undertakes a significant project or activity’, which creates value. Ricketts (2006, p.34) noted that, “entrepreneurship is not a concept that has a tightly agreed definition. In common usage an ‘entrepreneur’ is a person

who undertakes an enterprise, especially a commercial one, often at personal financial risk". By the nineteenth century, the notion of 'men of business' came to represent those whose economic endeavours transformed the economic and social landscape of Europe. Reflecting upon this era, Checkland wrote, "It is probably not far from the truth to say that the period from 1815-1885 in Britain represents the range of human experience in which individual economic initiative had its greatest opportunity to remake an ancient society", (1964, p.103). The industrialists of that era came to be associated with such characteristics as: strategic insight, tactical awareness, and personal energy, power of leadership, organisational flair, ruthlessness and determination. On this point, Ricketts stated that, "like the military commander, the entrepreneur began to be studied and respected", (2006, p. 38). By the twentieth century, large corporations began to emerge alongside scientific and technical approaches to management studies.

Metcalf added to our understanding of entrepreneurship, by acknowledging that, though the entrepreneur is an individual, he or she is a, "situated individual working within social as well as economic constraints and fully subject to the instituted rules of the game. Indeed it is difficult to make sense of enterprise without recognising the explicit role of market institutions as the context that induces and channels entrepreneurial activity", (2006, p. 60). Metcalf went on to tease out the distinctions between 'enterprise' and the 'entrepreneur'. He stated, "By 'enterprise' we mean a pervasive activity that changes the rules within which economic decisions are made", (2006, p. 62). In this regard he referred to new rules of production, new products, or patterns of business and organisation. He defined the 'entrepreneur' as, "the agency that generates the changes in the rules and effects their implementation", (2006, p. 62). For Metcalf, "To understand its restless nature we need to place entrepreneurship at the heart of the analysis, for the entrepreneur is the crucial agent whose role is to generate new economic knowledge and thus transform the structure of economic activity", (2006, p. 87).

Wadson (2006) also contributed to our understanding of the entrepreneur by focussing on their cognitive attributes. He explored the application of cognitive psychology theories to entrepreneurship, with a particular emphasis on decision-making and attitudes to risk. Wadson discussed the early 'trait approach' to the exploration of, and the reasons why people became entrepreneurs. He noted that these approaches have failed to produce clear-cut results about a specific set of traits associated with entrepreneurship. However, he

acknowledged the work of Shaver and Scott (1991, p.31) who view 'achievement motivation' as the only trait that appears to have a strong association with the creation of new ventures. He went on to state that, "Because of the somewhat disappointing results of the traits approach some researchers have turned to studying how entrepreneurs think. If the cognitive processes of entrepreneurs are different from others, then this will affect their assessment of opportunities and their perceptions of the risks that they involve", (2006, p. 92).

Wadson introduced a discussion of self-efficacy into entrepreneurship analysis, a cognitive characteristic that, "refers to the degree to which someone believes he/ she has the ability to successfully complete a task", (2006, p. 99). He refers to the work of Chen, Gully and Eden (2001), who found a positive correlation between perceived self-efficacy and the decision to be an entrepreneur and stated, "People with high self-efficacy believe themselves capable of taking adaptive action as challenges unfold", (2006, p. 99). Wadson concluded his analysis by referring to the ways that culture relates to entrepreneurship. He stated that, "Culture would seem to have a significant role, some of the more obvious ways in which culture might have an impact are through subjective norms, social persuasions (self-efficacy theory), and the role of social self-justification", (2006, p. 109).

Entrepreneurship research has not only focused on economic and cognitive factors. Licht and Siegel (2006) have explored the social dimensions of entrepreneurs. They cited Shapero and Sokol (1982, p. 83) who stated that the, "social and cultural factors that enter into the formation of entrepreneurial events are most felt through the formation of the individual value systems. More specifically, in a social system that places a high value on the formation of new ventures, the more individuals will choose that path". For Licht and Siegel, the predominant analytical framework in this field comes from Hofstede (1980) and the 'cultural value dimensions' he developed in his study of IBM workers in sixty different countries. Further, they drew on the work of Williamson (2000) who identified four levels for analysis of the social institutions that shape entrepreneurial motivations. Level One comprises the informal institutions where norms, customs, mores and traditions are located, the general locus of 'culture'. Level Two is the formal legal rules and regulations existing in a given society. Level Three consists of the structures that make up contracts, firms and networks. Finally, Level Four 'deals with marginal analysis of prices and resource allocation. This level is of less concern because, strictly speaking, it is not an institution", (Licht and Siegel, 2006, p. 513). They argued that laws flow organically from cultural orientations, e.g. congruity

between levels 1 and 2, and that, “Parties to economic transactions would structure their interaction at Level 3 in light of the strengths and weaknesses of the institutional backdrop of Levels 1 and 2”, (2006, p. 513). They concluded that culture is profoundly related to all facets of entrepreneurship in any given society.

Thus, this necessarily brief review of the entrepreneurship literature has defined it as an economic activity, underpinned by individual, cognitive and social factors, which impel certain types of people to generate new economic activity and knowledge, thereby transforming their own lives and the societies in which they live. Entrepreneurs are individuals who are determined to follow their own path, who embrace risk taking, challenges and innovations, and who express the self-belief necessary to embark on these new pathways in business.

SOCIAL & INDIGENOUS ENTREPRENEURSHIP

A more recent body of research, that has relevance for this study, has focussed on social entrepreneurship. An OECD report noted that, “Social entrepreneurship and innovation have, in the past decade, garnered particular attention from policy makers, academics, and the general public. Both are important tools to tackle social challenges and to respond to them when the market and public sector do not”, (OECD, 2010, p. 186).

Dees outlined current theories of entrepreneurship, including work from Drucker who focused on ‘opportunity’ and the desire of entrepreneurs to ‘search for change’. According to Dees, “Social entrepreneurs are one species in the genus entrepreneur. They are entrepreneurs with a social mission. However, because of this mission, they face some distinctive challenges and any definition ought to reflect this”, (1998, p3).

Martin and Osberg pointed to the growing interest in social entrepreneurship, about which they wrote, “The interest in social entrepreneurship transcends the phenomenon of popularity and fascination with people. Social entrepreneurship signals the imperative to drive social change, and it is that potential payoff, with its lasting, transformational benefit to society, that sets the field and its practitioners apart”. They further developed thinking about social entrepreneurs as a specific genus with the drive to innovate, seek out opportunities and pursue a mission, when they stated “Building from this theoretical base, we believe that

entrepreneurship describes the combination of the context in which an opportunity is situated, a set of personal characteristics required to identify and pursue this opportunity, and the creation of a particular outcome”, (2007, p31).

Martin and Osberg went on to differentiate between entrepreneurs and social entrepreneurs by highlighting first their similarities. That is, they are driven by similar imperatives, but the outcomes they seek may be different in terms of the profit-benefits, and the types of beneficiaries (who may be a wider community than just shareholders or investors). They concluded by offering a comprehensive definition of the social entrepreneur. “We define social entrepreneurship as having the following three components:

- Identifying a stable but inherently unjust equilibrium that causes the exclusion, marginalisation, or suffering of a segment of humanity that lack the financial means or political clout to achieve any transformative benefit on its own
- Identifying an opportunity in this unjust equilibrium, developing a social value proposition, and bringing to bear inspiration, creativity, direct action, courage and fortitude, thereby challenging the stable state’s hegemony
- Forging a new, stable ecosystem around the new equilibrium ensuring a better future for the targeted group and even society at large”, (2007, p35).

Martin and Osberg concluded that, “Social entrepreneurship, we believe, is as vital to the progress of societies as is entrepreneurship to the progress of economies, and it merits more serious and rigorous attention than it has attracted so far”, (2007, p39).

The social entrepreneurship literature has, in turn, stimulated interest in indigenous entrepreneurship, which also has a growing body of literature. For example, Peredo, Anderson, Galbraith, Benson and Dana state that, “Indigenous populations throughout the world suffer from chronic poverty, lower education levels, and poor health. The ‘second wave’ of indigenous development, after direct economic assistance from outside, lies in indigenous efforts to rebuild their ‘nations’ and improve their lot through entrepreneurial enterprise”, (2004, p. 1).

This is particularly true in terms of the research conducted on Māori entrepreneurship. On this point, Maritz (2007) found Māori entrepreneurs to be opportunity-based, opting for social integration of work-life balance versus wealth creation. The Global Entrepreneurship Monitor

Reports (Frederick et. al, 2003; Frederick & Chittock, 2006) found Māori to be amongst the top ten most entrepreneurial populations in the world. Frederick and Henry identified certain characteristics of Māori entrepreneurship, and two types of entrepreneurs, the ‘rugged individualist’ and ‘the collective entrepreneur’, who use, “innovative and entrepreneurial business practices not for the benefit of individuals *per se*, but rather for the benefit of the larger community”, (2005, p. 133).

This premise was further teased out by Henry who traced the history of Māori entrepreneurship, from the earliest era of European contact, and found that *Kaupapa Māori* entrepreneurship best describes that form of entrepreneurial endeavour which fits within the domain of social entrepreneurship and social enterprise. That is, “entrepreneurial flair, underpinned by a sense of commitment to Māori community, whether it be *whānau*, *hapū* or *iwi*... entrepreneurship and innovation for, with and by Māori”, (2007, p. 547).

EMANCIPATORY ENTREPRENEURSHIP

One other strand of entrepreneurship literature was reviewed, relating to emancipatory entrepreneurship. O’Neill and Ucbasaran (2010) conducted a study of entrepreneurs who set up sustainable organisations. They explored how aspects of identity underpinned entrepreneurial behaviour. They reviewed the entrepreneurship literature and found that much of the recent literature on identity in entrepreneurship focussed on ‘entrepreneurial roles’ such as founder, inventor or developer. However, they were more interested in ‘identity drivers’. They noted that, “The founders of sustainable entrepreneurship ventures emphasised identity dimensions which we summarised into two interrelated categories: ‘personal career drivers’ and ‘social change drivers’. In the former, authenticity emerges as a pivotal identity condition leading to entrepreneurial activity”, (p. 2). They found that the entrepreneurs they studied put effort into constructing an ‘authentic career’, so as to ‘break free’ from existing organisations they perceived to be unsustainable, which enabled them to enact ‘authentic identities’ in their own organisations, and to ‘break up’ unsustainable business practices. They concluded that, “entrepreneurship offers a means not only to enact desired entrepreneurial identities but also to express one’s authenticity and inwardly-derived values... Hence, we contribute to work questioning the distinction between social change oriented ‘social entrepreneurs’ and individualistic ‘traditional entrepreneurs’”, (p. 2).

The emphasis that O'Neill and Ucbasaran place on 'authenticity' is of note. They refer to the work of Taylor, who wrote, "There is a certain way of being human that is my way. I am called upon to live my life in this way, and not in imitation of anyone else's. But this gives a new importance to being true to myself. If I am not, I miss the point of my life, I miss what being human is for me", (1992: 28-29). They build on the notion of authenticity to explore the 'authenticity-driven career', which one pursues to 'achieve congruence between past and future as well as between public and private self', (2010, p. 6) as a means to achieve personal integrity, which they describe as 'some internal standard – of self, potentialities or principles' (p. 6). On this point, they conclude that one must explore the context of the individual to understand the 'negotiated and socially constructed nature of authenticity', (p. 7).

The methodology that O'Neill and Ucbasaran developed also contributes to this study. They adopted a qualitative research method, compiling case-studies of individuals and their organisations, which they used 'to build evidence that supports emerging theory through analytical, not statistical, generalisations, (p. 7). This process allowed for inductive theory building, using a social constructionist approach to theorising. Thus, they were able to identify themes 'relating to the entrepreneurs' motivations for career transitions, identity consideration and social change ambitions', (p. 8).

O'Neill and Ucbasaran make a powerful contribution to this study, through the links they forge between the entrepreneurship, career and identity literature, and the conclusions they make which argue for the notion that entrepreneurship can deliver emancipation, by 'breaking free' from incongruous organisations, and social change by 'breaking up' unsustainable practices, both of which can underpin 'identity authenticity' a form of personal integrity. Their findings can be applied with equal force to 'indigenous entrepreneurship' and enable us to look at the ways that indigenous entrepreneurs have broken free from mainstream organisations, to enable them to break up non-indigenous business practices that they see as a constraint on their authentic indigenous identity.

SUMMARY

This necessarily brief overview of entrepreneurship, social, indigenous and emancipatory entrepreneurship, has sought to define the landscape, which will be explored in more depth in this study. It has drawn on a variety of literature, because, as stated by Chell (2008),

“Economic and sociological approaches have largely addressed the process and function of the entrepreneur, whilst under-theorising his/her nature”, (*op.cit*, p. 266).

Overall, this review has attempted to systematically integrate literature from sociology, psychology, education, cultural, management and Māori studies to better inform the exploration of Māori entrepreneurship. It reviewed the *Kaupapa Māori* and Insider Research literature to better inform the researcher about the ontological, epistemological and methodological issues that will shape this study. Before focussing on the specific research design adopted for the study, a brief survey of the landscape of the Māori screen production sector will be conducted, as it is the socio-historical context in which the Māori screen industry resides.

MĀORI & SCREEN PRODUCTION

According to Karetu (1975, p. 31), “Before the coming of the *Pākehā* to New Zealand, all literature in Māori was oral. Its transmission to succeeding generations was also oral and a great body of literature, which includes *haka* [action song], *waiata* [song], *tauparapara* [type of karakia to begin oratory], *kāranga* [call of welcome], *poroporoaki* [farewell], *paki waitara* [story], *whakapapa* [genealogy], *whakatauki* [aphorism, proverb] and *pepeha* [tribal saying/proverb], was retained and learnt by each generation”.

Thus, the orator, the story-teller, the performer, played an important role in the inter-generational transfer of knowledge and culture. However, with the introduction of European knowledge systems, and the increasing importance of the written text, the status of Māori language and knowledge transmission has diminished in New Zealand society. This is as true for written text, as it is for film and television, the arena described in this study as the screen production sector. Rather than being the story-teller, Māori have more often been ‘the object’ of film and television, as seen in early archival footage that provided a glimpse into a foreign world for *Pākehā* that existed alongside their dominant culture.

It was not until Ramai Te Miha met Rudall Hayward when he directed her in ‘*Rewi’s Last Stand*’ and soon after married her, that a Māori became actively involved in the production of moving images for the screen. For more than thirty years Ramai and Rudall Hayward

produced works together, which included documentaries shot both here in New Zealand ("*The Song of the Wanganui*") and abroad ("*Inside Red China*").

After Ramai Hayward, one of the next Māori to gain national prominence in screen production and broadcasting was Don Selwyn in the 1970's as an actor and opera singer, followed closely by other's whose names are synonymous with New Zealand's burgeoning Māori film and television industries. These include Selwyn Muru, Merata Mita, Robin Kora, Derek Fox, Ernie Leonard, and Barry Barclay to name a few, some of whose contribution to New Zealand as well as Māori film have been recognised and acknowledged for their significance (Dennis and Bieringa, 1992; Dunleavy, 2005).

With the advent of television in New Zealand in 1960, Māori began to appear on screen as news-readers, actors, and in small numbers in the production arena. However, it was not until the 1970's, with the growth of television production, that Māori began to take a more prominent role in film and television production, behind the camera. The ground-breaking series produced by Pacific Films and directed by Barry Barclay, '*Tangata Whenua*', went to air in 1974, presenting a uniquely Māori perspective on a range of topics. Barry Barclay wrote about the impact of the '*Tangata Whenua*' series, stating, "Here were vibrant and articulate Māori speaking so confidently about their own world. Here was keening and waiata and extended conversations in Māori. Something primal had entered the workplace; something people had not encountered, not this way, at least; something unspeakably foreign yet of our own country", (Barclay, 2001, p.1).

In 1979, Television New Zealand offered a one-year production and directing course, which saw the likes of Derek Wooster (a Producer of Māori Programmes at TVNZ for many years) and Robert Pouwhare (an independent producer) enter the broadcasting industry. In 1986, Television New Zealand created the *Kimihia* program, about which Middleton has written, "At the end of 1986... With Department of Māori Affairs help, TVNZ undertook a training programme, *Kimihia*, which targeted Māori for producer training (Evans, 1989). Three who benefited were Tainui Stephens, Brendon Butt and Janine Morrell", (2010, p. 155). Stephens worked for many years at TVNZ, and in recent years has co-produced feature films '*River Queen*' and '*Rain of the Children*', Butt is a freelance director, and Morrell co-owns Whitebait Productions, one of New Zealand's leading producers of children's television. The

majority of those Māori who entered film and television production through *Kimihia* continue to play an active role in screen production.

In 1981 TVNZ began to produce *Koha*, the first television show to focus on contemporary Māori topics. The programme screened until 1988. *Koha* was replaced by *Marae* in 1988. From 1987 the *Waka Huia* programme went into production, produced by the newly formed Māori Department at TVNZ, with a greater emphasis on ethnographic accounts recorded entirely in *Te Reo Māori*. Both *Waka Huia* and *Marae* screen to the present and are seen as the ‘flagships’ of Māori programming within TVNZ, though they continue to be shown in the television ‘wasteland’ of Saturday and Sunday mornings. Speaking about Māori programming in 1989, well-known Māori photographer John Miller stated that, “You have to be an unemployed, insomniac, agnostic to watch Māori programmes, given the times in the week they are screened”, (Henry, 1990). Despite these criticisms, it is television in general, and Television New Zealand in particular, that provided the impetus and the screen time for the significant growth in Māori broadcasting until the advent of Māori Television in 2004.

The New Zealand Crown has remained committed to Māori broadcasting as a consequence of the outcomes of Treaty grievances taken to the Waitangi Tribunal by pan-Māori organisations, including *Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i Te Reo* and the New Zealand Māori Council. In particular, the findings of the *Māori Broadcasting Claim* (WAI 176) and *Te Reo Māori Claim* (WAI 11) have been pivotal in making the Crown responsible for the acknowledgement and revitalisation of Māori language and culture through broadcasting. According to the WAI 176 Summary Report (1994), “The claimants alleged Treaty breaches by the Crown in its broadcasting policies, and they sought, *inter alia*, 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. The Tribunal considered that many of the issues raised had been canvassed in earlier reports (the Report on the *Te Reo Māori Claim* and the Report on Claims Concerning the Allocation of Radio Frequencies) and in the general courts, and the Tribunal accordingly made no further inquiry into the claim”.

However, the findings of the earlier, *Te Reo Māori Claim* (WAI 11), were more prescriptive. The Report for the *Te Reo Māori Claim* (1986) stated, “The claimants alleged that the Crown had failed to protect the language as required by Article II of the *Treaty of Waitangi* and

proposed that it be made official for all purposes, enabling its use as of right in Parliament, the courts, Government departments, local authorities, and public bodies”. Since 1986 a number of these recommendations have been implemented by successive governments. For example, in 1996 *Aotearoa Television Network* (ATN) was set up, as a national television channel, but survived for less than two years, closing in a shroud of accusations and acrimony. In the aftermath of the dissolution of ATN, the then National Government consulted with the Māori broadcasting community, which resulted in a series of recommendations to ensure a more robust Māori Television Strategy (Māori Television, 1998).

It was not until 2004, under a Labour-led government, that the Māori Television Service began, which has heralded a vibrant era for Māori broadcasting, increasing the capacity of the Māori screen industry, and capturing the interest and imagination of a wide New Zealand audience. Television commentator, Denis Edwards wrote in the NZ Herald of the Māori Television coverage on Waitangi Day in 2008,

“Māori Television came in at 9am. Once in action it let the clutch slip, taking off after anything and everything either Waitangi or related to New Zealand identity, racing across the politics, doing backgrounders, including a fascinating documentary on Judge Edward Durie, throwing in a slyly satirical turn from comedian Andre King, all amidst live coverage that missed nothing. Even for someone having his struggles with Te Reo this was superb viewing, as well as being something needed and which could do us all no harm, and possibly much good”, (2008).

Thus, Māori in and on television have undergone radical and positive transformation since the introduction of television in 1960. The Māori Television Service has also had a profound impact on Māori screen production capacity and output; with funding of approximately \$40 million per annum from *Te Māngai Pāho* for productions that must meet stringent criteria around *Te Reo* content.

Alongside the progress made by and for Māori in television is the equally significant increase in the visibility and success of Māori films and drama. As previously stated, the earliest films relating to Māori stories and people were vicarious peeks into an alien world. John O’Shea’s 1952 film, *Broken Barrier*, was ground-breaking in that it explored inter-racial love, at a time in New Zealand society when such relationships were not common and frequently frowned

upon. It was another thirty years before Māori film-makers made their presence felt on the national and international stage. In the 1980's Merata Mita stormed the indigenous world with feature documentaries that exposed the underlying and institutional racism permeating New Zealand society, with *Bastion Point: Day 507* (1980) about the occupation and eviction of *Ngāti Whātua* from their tribal homelands; and *Patu* (1983), an exposé of the deeply divisive tour of New Zealand by the Springbok rugby team in 1981. In 1987 Barry Barclay directed *Ngāti*, written by Tama Poata and produced by Pacific Films, which was an important milestone in terms of Māori creative input into screen production. In 1988 Merata Mita wrote and directed *Mauri*, only the second feature-film directed by a Māori woman. The first was '*To Love a Māori*', co-directed by Ramai and Rudall Hayward in 1972.

During the mid-1980's the then Labour Government created the Project Employment Programme (PEP Scheme), which saw more than 50,000 New Zealanders engaged in funded jobs, mainly with local government and non-government organisations until the scheme was axed in 1985. It provided the infrastructure for Māori arts groups to set up training programs. Once such program was set up by Don Selwyn and Brian Kirby, about which it has been written, "From 1984 to 1990 he ran the film and television course *He Taonga i Tawhiti* (Gifts from Afar), providing Māori and Pacific Islands people with the technical skills to tell their own stories in film and television. In its six years of existence 120 people completed the course. With producer Ruth Kaupua, Don formed *He Taonga Films* in 1992 to create job opportunities for course graduates and to provide outlets for Māori drama writers", (Arts Foundation website).

One of the projects that Don helped initiate was the 1989 '*E Tipu E Rea*' Māori Television drama series, produced by Larry Parr who has a career as a film producer spanning thirty years. According to Rakuraku (2008), "The purpose of *E Tipu E Rea* was twofold: to showcase Māori-driven narrative while creating a training ground for Māori creative talent in the industry. It was largely due to the groundwork laid by *Te Manu Aute*, a collective of Māori in the film and television industry at that time, that *E Tipu E Rea* was eventually realised. Part of its mission statement read:

"Māori control means full control over the conceptualisation, management, execution and distribution of the project in question"

The *E Tipu E Rea* series paved the way for other Māori drama series, including *Ngā Puna* (1995, 1997), *Matakū* (2002-2005) and *Aroha* (2001), the last series shot entirely in *Te Reo*.

Te Manu Aute played a crucial role in driving the political agenda of Māori screen production in the 1980s. It was a collective of Māori film-makers, including Barry Barclay, Tama Poata, Merata Mita, Don Selwyn, Tungia Baker, Annie Keating and Karen Sidney, with a clear agenda for empowerment of Māori film and television, what Barry Barclay referred to as ‘authentic Māori authorship’ (2006). Like the pan-Māori organisations that strove for language revitalisation in the 1970s, including the *Te Reo Māori Society*, Māori Women’s Welfare League, New Zealand Māori Council, *Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i Te Reo*, and *Ngā Tamatoa*, *Te Manu Aute* continued that tradition but chose to do so as a loose coalition, rather than formal organisation.

However, in 1996, a group of practitioners chose to create a legal entity *Ngā Aho Whakaari Incorporated*, as they felt it would enable more direct communication with Crown agencies. *Ngā Aho Whakaari* was formed with a specific brief, as outlined on its website, “*Ngā Aho Whakaari* represents the interests of Māori on all issues that affect the business and creative aspects of the screen industry from film to digital new media. We have as our guiding principle, a proverb. ‘*E kore te Tōtara e tū noa i te pārae, engari me tū i te wāo*’, meaning, ‘the Tōtara does not stand alone on the plain, but stands in the forest’. It is a statement which invokes all members and supporters of *Ngā Aho Whakaari* to work in unity for the betterment of our people, language, customs and prestige” (retrieved from the *Ngā Aho Whakaari* website).

In recent decades there has been a significant growth in Māori story-telling on film. Movies such as ‘*Once Were Warriors*’ (1994), ‘*Whale Rider*’ (2002), ‘*River Queen*’ (2005), ‘*Strength of Water*’ (2009), *Boy* (2010) and ‘*Matariki*’ (2010) have brought a new generation of film-makers to prominence. However, drawing on the *Te Manu Aute* mission that authentic Māori authorship comprises: “full control over the conceptualisation, management, execution and distribution of the project in question”, very few of the abovementioned films would fit that

description. Only *Boy* was written, produced and directed by Māori, as it was collaboration between Taika Waititi (writer/director), Ainsley Gardiner and Cliff Curtis (producers). Interestingly, Taika's first feature film, *Eagle versus Shark* (2007), drew on the same Māori creative team, but did not purport to be a Māori-centric story at all, thereby showing that authentic Māori authorship does not necessarily require a Māori-centric story to be told. *Once Were Warriors*, written by Alan Duff and directed by Lee Tamahori; *Whale Rider*, based on a story by Witi Ihimaera; and *Boy* are amongst the top box-office earners in New Zealand's history, thereby indicating that Māori-centric stories resonate with a national and international audience.

Thus, we can see that Māori have moved from being the objects of screen production to the producers of moving images, which give a unique insight into the Māori world and have brought those images and stories to a wide audience. Māori participation in screen production has grown exponentially in the last fifteen years. This can be attested by the numbers of Māori who registered as being available for work in the Brown Pages Directory of Māori and Pacific People in Film, Video and Television. The earliest edition (1993) had less than one hundred names in it. The most recent edition (2008) had over three hundred names in it. This growth can also be attributed to the amount invested in television and film production by governmental agencies, including the NZ Film Commission, New Zealand on Air (NZOA), Creative New Zealand and *Te Māngai Pāho*, the Māori Broadcasting Authority.

The Screen Industry Survey (2006-2007), which refers to all businesses involved in screen production and post-production, distribution, exhibition, and broadcasting, noted that: "In 2007, total revenue for the New Zealand screen industry was \$2,447 million, a decrease from \$2,581 million in 2006. Television broadcasting was the most significant sector in 2007, accounting for \$1,081 million of total revenue, a slight increase compared with \$1,071 million in 2006", (2007, p.3). Whilst the abovementioned report provides an invaluable overview of the industry, there is little specific data about Māori screen production and capacity. That information has to be synthesised from other data, including the amounts contributed by funding agencies for the Māori Television Service and other Māori film and television projects. According to Akuhata-Brown & Henry (2009) in 2007 approximately \$43 million of Crown funding had gone into projects produced by a Māori-owned production

company, and/ or written and directed by Māori, for film or television. So, Māori screen production is a very small part of the total screen industry. However, it can still be viewed as a significant contributor to Māori economic development, and more importantly to aspirations for revitalisation of language, culture and authentic Māori authorship.

Māori have had a varying relationship with screen production. In the earliest years of film, Māori were more likely to be the objects of European curiosity, which was reflected in the images of Māori culture and society that were conveyed to the wider world. It was not until the 1940s that Māori began to tell our own stories on film, primarily through the work of Ramai Hayward. It was similar in television, which was first introduced to New Zealand in 1960. Again, in the early years, Māori were more likely to be the objects of enquiry, rather than the authors of our stories. It was the work of stout-hearted individuals, who broke down the barriers, often with the help of supportive *Pākehā* in positions of power, which has created the domain we can now refer to as the Māori screen industry.

In recent decades there has been a proliferation of Māori story-telling in film and television. These opportunities have arisen as a consequence of Māori activism and appeals to the Waitangi Tribunal and successive governments, which has resulted in the creation of organisations by the Crown, such as *Te Māngai Pāho*, *Māori Television* and *Te Paepae Ataata*. These organisations have been complemented by Māori initiatives such as *Te Manu Aute* and *Ngā Aho Whakaari*.

The genesis of Māori involvement in screen production, in the wider context of New Zealand's social and political development, can be seen in the following chronology:

1840	Signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.
1842	First Māori language newspaper is published.
1911	Māori women performing action songs in front of <i>Pōhatu Geyser</i> , Rotorua, film held in the NZ Film Archives

1925	<i>Rewi's Last Stand</i> , written and directed by Rudall Hayward, during which time he met and married Ramai Miha
1930	Filming begins on <i>Hei Tiki</i> , a feature film by Alexander Markey about the Māori
1940s	Māori urban migration begins in earnest <i>Rewi's Last Stand</i> is re-released
1945	Māori communities are ravaged by the loss of young men in the 28th Māori Battalion, who served during World War II, which further exacerbates the rural-urban drift
1952	<i>Broken Barrier</i> , directed, produced and written by Roger Mirams and John O'Shea, the first film to touch on the relationship between a Māori woman and Pākehā man, it was groundbreaking at the time
1961	The Hunn Report describes the Māori language as a relic of ancient Māori life.
1970	Ramai Hayward is the director, writer, editor and camera operator of documentary <i>Children of China</i> , the first of many works she writes and produces over the next thirty years Concerns for the Māori language are expressed by Māori urban groups including <i>Ngā Tamatoa</i> and <i>Te Reo Māori Society</i> .
1971	Don Selwyn has a recurring role in the television series <i>Pukemanu</i> , the start of a television acting career that continues for thirty years, it was written, produced and directed by non-Māori
1972	Māori Language Petition signed by 30,000 signatories sent to Parliament, handed over by Hana Te Hemara-Jackson, a founding member of <i>Ngā Tamatoa</i> .
1974	Pacific Films' six-part television series ' <i>Tangata Whenua</i> ' directed by Barry Barclay, written and presented by historian Michael King, is the first in-depth examination of Māori culture on television.
1975	The Waitangi Tribunal was created by the then Labour Government, driven by Northern Māori MP, Matiu Rata, to address Treaty grievances. The incoming National Government ensure the Tribunal has powers only to look at contemporary grievances Māori Land March from Te Hāpua to Wellington headed by Dame Whina Cooper
1977	Protestors occupy Bastion Point to highlight <i>Ngāti Whātua</i> grievances. They occupy the land for 507 days, until forcibly removed by 600 police and military. This event was recorded by Merata Mita in her award-winning documentary ' <i>Bastion Point Day 507</i> '.
1981	' <i>Koha</i> ', the first dedicated Māori-centric television show produced by TVNZ
1982	<i>Te Kōhanga Reo</i> , early childcare centre established in an attempt to instil Māori language knowledge to Māori infants.
1985	First <i>Kura Kaupapa Māori</i> established to cater for the needs of the Māori children emerging from <i>Te Kōhanga Reo</i> . The then Labour Government gives the Waitangi Tribunal the power to investigate Treaty grievances retrospectively to 1840 Te Reo Māori claim WAI 11 is brought before the Waitangi Tribunal by <i>Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i te Reo Māori</i> . The number of Māori speakers is estimated to have fallen to about 50,000 or 12 percent of the Māori population.
1986	Te Reo Māori Report released by Waitangi Tribunal <i>Te Manu Aute</i> hold their inaugural national gatherings in Wellington and Wairoa

	' <i>Kimihia</i> ' programme for Māori broadcast trainees is initiated at TVNZ, it last for two years
1987	The Māori Language Act is passed; Māori is declared to be an official language and <i>Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori</i> established. <i>Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust</i> also established to oversee and support the proliferation of Māori language childcare centres. ' <i>Ngāti</i> ', feature film directed by Barry Barclay, written by Tama Poata, produced by John O'Shea of Pacific Films ' <i>Waka Huia</i> ' Te Reo Māori magazine-style programme begins, and continues on TVNZ
1988	' <i>Mauri</i> ', feature film written, directed and produced by Merata Mita <i>Te Manu Aute</i> hold meetings in Auckland
1989	Government reserves radio and television broadcasting frequencies for use by Māori. ' <i>E Tipu E Rea</i> ', Māori drama series, produced by Larry Parr, using Māori writers, directors and crews, many of whom were graduates of <i>He Taonga i Tawhiti</i> course set up by Don Selwyn and Brian Kirby at Waitatarau Community Centre, Freemans Bay, Auckland
1990	Sesquicentennial of the Treaty of Waitangi, Don Selwyn produces the re-enactment of the Treaty signing at Waitangi <i>Te Manu Aute Hui</i> in Wellington calls for a Māori Television channel, funding authority and film commission
1991	The Broadcasting Assets case initiated by Māori claimants.
1993	The Māori broadcasting funding agency <i>Te Māngai Pāho</i> established to promote Māori language and culture. ' <i>Mai Time</i> ', Māori and Pacific focused youth television programme pilot launched.
1994	' <i>Once Were Warriors</i> ' released, screenplay by Riwia Brown, based on the Alan Duff novel, directed by Lee Tamahori, produced by non- Māori, it is a critical and financial success
1995	<i>He Taonga Te Reo</i> (Māori language year) is celebrated. A national Māori language survey shows that the number of Māori adults that are very fluent speakers of Māori has fallen to about 10,000.
1996	<i>Aotearoa Television Network</i> broadcasts a trial free-to-air television service in the Auckland area. <i>Mai Time</i> , now broadcast on TVNZ on a weekly basis. Hui of Māori practitioners in Auckland results in the setting up of <i>Ngā Aho Whakaari Brown Pages</i> , Directory of Māori in film and television is published
1997	<i>Aotearoa Television Network</i> closes amidst acrimony and accusations.
1998	Government announces funding for a Māori Television channel and increased funding for <i>Te Māngai Pāho</i> , negotiations for the development of a new Māori television channel between <i>Te Awhiōrangī Māori Broadcasting Trust</i> , set up by Māori organisations to negotiate with the Crown.
1999	' <i>Tūmeke</i> ', a Māori Language youth programme, produced by Cinco Cine, began screening on Television 4. <i>Te Awhiōrangī Māori Broadcasting Trust</i> concludes an agreement for a Māori Television channel and spectrum management rights. The contract is voided when Labour wins the national election in December and a new round of negotiations must begin.
2000	' <i>Tūmeke</i> ' changes broadcasters and name to <i>Pūkana</i> now showing on TV 3.
2001	The Government announces its support and the governance structure for a Māori television channel. Government also announces that it will soon begin allocating the \$15M fund. The Health of the Māori Language Survey 2001 shows there are approximately 136,700

	Māori language speakers
2002	Don Selwyn produces the first ever Māori-language feature film, the <i>Māori Merchant of Venice</i> <i>Whale Rider</i> is released, and hailed a critical and financial success, actress Keisha Castle-Hughes is the youngest nominee for an Academy Award for a lead actress
2003	<i>Māori Television Service Act</i> passed in Parliament <i>Brown Pages</i> , 2nd Edition is published Taika Waititi nominated for an Academy Award for his short film ‘ <i>Two cars one night</i> ’
2004	<i>Māori Television Service</i> begins broadcasting 28 March. Māori television productions receive up to \$40 million investment from <i>Te Māngai Pāho</i> The then Labour Government pass the Foreshore and Seabed legislation, which sparks outrage and protest in the Māori world, the <i>Māori Party</i> is borne of that frustration
2005	The <i>Māori Party</i> wins five of the seven Māori electorates at the national elections, but does not go into a formal coalition with the then Labour Government
2007	The Māori screen world mourns the loss of Don Selwyn <i>Eagle vs. Shark</i> , the first feature film of Taika Waititi, written, produced and directed by Māori, but not a Māori-centric story
2008	The Māori screen world mourns the loss of Barry Barclay The <i>Brown Pages</i> , 3rd Edition is published <i>Urutahi Koataata Māori: Working with Māori in film and television</i> is published by <i>Ngā Aho Whakaari</i> The National Party and Māori Party enter a coalition-type relationship, as part of the incoming government Māori Television launches the <i>Te Reo Māori</i> channel on the digital platform
2010	The Māori screen world mourns the loss of Merata Mita <i>Boy</i> , is released, a critical and financial success, produced by Ainsley Gardiner and Cliff Curtis, written and directed by Taika Waititi, a film unique for its ‘authentic Māori authorship’, Māori writer, producers and director
2011	Frustrated at what he sees as an ineffective relationship between the <i>Māori Party</i> and government, Hone Harawira breaks away to form the <i>Mana Party</i>

Table 2.7: Chronology of Māori & Screen Production.

Sources include: <http://www.tetaurawhiri.govt>; & <http://www.nzonscreen.com>, & <http://www.filmarchive.org.nz>

This chronology of events highlights way that Māori were more likely to be the subjects of film and television works until the 1970s, and the growth of Māori-centric screen production occurred alongside the growing politicisation of Māori. It also highlights key individuals and organisations that have played a pivotal role in the creation and development of Māori language revitalisation, Māori political activism and the Māori screen industry. Further, these events, activities, movements, organisations and creative works can be seen as part of Māori aspirations to ensure governments acknowledge the Treaty of Waitangi and take responsibility for grievances from the broken promises articulated in the Treaty.

Table 2.7 also shows that, in recent decades (1970-2010), there has been significant growth and greater representation of Māori as drivers of the Māori screen industry, across all facets of production, which has resulted in the proliferation of *Kaupapa Māori* productions, made for, with and by Māori. The genesis of these productions also stimulates questions around whose interests were being served, and whose stories were being told by those screen productions about Māori, but not for or with Māori.

Thus, in the Māori screen industry there is now a growing body of Māori professionals, across all sectors of creative and production expertise, that are taking greater control of Māori story-telling, from inception to production and broadcasting. This bodes well for Māori and screen production. However, if the Māori screen industry is to further grow and flourish, we must reflect on the past, to better understand the present and help to predict the future. Therefore, Māori-focussed research and theorising will make a contribution to that enhanced future.

CONCLUSION

This literature review has provided a basis for the articulation of research questions, and the further development of the research methodology. It has affirmed the researcher's commitment to developing theory that is 'useful' and meaningful for Māori in general, and particularly Māori in screen production. It has confirmed the researcher's commitment to the *Kaupapa Māori* paradigm, and to the expression of the principles that underpin the study. It has also provided a set of tools and techniques for addressing tensions when conducting research in and with a community of interest.

The *Māoritanga* literature has reinforced the *Kaupapa Māori* literature, and proffered *kupu* Māori, words and their definitions that articulate the philosophical and spiritual foundations of Māori knowledge. Included is the notion of *mana*, and its expression through *mana tangata*, *mana whenua* and *mana atua*, as spiritual powers that enhance and enrich, which

better enable Māori to carry out our roles as human beings, and engender acts of extraordinary ability.

The identity literature has strengthened the focus on Māori identity, and the ways that identity is constructed, by families, communities, events and places; the role that positive ethnic identity plays in the development of the 'self'; the importance of knowledge about one's cultural identity, and its consequent impact on well-being and self-esteem.

The careers literature has provided a framework for analysing Māori careers in screen production, not just as linear pathways, but as 'boundaryless' journeys, that might encompass multiple jobs, crafts, and sectors, as Māori further develop the screen industry. Thus, Māori may 'enact' their careers, which will in turn impact on the wider environments and industries in which those careers exist.

The entrepreneurship literature has clarified the economic, individual, cognitive and social factors that underpin entrepreneurial intent, and identified some of the key characteristics of entrepreneurs: individuals who are determined to follow their own path, who embrace risk-taking, challenges and innovations, and who express the self-belief in the organisations they create.

The social and indigenous entrepreneurship literature furthers this discussion by focussing on the commitment of the social entrepreneur to a social mission, and the indigenous entrepreneur to a social mission that enhances their indigenous community by developing businesses that contribute to the empowerment and wellbeing of their people.

The emancipatory entrepreneurship literature forges links between the entrepreneurship, career and identity literature, and argues that entrepreneurship can deliver emancipation, by enabling the entrepreneur to 'break free' from organisations that undermine their identity, and enhance social change by 'breaking up' organisational practices which diminish their 'identity authenticity', an important form of personal integrity.

The section on Māori and screen production provided an historical context, and highlighted the growth of the Māori screen industry alongside the burgeoning political and cultural renaissance of Māori in recent decades.

In summary, this Chapter has reviewed a range of literature that facilitates the identification and definition of key variables, constructs and concepts for further study; it has helped to determine the type of study to be undertaken; and contributed towards the formulation of research questions. Further literature has been consulted, around documentary theory and genre. This has been included in Chapter Four, which focuses more specifically on the documentary, in terms of production and content. However, the literature reviewed here has contributed to the conceptual framework of the study.

Riley (1997) suggested that, “the researcher should try to develop a framework in which a conceptual order is imposed. This conceptual framework should identify and define the important issues or variables”, (p. 53), which can then clarify and inform the research questions. From the abovementioned literature, we find key variables emerging, and associated concepts, which inform research questions.

Taken together, these questions provide the conceptual framework for enquiry that underpins the research design that is developed in the following chapter. Refer to Table 2.7 below for the overview of the ‘conceptual framework’ and concomitant constructs/variables and propositions/ hypotheses that flow from the framework, which in turn shape the research questions.

Conceptual Framework	Constructs/ Variables	Propositions/Hypotheses
<i>Kaupapa Māori</i>	Research for, with and by Māori A desire to recover and reinstate mātauranga Māori Research underpinned by Māori ethics	How does one enact Māori values in research?
<i>Māoritanga</i>	<i>Māoritanga</i> , the philosophical and spiritual foundations of Māori knowledge <i>Whakapapa</i> , the genealogical connections between all things <i>Mana</i> , the expression of human agency, acting on behalf of the gods	In what ways is Māori knowledge and <i>Māoritanga</i> relevant to Māori in screen production?
Insider-Research	Reflecting more accurately the thoughts and views of participants, whilst managing insider-outsider challenges and tensions.	How does one reflect on insider-outsider status in research?
Identity	The psychological and socio-cultural sources of 'identity' and 'self' Māori identity Self-belief and self-efficacy	What are the social and cultural sources of identity for Māori in screen production?
Careers	Boundaryless careers Enacting careers and industries	What do Māori careers in screen production look like?
Entrepreneurship	The entrepreneurial character Self-efficacy and entrepreneurship Social entrepreneurship Kaupapa Māori entrepreneurship Emancipatory entrepreneurship	How and why have Māori become entrepreneurs in screen production, and how do they express their entrepreneurial intent?
Māori Screen Industry	Increasing participation of Māori in screen production The political and cultural foundations of the Māori screen industry	What are the political and cultural issues relevant for Māori in screen production?

Table 2.8: Development of Research Questions

1. How does the researcher enact Kaupapa Māori values in the research design and analysis?
2. In what ways do Māori reflect *Māoritanga* in screen production?
3. How will the researcher reflect on her insider-outsider status?
4. What are the social and cultural sources of identity for Māori in screen production?
5. What do Māori careers in screen production look like?
6. How and why have Māori become entrepreneurs in screen production?
7. How do Māori in screen production reflect their self-belief?
8. Are political and cultural issues relevant for Māori in screen production?

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH DESIGN

INTRODUCTION

The research questions that shape and inform the research methodology have been articulated at the conclusion of the previous chapter. However, before addressing these questions, it is useful to reflect more broadly on research methodology. Research has been defined as, “original investigation undertaken in order to contribute to knowledge and understanding and, in the case of some disciplines, cultural innovation or aesthetic refinement. It typically involves enquiry of an experimental or critical nature driven by hypotheses or intellectual positions capable of rigorous assessment by experts in a given discipline”, (PBRF). Greek philosophers engaged in extensive debates about the nature of knowledge and how it could be acquired. Thus, exploration of how and why individuals conduct systematic investigation has evolved over the millennia of human existence.

Benedict reflected on the nature of curiosity, which underpins investigation and inquiry. She wrote, “Curiosity has long been considered a virtue in Western culture. Thomas Hobbes attributes the human institutions of language, science and religion to it”, (2001, p. 1). Therefore, curiosity has driven scientific inquiry, so it should be no surprise that the evolution of scientific inquiry eventually focussed on methods of scientific investigation.

Ritchie, an early writer on scientific method, compared and contrasted ‘trial and error’ with the conscientious pursuit of knowledge, when he wrote, “We all know the failings of the ‘practical man’, how little he ever discovers and how blunderingly he does it. His method of trial and error is too crude to be a method of science. It lacks something that is required for science proper, and that is the method of reasoning and of logical proof”, (1923, p. 1). Gower extended this thinking when he stated, “In the past, both those we describe as philosophers and those we describe as scientists found it natural and important to reflect on the methods used in science. From the seventeenth century through to the nineteenth century, scientific beliefs were supplanting religious convictions, and it seemed important to clarify and explain the nature of the authority which enabled them to do that”, (1997, pp 8-9).

The development of Western science and method, though finding its origins in Greek philosophy, gained the most ground as a consequence of the intellectual and industrial

revolution emerging in the 17th Century. Descartes was an influential philosopher in that century, often referred to as one of the ‘metaphysicians’ who challenged the hegemony of the Church and revolutionised the field of science. He is also seen as one of the forefathers of the ‘philosophy of science’, and the architect of ‘Cartesian scientific methodology’ (Clarke, 1982). This scientific methodology has been most closely linked with ‘empiricism’, which in turn has shaped the ‘natural sciences’, and its consequential emphasis on quantitative ontology, epistemology and methodology. The ‘natural sciences’, and the methods associated with science, have in turn influenced the evolution of the ‘social sciences’.

Bryman noted that quantitative research has been the dominant strategy for conducting social research, “described as entailing the collection of numerical data and as exhibiting a view of the relationship between theory and research as deductive, a predilection for a natural science approach (and of positivism in particular), and as having an objectivist conception of social reality”, (2004, p 62). He went on to articulate the steps in quantitative research methodology (p. 63) as:

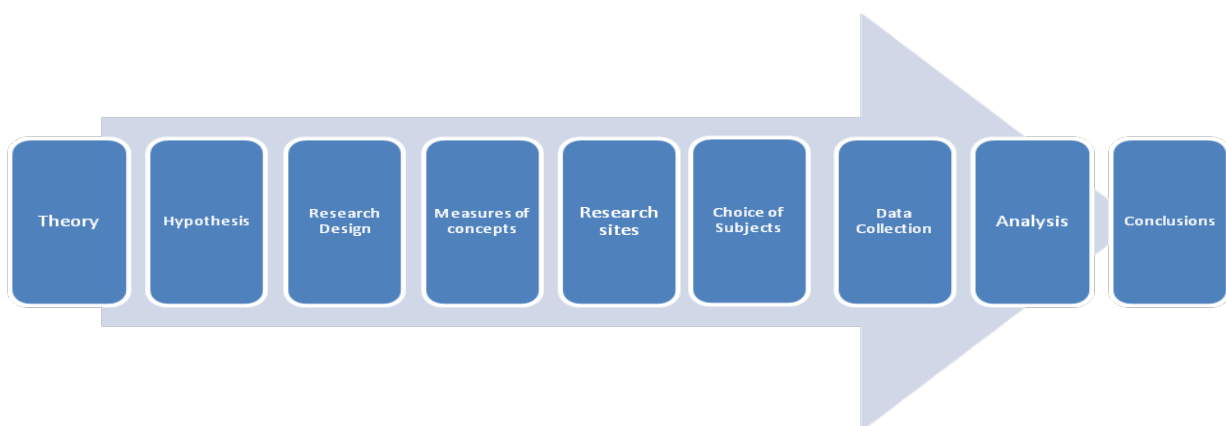


Table 3.1: The Quantitative Research Methodology

For Bryman, “Concepts are the building blocks of theory and represent the points around which social research is conducted. Each represents a label that we give to elements of the social world that seem to have common features and that strike us as significant. As Bulmer succinctly puts it, concepts are categories for the organisation of ideas and observations”, (2004, p. 65).

However, the primacy of empiricism and the quantitative paradigm have been increasingly challenged in recent decades as qualitative methodology emerged in the social sciences. It is not the purpose of the thesis to articulate in detail the ongoing and sometimes acrimonious

debate between adherents of the quantitative vs. qualitative methodological approaches.

Barton succinctly captured the differing views, when he stated:

“Proponents of quantitative research often dismiss qualitative studies for their lack of precision, but the fact that so many quantitative studies misuse inferential statistics indicates that numbers are no guarantee of academic quality. Advocates of qualitative research, on the other hand, sometimes portray quantitative studies as inherently conservative and repressive, as though they existed only to reinforce the status quo; qualitative studies, conversely, may be described as fundamentally reflexive, participatory and even emancipatory. But as Tyson suggests, the emancipatory potential of research derives, in part, from its responsiveness to community concerns and its benefit to participants. Plenty of qualitative researchers collect data without giving thought to such issues and sometimes their work may even harm the communities that have given them access”, (2006, p. 6).

On this point, Marshall and Rossman made a useful contribution, when they stated, “For the social scientist or researcher in applied fields, research is a process of trying to gain a better understanding of the complexities of human experience, and in some genres of research to take action based on that understanding. Emancipatory genres, such as those represented by some critical, feminist or postmodern work, also make explicit their intent to act to change oppressive circumstances”, (1999, p.22).

Thus, it is a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods that are applied in this study, underpinned by the *Kaupapa Māori* research paradigm.

KAUPAPA MĀORI RESEARCH

In this study, *Kaupapa Māori* principles have impacted on the way the methodology was developed and applied. The following outlines how the previously mentioned principles of *Kaupapa Māori* research have been applied.

Reflecting first on the early definitions of *Kaupapa Māori* research we find a set of substantive propositions to guide Māori research methods, each of which is addressed separately below:

1. Research by Māori, for Māori and with Māori:

This research is being conducted for, with and by Māori.

2. Research which is ‘culturally safe’, which involves mentorship of *kaumātua* (elders), which is culturally relevant and appropriate while satisfying the rigor of research, and which is undertaken by a Māori researcher:

There were no specific *kaumātua* involved in the development of the research, or as participants. However, consultation with the *kaumātua* of the researcher, in her own tribal region, has been an ongoing part of the intellectual development of the researcher. This has been achieved by having a strong relationship with *kaumātua* from her *whānau* and *hapū* in the *Ngātikahu ki Whangaroa* region. Thus, these *kaumātua* have played a role in mentoring the researcher, intellectually and spiritually. Also, the sample population, for both the Survey and the interviews, are Māori who have chosen to support the research by consenting to participate in it, and presumably felt ‘culturally’ safe in doing so.

3. A desire to recover and reinstate *mātauranga Māori*:

This study has been designed to gather information and knowledge that is specific to Māori, as part of the broader aspiration to further knowledge about and for Māori, which is an aspect of *mātauranga Māori*.

4. *Kaupapa Māori* must be able to address Māori needs or give full recognition of Māori culture and value systems:

This study is predicated on Māori culture and values, as they are articulated throughout this work.

Furthermore, Smith (1999) invokes the Māori researcher to address the following questions, which have been posed as statements, which are points of reference the researcher can draw on in the development of the methodology:

- **The research that is being carried out:**

The research is novel. No previous study of this kind has been conducted. Therefore, it is hoped it will reveal new insights into Māori screen production, Māori screen professionals and Māori entrepreneurship in screen production.

- **Who the research is for:**

The research is primarily for the researcher, and will contribute to completion of a PhD, which will most benefit the researcher. However, it is envisaged it will be useful for Māori, but may also be useful to other indigenous peoples who are developing their screen industries. It may also have application for those government agencies and Iwi entities that are charged with supporting Māori development in general and Māori screen production in particular.

- **The difference the research may make:**

It is envisaged that the research will make a contribution to the wider body of *mātauranga Māori*, but that it might be of specific interest to those in Māori media education, who are training new generations of Māori for work in screen production.

- **The researcher who is carrying out the research:**

The research is being carried out by a Māori with a demonstrated history of research by, with and for Māori, who also has strong connections with her tribal identity and to the community being studied.

- **How the research will be done:**

The research will draw on a mixed methodology, designed to gather a wide range of data about Māori screen production, Māori screen professionals and Māori entrepreneurship in screen production. The research methods have been designed after extensive consultation with Māori in screen production, through Hui, presentations and informal discussions with peers, colleagues and friends in the screen industry.

- **Whether it is a worthwhile piece of research:**

Only time can tell whether the research will be worthwhile to Māori, however, the findings will be disseminated widely to the Māori world, and academic community to gauge responses and feedback.

- **Ownership of the research:**

Ownership of research that is conducted within the ambit of the academic domain, in this case doctoral studies, is articulated by University regulations. The research process and outcomes remain the property of the researcher, and are housed within the institution, in this case, Auckland University of Technology Library. However, findings from the research will be available, through the AUT Scholarly Commons. Copies of all interview material and footage have been returned to the participants, as the legitimate owners of their own information, whilst those copies of interview materials held by the researcher are retained within the institution for six years, after which they are destroyed as per the requirements of the AUT Ethics Committee.

- **Benefits of the research**

As with the ‘worthwhile’ qualities of the research, only time will tell whether the research has been of ‘benefit’, but the researcher is committed to ensuring that the research does make whatever benefit it possibly can for Māori screen production, practitioners, and entrepreneurs within the industry. This is achieved by making the knowledge gleaned from the study known in the Māori community, and by exploring the ways that such knowledge might benefit future generations of Māori who enter the industry. Further, the research will hopefully benefit the further enhancement of Māori language, culture and story-telling through screen production.

Finally, we may look at the ways that *Kaupapa Māori* research ethics are applied in this study:

Āroha ki te tangata: Showing compassion towards and respect for participants:

All participants will be shown absolute respect, their privacy and anonymity guaranteed, unless they consent to being known.

Kanohi kitea: Being seen in person by participants:

Potential participants have been notified of the research, through the presence of the researcher at various Māori screen industry gatherings since 2008, when the study first began. This has involved giving presentations at the 2008 and 2009 Annual Hui of *Ngā Aho Whakaari*, the World Indigenous Television Broadcasters Conference hosted at AUT in 2009,

the International Symposium of Māori and Indigenous Screen Production held at AUT in 2010, and a presentation to Women in Film & Television Networking event in 2010. These formal presentations have been complemented by informal discussions at a wide range of social gatherings with Māori and other indigenous screen industry communities since 2008

Titiro, whakarongo, kōrero: Looking, listening and speaking with care

In all public and private discussions on the research, and throughout the study, the researcher has endeavoured to be respectful and mindful of the views that have been presented, and to incorporate suggestions and recommendations into the development of the final methodology.

Manaaki ki te tangata: Showing hospitality to participants:

All participants in the interview process will be shown hospitality, in one of the most commonly recognised forms of *manaakitanga* for Māori, the provision of food, the alleviation of having to travel to be interviewed, by being interviewed in a place of their choosing, by being shown transcripts and footage of their interviews for amendments and deletion before and after initial analyses, and by being sensitive to any specific needs they may have.

Kia tūpato: Being cautious and careful in all dealings with participants:

This is a given, and complements the ways that the previous ethics are adhered to.

Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata: Not trampling on the mana of participants:

This too is a given, and complements the ways the previous ethics are applied in this study. This is particularly true when sifting through interview material, which may include comments that are personal, litigious, and may cause offense to others, as sometimes happens when participants feel comfortable with the interviewer (as stated in the previous chapter). In those circumstances, the researcher has an obligation to reflect on how those comments might be perceived by others, perhaps discuss them in more detail with the participants, and act accordingly. On a more practical level, it means being on time for meetings, distribution feedback in a timely fashion, and generally behaving in a courteous and appropriate manner in all dealings with participants, regardless of the personal relationship that may exist between interviewer and interviewee.

Kaua e māhaki: Not being offensive:

As in all dealings, whether with friends, colleagues or strangers, one has an obligation to behave appropriately, honestly and with integrity.

These ‘ethics’ then shape the basis of interactions with all those who will be involved in the study, and complement the Ethical Principles of AUT. Therefore, *Kaupapa Māori* can and has been integrated into the research methodology.

INSIDER RESEARCH

As previously stated, being familiar with a given community and having established relationships can provide the researcher with an opportunity to gain participants easily, as well as ensuring the researcher is privy to ‘insider’ information that might not be entrusted to a stranger. However, there are shortcomings and limitations. For example, prior knowledge of the community may exacerbate biases or preconceived ideas, which can be disadvantageous. Thus, whilst the insider-researcher may enjoy enhanced rapport with the potential participants, they must be continually on their guard to minimise ‘bias’ and ‘over- rapport’, thereby ensuring their impartiality whilst conducting the research.

Wicks and Rowland’s *Map Points* (2009) provide a framework for enquiry, encouraging the researcher to draw on their curiosity about the topics, and acknowledging that the researcher and informant share common points of experience which will help to establish and maintain rapport. However, they also caution the researcher to be aware that they may fail to question the informant further on a statement that academic rigour begs to be asked, but about which the researcher is consciously or sub-consciously conflicted. The rule of thumb, if and when this occurs, is to revert back to *Kaupapa Māori* principles and ethics, by asking oneself how further inquiry will benefit the research, and in what ways further inquiry might trample on the *mana* of participants.

Another insight from the ‘insider’ literature encourages the researcher to balance the needs of the research for ‘objectivity’ and ‘accuracy’ against the opportunity to gain deeper insights into participants and their perceptions. Chavez’s (2009) framework provides a basis for further exploration of the advantages and disadvantages of insider-research that need to be accounted for by the researcher. Those of particular interest for this study include:

- There is an equalised relationship between researcher and participant, though the researcher must continually check for complications and tensions;
- The rapport with and acclimatisation to the field are important. Again, the researcher must be vigilant to ensure that existing social roles do not constrain the research objectives;
- The expediency of access to the community and in-group activities is a significant advantage, as are linguistic and cognitive insights into the community. However, the researcher must be on guard against bias in the selection of participants; that they are not selectively reporting what they see and hear; and that they do not appear to have a view or take sides in any community politics.

These cautionary notes aside, Chavez reminds us, as an indigenous researcher herself, that, “If insider accounts are going to serve their role in bringing social justice to minority and indigenous communities, we must begin to attend to a systematic approach to being on the inside”, (2009, p. 491).

MIXED METHODOLOGIES

This study draws on a mixed methodology, the quantitative method allows for collection of a wide range of data from a wide sample, and the qualitative method allows for the collection of in-depth data from a smaller sample.

Walter, writing from an indigenous perspective, stated that, “quantitative methods are powerful analytical research tools. Yet the use of such methods is relatively rare among indigenous researchers”, (2005, p. 27). Bishop reinforced this point when he noted that, “traditional research has misrepresented Māori... ways of knowing by simplifying, and commodifying Māori knowledge for consumption by the colonisers, thereby denying Māori an authentic voice (1998, p.200). It is not surprising then, that many indigenous researchers eschew quantitative methodology, in favour of qualitative methods. However, research conducted in the past that has misrepresented Māori knowledge could be viewed as flawed research, rather than flawed research methods, and this argument should not exclude Māori researchers from the extensive suite of tools and techniques available to researchers. To

paraphrase Berger (1963, p. 13), an over-reliance on technique may lead to impotence, but the application of a wide range of powerful techniques must surely improve potency.

In recent years, there has been a greater recognition of the potential usefulness of mixed methodologies. Giddings and Grant remained sceptical, when they wrote, “Although it passes for an alternative, that purports to breach the divide between qualitative and quantitative research, most mixed methods studies favour the forms of analysis and truth-finding associated with positivism”, (2007, p. 52). One must keep in mind that the post-modern, feminist and indigenous literature is saturated with cautions against the perils of empiricism and positivism, which it is argued have been used to perpetrate upon minorities the empirical ‘truths’ of the dominant and the dominators.

However, Lather provided an alternative perspective, when he stated, “Foucault [wrote] nothing is innocent, everything is dangerous, but, just because something is dangerous does not mean it cannot be useful... this ‘how to be of use’ concern... is key in framing issues away from the binary of either qualitative or quantitative”, (2006, p. 47). Thus, the Māori researcher may embark on the ‘dangerous’ task of co-opting the tools of positivist science, if they can be of use in the development of *Kaupapa Māori* research.

A Māori perspective on this point was offered by Durie, who acknowledged the value of mixed methods when who wrote, “Indigenous knowledge cannot be verified by scientific criteria nor can science be adequately assessed according to the tenets of indigenous knowledge. Each is built on distinctive philosophies, methodologies, and criteria, contests about the validities of the two systems tend to serve as distractions from explorations of the interface, and the subsequent opportunities for creating new knowledge that reflects the dual persuasions”, (2004, p. 1138).

Crothers reinforced this sentiment, when he stated, “The focused census studies provide immediate background for the ethnographic survey. The ethnography complements the quantitative part of the research programme, and allows individuals and families to speak as people, rather than appear as disembodied fragments in a statistical array”, (2003, p. 4). Finally, Forster noted that, “Māori people have a unique body of knowledge that, while based on ancestral traditions has adapted to meet contemporary challenges. It provides a model for interaction between Māori knowledge and mainstream social science practices and

demonstrates how Māori knowledge and Western scientific tradition can be used together to resolve critical failings in previous research and advance the aspirations of Māori people”, (2003, p. 47).

These perspectives on ‘mixed methodologies’ have contributed to the researcher’s interest in drawing on a range of research methods that will enable the gathering of quantitative data to provide a background, a snapshot of a sample of Māori practitioners in the screen industry, despite the potential of empiricism and positivism to be ‘dangerous’ for indigenous people. This quantitative data-set would complement in-depth ethnographic data, collected in such a way that it gives voice to the views and perceptions of individual practitioners. The adoption of a mixed method approach also provides a framework which marries Māori knowledge and Eurocentric social science in a mutually beneficial relationship.

PHENOMENOLOGICAL INQUIRY

Cope (2005) has made an insightful contribution to methodological considerations for this research, with his article on ‘researching entrepreneurship through phenomenological inquiry’. He distinguished phenomenological enquiry from more positivistic forms of inquiry, and located it within the ‘interpretive paradigm’. For Cope, the researcher must identify an appropriate research methodology, which is an iterative process, in that the researcher makes decisions at an ontological level, that inform their epistemological stance, which in turn creates that context in which the research is conducted. Thus, he invokes the researcher to acknowledge the philosophical, ontological and epistemological underpinnings of their research methods. For Cope, “a central tenet of phenomenology is that explanations should not be imposed before the phenomenon has been understood from within”, (2005. P. 166). This stance directly contradicts the more positivist ontological and epistemological view that phenomena can be discovered through rational, empirical, scientific methods. Cope refers to ‘existential phenomenologists such as Heidegger, Merleau-Ponty and Satre, who recognised that, “human beings cannot be studied in isolation from the world-context in which they interact and live”, (2005, p. 167). This perspective adds further weight to the value of inside research, in that insider-researchers are more likely to be familiar with the context in which participants interact and live.

Further, Cope provided a comprehensive overview of the methodological and theoretical issues that the phenomenological enquirer must reflect upon when adopting this approach to research. He noted that, “The aim of phenomenological inquiry is to understand the subjective nature of lived experience from the perspective of those who experience it, by exploring the meanings and explanations that individuals attribute to their experiences”, (2005, p. 168), which offer to the researcher a ‘photographic slice of life’. Thus, phenomenological research acknowledges that it is located in a particular context at a particular time in the life of those being researched. It does not attempt to answer questions that might apply to all aspects of the participant’s lives, across the entire duration of their lives. It is rooted in what Cope has called a ‘context of discovery’, rather than a ‘context of justification’. The researcher must suspend *a priori* suppositions and hypotheses to describe phenomena from the perspective of the participants, rather than verifying or confirming propositions, the hallmark of deductive analysis, associated with the scientific method. On that basis, phenomenological inquiry enables theoretical propositions to emerge from phenomena, the descriptions of experience of the participants.

According to Cope, this methodological approach shares an epistemological stance with story-telling and narrative research. He stated that, “the purpose of narrative analysis is to see how respondents in interviews impose order on the flow of experience to make sense of events and actions in their lives. In particular, phenomenological research bears a strong resemblance to grounded theory methodology.... Both approaches seek to stay close to the phenomenon under study by allowing the examination of data to drive theory generation”, (2005, p. 172).

Cope and Watt (2000) applied phenomenological inquiry in a research, based on six case studies of individual entrepreneurs, “to explore the nature of entrepreneurial learning from a phenomenological viewpoint, i.e. from the level of lived experience”, (2005, p. 173). They wanted to investigate the role of ‘critical incidents’ within the entrepreneurial learning process. The emphasis of their study was, “Placed firmly on the participants and what it felt like to experience, first-hand, the trials and tribulations of starting and managing a small business”, (2005, p. 173). Therefore, they concentrated on central research questions around how entrepreneurs perceived, thought about and gave meaning to the process of their personal learning over time, and how they had changed since entering small business. They

sought to, “create theoretical propositions that were deeply grounded in the experiences of the participants rather than detached, analytical abstractions”, (2005, p. 174).

On that basis, the interview process was critical to the methodology. For example, the phenomenological interview must capture how people feel, remember and make sense of phenomena which they have experienced, and focus on critical incidents that, “provide a fuller, more detailed description of an experience as it was lived”, (2005, p. 175). The focus on participant’s lived experiences, required the researchers to identify potential participants who could provide information-rich cases. Therefore, they drew on ‘purposive sampling’, drawn from personal networks. Cope stated that, “using contacts in industry, academia and friendship can be helpful, first in establishing what the population is of organisations you might draw the case study from, and then how to choose the cases”, (Hartley, cited in Cope, 2005, p. 175). Thus, participants were chosen, not for their representativeness, but for the richness and depth of the story they brought to the research.

Cope described the theoretical context for conducting phenomenological interviews, in terms of ‘bracketing’ theoretical presuppositions, “to approach the interviews free from any assumptions or ideas”, about the phenomena under enquiry, as , “the goal of the phenomenological interview is to gain a first-person description of some specified domain of experience... The role of the interviewer is to provide a context in which participants feel free to describe their experiences in detail”, (2005, p. 176). Participants, then, were not given a pre-structured interview format, but were asked for personal recollections, which could flow chronologically, or focus on critical incidents. The interviews were conducted in places where they felt comfortable, work-places or social settings, and the interviews unfolded as social dialogue, rather than an intensive question and answer session.

Finally, Cope provided a useful framework for data analysis, referring to four levels of analysis, as outlined below (Cope, 2005, p. 178):

- Level 1: Full transcription of the interview, sense-making, initial content analysis
- Level 2: Development of a case study narrative, which focuses on the issues that relate to the phenomena under investigation, a synopsis, not related specifically to extant literature at this stage

- Level 3: Cross-case comparison, identification of general and unique phenomenological themes, more detailed content analysis
- Level 4: Clustering evidence to confirm emerging relationships between phenomena and themes

Cope stated that, “To maintain an inductive approach to theory development and to ensure sufficient phenomenological depth, emergent theoretical propositions were written up from the data, without the use of relevant theoretical literature. In the first instance, this allowed that data to speak for itself. The next step involved what Eisenhardt describes as ‘enfolding the literature’, which enables the development of theory with stronger credibility and deeper conceptual insight”, (cited in Cope, 2005, p. 179).

In conclusion, Cope reiterated that, “In setting out the ontological and epistemological foundations of the phenomenological interview, this article reflects the desire to provide greater transparency in terms of the philosophical assumptions that underpin methodological choices”, (2005, p. 180). In that regard, his article makes an invaluable contribution to development of *Kaupapa Māori*, as a philosophical, ontological and epistemological foundation, which in turn underpins the methodological choices that have shaped the qualitative component of this study, the choice of participants, the method adopted and the analysis of the data that was collected.

THE RESEARCH METHOD

This review of research methodologies and methods has served the purpose of providing the foundations for the development of the specific methods, which will elicit the information required to address the questions that grew out of the literature review. The challenge has been to develop a set of tools which would enable the collection of reliable quantitative data, thereby providing a comprehensive snapshot of a wide range of Māori in the screen industry. The survey data would then provide the context for more in-depth research on individual entrepreneurs. That qualitative data will be accumulated in a rigorous manner, ameliorating any insider-research biases, and informing the phenomenological inquiry into Māori entrepreneurship in screen production.

Silverman wrote, “Qualitative research seems to promise that we will avoid or downplay statistical techniques, when, as we all know, methods are only more or less appropriate to particular research questions. It is worth repeating the truism that research methods should be chosen based on the specific task at hand”, (2010, pp 8-9).

The specific task at hand is to answer the questions raised at the beginning of this Chapter, which have been reframed as topics to inform the selection and application of appropriate research methods.

1. The researcher enacting Māori values in the research methodology:
This topic was discussed in the previous section on *Kaupapa Māori* Research
2. Exploration of *Māoritanga* in screen production
This topic can best be addressed when analysing the data gathered, to explore the ways that the findings might relate to Māori knowledge and spirituality
3. The researcher reflecting on their insider-outsider status:
This topic was discussed in the previous section on Insider Research
4. The social and cultural sources of identity for Māori in screen production:
This information could be identified through in-depth interviewing of a sample of Māori practitioners. It could also be gleaned from a survey of a wider group of practitioners.
5. Māori careers in screen production:
This information could be identified through in-depth interviewing of a sample of Māori practitioners. It could also be gleaned from a survey of a wider group of practitioners
6. Māori entrepreneurship in screen production:
Discussions about individual, cognitive and social factors underpinning their entrepreneurial intentions would be best explored through in-depth interviews with a small sample of Māori entrepreneurs. However, certain characteristics of entrepreneurship might also be identified through surveys of a wider group.

7. Self-belief of Māori in screen production

This information could be identified through in-depth interviewing of a sample of Māori practitioners. It could also be gleaned from a survey of a wider group of practitioners, particularly by using existing models for exploring self efficacy, such as the questions developed for the General Self-Efficacy Scale (Chen et. al.,2001).

8. Political and cultural issues relevant for Māori in screen production

This information could be identified through in-depth interviewing of a sample of Māori practitioners.

The approaches to conducting the research, involving both in-depth interviewing and broad surveying, have been incorporated into a ‘mixed-methods’ research design, as outlined in the following section.

THE SURVEY

A survey of a group of Māori practitioners was developed and conducted to explore their background, careers, entrepreneurial, identity, and self-efficacy; and their perceptions about a range of social, cultural and political factors which might have influenced or shaped their careers. This survey yielded data which can be statistically analysed to provide further information about any patterns and relationships that may emerge. One of the tasks in developing the survey was identifying the population to be surveyed.

The 2006 Census identified 972 Māori whose jobs fell within the screen production sector, out of a total population of 8,844 New Zealand film and television workers, approximately 11% of the total workforce, which was relatively in-line with population proportions at that time. Table 3.2 below shows that there are proportionally more Māori women to men, than non-Māori women to men. This proportion also contradicts data on media workers in the US (e.g. Canning, 2011; Lauzen, 2001), where males continue to dominate in the screen industry.

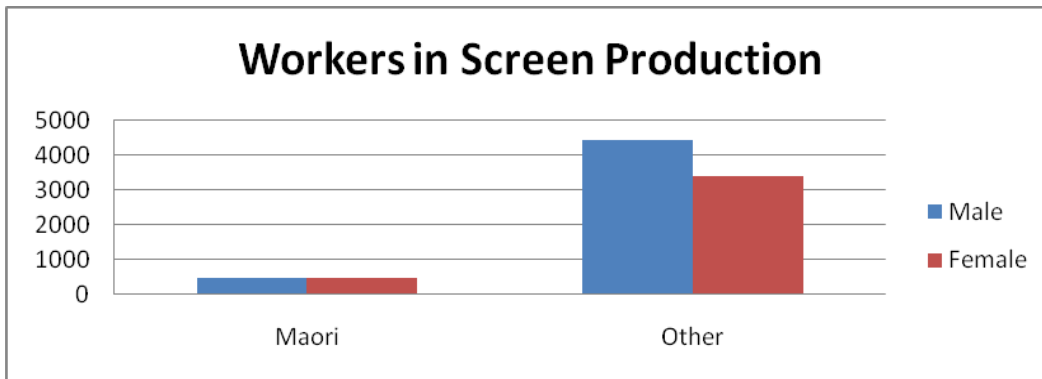


Table 3.2: New Zealand Screen Workers by Gender (source, 2006 Census)

Table 3.3 below shows the geographic dispersion of Māori screen workers around the country, and highlights the fact that 77% live in either the Auckland or Wellington regions. This statistic supports Screen Industry reports over the last decade, which reinforces the notion that Auckland and Wellington are the centres of the New Zealand screen industry, with Auckland dominating in terms of the numbers of production companies, practitioners and revenue generated.

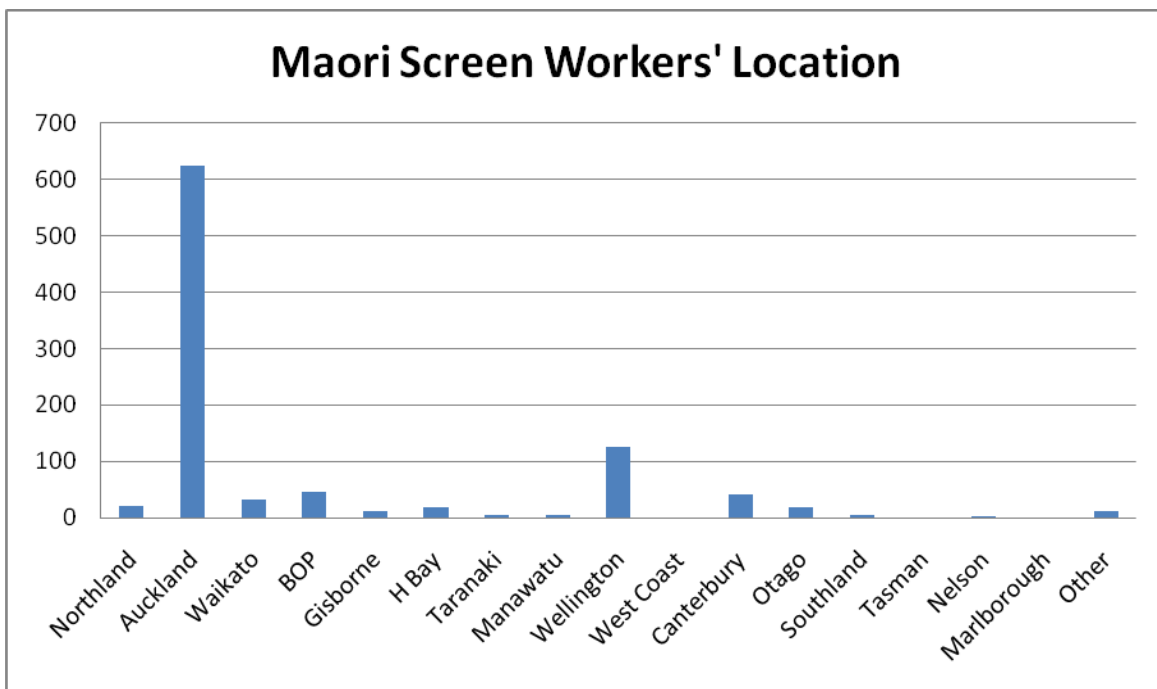


Table 3.3: Māori Screen Workers by Location (source: 2006 Census)

Given that there may have been growth in the numbers of Māori working in screen production between 2006 and 2010, which it is difficult to calculate, the number (972) was

taken to be an approximate total for the population of Māori working in screen production in 2010, when the survey was conducted.

The survey questions were then developed, each seeking specific sets of information. The original survey comprised general questions about demographics, work experience, and a set of self-efficacy and Māori identity questions. However, over the twelve months of developing and administering the survey, a number of other questions emerged after consultation with Māori practitioners and academics. The following forty questions were included in the final version of the survey, which are discussed in more detail below:

1. *Iwi*

Iwi is the defining factor for Māori who stand in Māori settings to introduce ourselves. We begin first with our ancestry, as defined by tribe (*Iwi*) and sub-tribe (*Hapū*), therefore this is the first question asked. It was an open-ended question to allow respondents to write their *Iwi* names, which were coded using the *Iwi* Classification from the Statistics Department. The *Iwi* Classification does not include all *Iwi*, as known and named by Māori, so a number of *Iwi* had to be added to the Classification.

2. *Hapū*

This was also an open-ended question, as many *Hapū* names relate to small tribal groupings that are not well known outside the tribal region. However, it is an important marker of Māori identity, so was included.

3. Other

This question allowed for participants to include any other ethnic ancestry, and was open-ended to capture the range of ways that people might describe their ethnicity. For example, New Zealander's of European descent may describe themselves as *Pākehā*, European, New Zealander or Kiwi.

4. Where born, by region

This question asked participants to choose the region they were born in, based on the seven *Rohe Pōtae*, or electorate boundaries used in general elections:

- *Te Tai Tokerau* traverses from *Cape Reinga* to Auckland;

- *Tāmaki Makaurau* includes Auckland City and the Gulf islands;
- *Hauraki-Waikato* covers the mid-north of the North Island from *Papakura* in South Auckland, South to *Te Awamutu*, West to *Kāwhia*, and East to the Coromandel and *Paeroa*;
- *Waiariki* covers from *Tauranga*, South to *Whakatane* and West to the *Rotorua* and *Taupo* districts;
- *Ikaroa-Rāwhiti* incorporates Gisborne, Napier, Hastings, Masterton and South to Upper Hutt;
- *Te Tai Hauāuru* covers the western North Island from *Te Kuiti* and *Taumarānui*, West to *Taranaki* and South through *Manawatu* to Wellington;
- *Te Tai Tonga* covers from urban Wellington, and includes all of the South Island, Stewart Island (*Rakiura*) and the Chathams (*Rekohu*);

5. Where currently living, by region

This question asked respondents where they currently live, to gauge the level of mobility of the sample.

6. Gender: A self explanatory demographic detail

7. Age Group

Respondents were categorized into one of five age groups, from 20-29 years up to 60+.

8. Birth Order

This question asked for respondents to tick whether they were *Tuakana* (first born), *Teina* (middle child/ children), *Pōtiki* (youngest) or *Anake* (only child), as birth order is a significant factor in traditional Māori society. The *Tuakana*, first born is often charged with caring for their younger siblings, and expected to assume leadership roles in the whānau and the community, whilst the *Pōtiki*, is not expected to assume such roles. *Maui* is an ancestor shared by all Pacific peoples, and in *Aotearoa*, one of

his names is *Maui Pōtiki*, the youngest of five brothers who was reputed to be a prodigy, a trickster, inventor and innovator.

9. Marital Status: A self-explanatory demographic detail.

10. Sexual Orientation

This question was added after consultation with practitioners, who had anecdotal experience of the high numbers of Māori gay-lesbians in the screen industry, but little evidence to support their supposition.

11. Parental Status

Parental status was asked, in particular whether respondents had children, grandchildren, or *whāngai*, adopted children. It was assumed that Māori, for whom *whakapapa* is very important, would be likely to balance the rigors of work in the industry with parental responsibilities, because of the importance of bearing children and passing on genealogical ancestry.

12. Mother's Education

The question was asked of both parents to explore whether there were any patterns between participants' and parents' educational achievements. Respondents were asked to select between: School C (NCEA2); UE (NCEA3); Certificate, Diploma, other trade qualification, Bachelor, Postgraduate and 'no formal qualifications'.

13. Mother's Work

This was an open-ended question, respondents were asked to write down as many of the jobs their mothers held, which would be coded against the New Zealand Standard Classification of Occupations, available through the Statistics Department.

14. Mother's Interests

This question was open-ended and allowed respondents to write as much as they wished about their mother's interests. It was hoped this question would yield data about whether their mother had similar creative or Māori-centric interests.

15. Father's Education

See comments as per, 'Mother's Education'.

16. Father's Work

See comments as per 'Mother's Work'.

17. Father's Interests

See comments as per 'Mother's Interests'.

18. Your Education

This was a close-ended question; respondents were offered the same range of educational options, as listed above.

19. Fields of Study

For those with a specific field of study, this was an open-ended question where it could be noted.

20. Screen industry training

This was a close-ended question asking respondents to identify the job-training experiences, being either: on the job; apprenticeship; certificate; diploma, degree, post-graduate education, and Māori (to reflect the small number of Māori-specific industry training courses that have, or currently exist).

21. Year began work

This was a self-explanatory, open-ended question.

22. Years in screen production

This was an open-ended question, which would allow for a calculation of the percentage of time spent in the industry, by comparing the year when respondents first entered the industry, with the amount of time worked in the industry. This variable would measure 'Screen Careers'. A category of 'percentage of work' in the industry was then developed, from less than 25% (casual careers); 25-49% (part-time careers); 50-75% (half-time careers); and 75%+ (full-time careers).

23. Other jobs held

This was an open-ended question; responses would be coded against the New Zealand Standard Classification of Occupations, available through the Statistics Department. The responses to this and the previous question would yield data about the 'boundaryless-ness' of respondent's careers across all industries.

24. GST registration

This was a close-ended question, asking respondents if they were currently, or had been registered for GST, as GST registration was defined by the researcher as a characteristic of entrepreneurial intent, given that one could work in the industry without being GST registered, but those who did register were able to gain tax benefits, if they maintained records of all income and expenditure. Also, some respondents might be in employment, rather than 'freelance' workers.

25. Sole trader status

This was a close-ended question, asking respondents whether they were currently, or had been 'sole traders. This was another characteristic of entrepreneurial intent, to distinguish between those who 'work' in the industry, and those who saw themselves as 'self-employed'.

26. Business-Partnership ownership

This close-ended question was the most clearly focused on identifying entrepreneurs, those who were currently, or had in the past been owners or partners in a business.

27. Employing staff

This close-ended question was also clearly focused on identifying those entrepreneurs who currently, or in the past, had employed staff.

28. Guild membership

This was a close-ended question, which named all of the professional guilds and associations that practitioners might join. This question was designed to elicit whether or not respondents felt the need to be part of professional, political, unionist or Māori-centric organisations. The list of options comprised: *Ngā Aho Whakaari*, New

Zealand Film & Television, Women in Film & Television, Screen Producers and Directors Association, Screen Directors Guild of New Zealand, New Zealand Writers Guild, Actors Equity, New Zealand Actor's Agent's Guild, *Kawea te Rongo* Māori Journalists Association, Writer's Foundation, New Zealand Technician's Guild, and the New Zealand Comedy Guild.

29. Sitting on Guild Boards

This close-ended question asked whether respondents were currently, or had been, members of the executive of any of these guilds. This question was designed to gauge the level of participation in organisations representing their interests, as a measure of political activity.

30. Do you have an occupation?

This close-ended question was designed to capture respondents' thoughts about their work and profession.

31. If yes, what?

Those who replied 'yes' were asked to name their profession to gauge whether they felt the jobs they held in the industry were a 'profession' or 'career'.

32. Types of film work

This close-ended question laid out all the main jobs in film productions, and respondents could tick all the different jobs they had held. These jobs were distinct from those held in television (the next question), to measure the boundaryless-ness of their work experiences. There was an 'other' category, in case a job they held was not included in the list. There were fifty-two job categories in both film and television.

33. Types of TV work

This close-ended question laid out all the main jobs in television productions, and respondents could tick all the different jobs they had held.

34. Self-Efficacy

Eight questions were developed, loosely based around the General Self-Efficacy Scale. These were incorporated with the following eight questions about 'perceptions

of Māori issues, in a table asking for self-rating, using a Likert scale, from '1' meaning 'not at all' to '4' meaning 'always'. The questions are listed below, and are self-explanatory:

- I will be able to achieve most of the goals I set for myself
- When facing difficult tasks, I am certain that I will accomplish them
- In general, I think that I can obtain outcomes that are important for me
- I believe I can succeed at most any endeavour to which I set my mind
- I will be able to successfully overcome many challenges
- I am confident that I can perform effectively on many different tasks
- Compared to other people, I can do most tasks very well
- Even when things are tough, I can perform quite well

35. Perceptions of Māori issues

A further eight questions were developed to gauge perceptions about issues that might, or might not be important for Māori. Again, respondents were asked to rate their responses using the same Likert scale, from 1 to 4. Further explanation about the rationale for these questions is outlined below:

- My Māori identity is important to me: Māori identity question
- Telling Māori stories is important to me: Māori screen industry question
- Working on Māori productions is important to me: Māori screen industry question
- Māori film, television and screen productions are very important for Aotearoa New Zealand: Māori screen industry question
- Māori Treaty grievances must be resolved: Question relating to a political issue
- Racism is a problem for Māori: Question relating to a cultural issue
- *Tino rangatiratanga* is important for Māori: Question relating to a political issue
- *He iwi kōtahi tātou* (we are all one people): This statement is attributed to Governor Hobson, at the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. It is assumed that those who agree with this statement share the sentiment that all New Zealander's are 'one people', and those who disagree with the statement, feel that Māori are a separate and distinct identity.

36. Influences

Respondents were asked to rate the main influences in their lives and careers, with '1' meaning 'not important at all' and '4' meaning 'always important'. They were offered a close-ended set of options, with a choice to add 'others'. The options included: Being Māori, *Whānau*, *Hapū/Iwi*, Upbringing, Education, Travel, Work Experience, and Religion.

37. Role Models

Respondents were asked to rate the main role models in their lives and careers, using the same Likert scale as the previous question. They were given a close-ended set of options and provided the opportunity to add 'others'. The options were: mother, father, grandmother, grandfather, other whānau members, friend(s), partner/spouse, teacher, mentor, boss, and colleague.

38. Māori Identity: Te Reo

This and the following two questions were designed to gauge levels of Māori identity. This set of questions was used in a previous survey of Māori (Henry, 1995). Respondents were asked to rate their knowledge of *Te Reo Māori*, as a key defining variable of Māori identity, with '1' being 'not at all' and '5' being 'very well/much'.

39. Māori Identity: Tikanga Māori

As with the previous question, this asked respondents to rate their knowledge of *Tikanga Māori*.

40. Māori Identity: Whakapapa

This question asked respondents to rate their knowledge of their own *whakapapa*. Each of these questions measured the respondent's perceptions of their knowledge of these factors, which may be construed as highly subjective. However, it is their personally held view, and as such, is valid for inclusion in an analysis of their identity, and their perceptions.

The questions relating to perceptions and Māori identity would be compared to other career and entrepreneurship indicators. These latter questions were viewed as 'independent

variables’, to be cross-tabulated with other responses to explore whether any relationships or patterns emerged around Māori identity, careers and entrepreneurship.

Open-Ended Questions

Finally, respondents were asked to comment on the following statements:

- The main reasons I went to work in the screen production industries were:
- The best things about working in the screen production industries are:
- The worst things about working in the screen production industries are:
- If I were to leave this industry, I would like to work:
- What are your future intentions for working in this industry?
- Any further comments you would like to make.

The survey had originally been planned to be written and distributed in English. Again, after informal consultation with colleagues working in Māori screen production, it was decided that the survey should be available in *Te Reo Māori*, to give those who wished the opportunity to submit their surveys in the Māori language. This involved engaging a language consultant, with specialist skills in *Te Reo Māori*, to translate all documentation, including the Survey, Information Sheet, Consent Form, prior to submission to the AUT Ethics Committee in 2009. The final content and layout of questions evolved over a period of months in 2009, and was ready for distribution late in that year, after approval by AUTEK.

THE SAMPLE

The sample of potential participants for the Survey was to be drawn from Māori practitioners who advertised in the Brown Pages: Māori, Pacific and Indigenous Media, Arts and Cultural Directory (2008 Edition), which was a ‘convenience sample’ because of the public accessibility of this database, as it included their contact information.

Convenience sampling has been criticised as a sampling method, because it is not necessarily representative of a total population, which may lead to sampling bias (Castillo, 2009). Sampling bias was not considered to be a major problem for this study, because the total population of Māori working in the industry was relatively small (2006 Census data, cited on page 86), and there have been over three hundred names and addresses for Māori screen

practitioners in the Brown Pages since it was first published in 1993. It was initially envisaged that one hundred of these names could be randomly selected and posted a Survey. As a precursor to the Survey mail-out, and given the literature on low levels of responses to surveying by Māori, it was decided to trial a smaller-scale mail-out.

Late in 2009 a pilot sample of ten names were randomly selected from the Brown Pages database to be sent the Surveys. These were duly posted to the addresses given, in both English and *Te Reo Māori*, with Consent Forms and Information sheets, and a self-addressed envelope. The majority of entrants in the Brown Pages were listed under the name and address of their Agents, which was the case for the ten selected to receive the Survey. At the same time, with the consent of the Executive of *Ngā Aho Whakaari*, a box of Survey forms was placed in their reception area, beside a sealed box, in which completed surveys could be placed. This was because a number of Māori screen practitioners visited the offices in any given month, so they would have an opportunity to conveniently and anonymously fill-out and submit the surveys. Both of these methods were used to trial the usefulness of a hard-copy questionnaire, that is, to gauge the level of response to this form of Survey.

One month later, no surveys had been completed or returned from either source. After further consultation with colleagues, particularly the Executive of *Ngā Aho Whakaari*, it was concluded that mail-out surveys might be very low on the list of priorities for busy professionals. This may have been, in part, because the hard-copy Survey comprised both English and *Te Reo Māori* versions, and accompanying documentation in English and *Te Reo Māori*, over forty pages of paperwork in total, which may have been an impediment to participation. So, the decision was made to source an email database, and trial on-line distribution of the Survey.

This was facilitated by the use of Survey Monkey, an on-line surveying tool which allows for anonymous surveying. Again, the various editions of the Brown Pages were referred to, and it was found that almost one hundred Māori were registered with personal (as opposed to Agent's) email addresses. To complement this database, another set of email addresses was drawn from the personal network of the researcher. These two sources yielded a total of one hundred and eighty-two names (182), with current email addresses. It was recognised that this sample was relatively small. However, even though it might comprise only 20% of the total population if all responded (based on the 2006 Census data), it could yield useful

insights into the lives, careers and entrepreneurial intentions of those who chose to participate.

In late 2009, an e-mail invitation to participate in the survey was prepared. An Information Sheet in English and *Te Reo Māori* would be attached to the e-mail. The survey would be available in English or *Te Reo Māori*. Potential participants could link to either version on Survey Monkey. As the survey was anonymous, a note at the beginning of the survey notified potential participants that they would be consenting to participate by submitting their responses electronically. The survey was ready to be distributed to one hundred eighty-two email addresses by late November 2009. However, the summer months are traditionally the busiest time in the screen industry, so a decision was taken to wait until after the New Year to distribute the e-mail invitations. This occurred in February 2010. Of those who were sent the invitation, fifty-one submitted on-line surveys, a 28% response rate. Two of those respondents chose to answer the *Te Reo Māori* version of the Survey. Because the surveys were anonymous, that is no IP addresses for respondents were recorded by the Survey Monkey data collection tool, it is not possible to deduce whether there was a greater or lesser response from the Brown Pages database, or the personal networks of the researcher.

This was a relatively low response rate, and Brennan (1992) suggests that response rates can be improved with multiple contacts (in this case, emails) to potential respondents. However, multiple contacts would have required a further application to the AUT Ethics Committee, and may have added additional months to the distribution and collection of data from the Survey. Given Crothers (2003) comments around census studies providing background for ethnographic inquiry, a greater response rate was not deemed to be essential to the primary focus of the in-depth interviews.

THE INTERVIEWS

Alongside the survey, plans for the interviews continued. It was estimated, in 2010, that there were approximately twenty independent production companies, owned by Māori, producing a significant body of work, and who had been in business for five or more years. According to Pinfold, “The high failure rate of new firms has been clearly established in the literature.... the profitability of new firms does not reach satisfactory levels until the fifth year, (2001, p. 279). These twenty Māori-owned companies had received funding to produce Māori-centric

work for film or television from government entities (*Te Māngai Pāho*, New Zealand on Air, and the New Zealand Film Commission) in excess of \$1 million, between 2008 and 2010, the period during which this study was conducted.

The researcher knew all of the producers in this category, and attempted to contact as many as possible in the early months of 2010, to discuss the research and the possibility of their participation in the study. Due to their heavy work-loads, and ongoing commitments to production, it soon became apparent that having in-depth conversations about the research with potential participants was going to be difficult. Even when there was a high degree of interest in participating, it was a matter of finding a time and place that was mutually agreeable or feasible. By mid-2010 it was decided to interview the first ten respondents who could be available, preferably in Auckland, because of the cost and time constraints for the researcher of travelling around the country. This was also because more than fifty percent of the potential production-houses are located in or near Auckland. Also producers visited Auckland at some time in the year if they were pitching to, or producing for Māori Television or the Māori Programme Department of TVNZ, both of which are based in Auckland.

It was also planned to make a documentary about the research, particularly as respondents were from the screen industry, and because a documentary would give participants a greater opportunity to tell their stories in their own ways. The proposal to produce a documentary from the research had been included in the initial AUT ethics application, though what shape or form the documentary might take was not pre-determined, as it was felt the final form of the documentary would evolve out of the data collected. Participants would be assured they had full editorial rights over their footage, before data analysis, and could amend or delete comments as they wished, up until the final edit. They would also see ‘rough cuts’ of their footage, throughout the editing process, and have the right to make amendments and deletions as they wished.

Indicative questions had been developed for the in-depth interviews, as part of the AUT ethics approval process, after consultation with practitioners, and these questions remained at the centre of the interview process. However, it was not envisaged these questions would hamper interviewees, if they wished to explore other topics.

Indicative Questions

- *Nō hea koe?* (Where do you come from, to which people and place do you belong?): Tell me about your background

This is a commonly heard question when Māori first meet. It refers to one's tribal heritage. The second part of the question is a more explicit expression of the same matter.

- What and who have been the major influences in your career?
- What things influenced you to start your own production company?
- What have been the major constraints you have had to deal with?
- What are some of the things that have helped you to flourish in the industry?
- What recommendations would you make to newcomers to the industry?

This last question was added after initial consultation with practitioners, to explore the participant's views about newcomers and the future of the industry.

The interviews would be recorded, transcribed and systematically coded to identify key themes. These 'themes' would be further refined, to identify underlying concepts and constructs in the data, drawing on Grounded Theory techniques (Allan, 2003). The critical aspect of grounded theory for the researcher is to immerse themselves in the narratives of the respondents, to identify and elucidate their theories, from their stories and their experiences, rather than imposing a pre-conceived set of themes, or hypotheses on their views.

Thus it was that the interviews began in mid-2010. In some cases more than one interview occurred, with the final part of an interview being filmed in February 2011. The tensions and stresses of conducting the literature review, developing the methodology, distributing the survey, and finding people to interview, was finally culminating in the collection of data, the stories and perceptions of a group of Māori in screen production, in what is to date the first and largest research of this kind in the Māori screen industry.

CHAPTER 4: THE DATA

INTRODUCTION

This Chapter reports on the data collected from the survey and interviews. The survey analysis is based on tabulated and cross-tabulated data sets, and by ‘eye-balling’ the open-ended responses, to gauge how they complement or contradict the statistical analyses. ‘Eye-balling’ is a recognised tool for initial and comparative analysis of qualitative data (Burns & Burns, 2008; Smith, Jing Chen and Xiaoyun, 2008).

The interviews are presented as cases, of the ten producers who agreed to participate. These cases are a summary of the filmed interviews, which are covered in more detail in the documentary. The documentary has enabled the interviewees to tell their stories in their own words.

Further explication of these findings will be examined in the concluding Discussion.

THE SURVEY

The survey was distributed in February to one hundred eighty-two recipients. Of those, twenty-three returned error messages immediately, meaning their e-mail addresses were invalid, which meant a total pool of one hundred fifty-seven potential participants. Over the coming weeks responses started to come in, but at a slow pace. This ambivalence about responding to research requests is reflected in the findings of Fink, Paine, Gander, Harris and Purdie, who wrote, “Response rates from Māori were lower in all surveys and the percentage decline was greater than for non-Māori”, (2011, p. 52).

The original application to AUTEK had not requested the right to re-send e-mails, or reminders to potential participants, which also reflected the researcher’s commitment to not be overly persuasive with recipients, as an expression of respect for their privacy. However, general messages via Facebook (as many screen industry colleagues are ‘friends’ of the researcher) and a verbal presentation at a *Ngā Aho Whakaari* Networking event in March, provided the opportunity to remind practitioners that the survey was available on-line. By

April 2010, there had been forty-nine responses to the English option and two responses to the *Te Reo* option. Thus, fifty-one responses from 157 emails comprised a 32% response rate.

There was recognition from the outset that respondents may have consented to participate in the survey because of their personal knowledge of, and relationship with the researcher, so there was no intention to generalise the findings of the survey to the wider community of Māori practitioners. However, as the community of Māori practitioners in the screen industry had received little research attention in the past, it was felt that the findings from this survey would still make a useful contribution to the body of knowledge about Māori in the sector. The following provides a series of tabulated data from the responses. This is complemented with a summary of open-ended responses gleaned by ‘eyeballing’ the data, the returned surveys. Taken in combination, they will provide both depth and breadth of analysis of the surveys.

IWI & HAPŪ

Table 4.1 gives the first-mentioned tribal affiliation. The majority (90%) named either one or two tribes. The other 10% gave three or more, up to five tribal affiliations. Of those tribes mentioned first, 39% hailed from north of Auckland, *Te Taitokerau*, slightly higher than the national proportion of *Ngāpuhi* and other northern tribes. A slightly disproportionate percentage of respondents originated from Northland, the same area as the researcher therefore they may have been friends, *whānau* or colleagues who felt more obliged to fill out the survey because of shared ancestry.

The remainder of respondents were from tribes spread around the country; those tribes with 5% or more respondents were: *Ngāti Maniapoto*, *Ngāti Porou* and *Tūhoe*. Respondents were also asked to provide the names of their *hapū*. There were many hundreds of *hapū* names, which would have been difficult to include in a chart. However, the numbers of *hapū* that individuals refer to is a matter of interest, presumably because those with more *hapū* affiliations either have a wider range of tribal ancestry or a greater knowledge of the plethora of *hapū* in each of the tribes. Of those who filled out this question, forty-four gave one or two *hapū* names, three gave four *hapū*, one gave five, and three gave a total of nine *hapū*. This suggests that either the majority of respondents recognised only one or two of their sub-tribal affiliations, or those who gave more mentions held more in-depth knowledgeable about their

tribal and sub-tribal affiliations. If the latter is the case, then 10-15% of the respondents held more in-depth knowledge of their tribal identity.

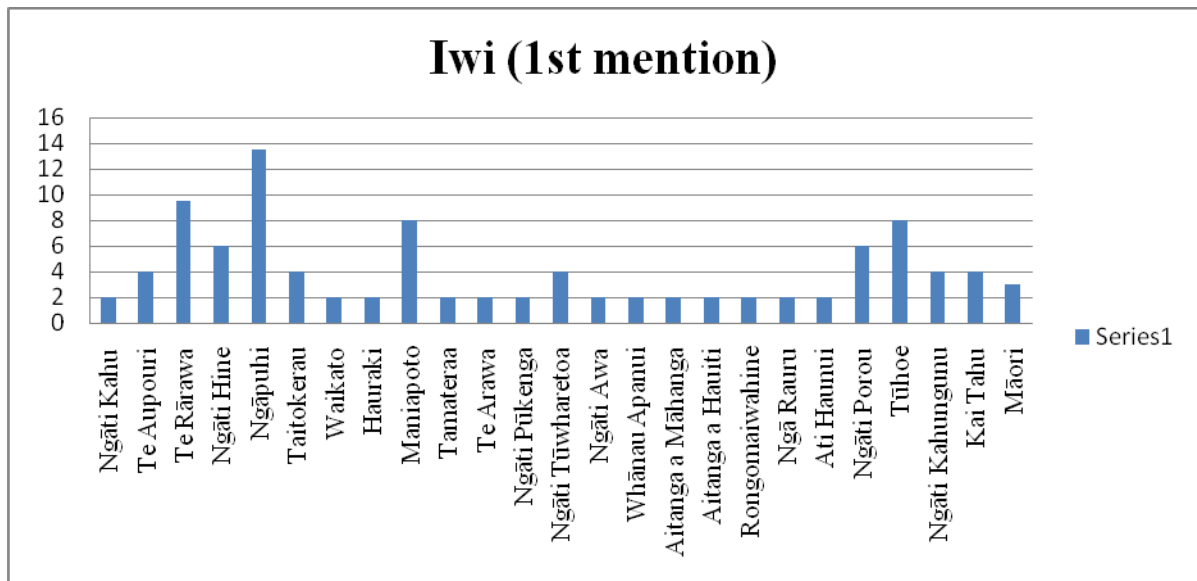


Table 4.1: Tribal Affiliation, from North to South

OTHER ETHNICITIES

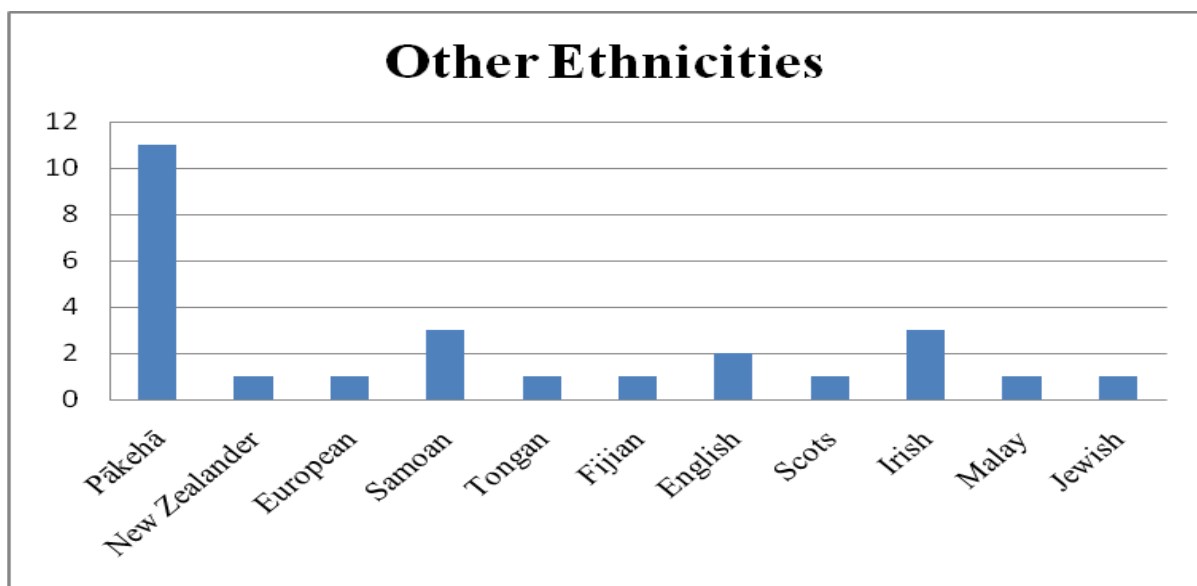


Table 4.2: Other Ethnicities

Respondents were also asked if they had other ethnic affiliations. The responses are summarised in Table 4.2, and show that twenty-six, half of the total, indicated other ethnicity, with *Pākehā*, New Zealander, European, English, Scots, Irish and Jewish, being the Anglo-caucasian ethnicities, adding up to 76% of the total. Pacific Island ethnicity, including

Samoa, Tonga and Fiji comprised another 20% of mixed heritage, and there was one respondent of mixed Asian ancestry. Therefore, over half of all respondents were from mixed-ethnicity backgrounds, which reflects the national data (source: Te Ara).

ORIGIN & DOMICILE

This question asked about the region where respondents were born, based on *Rohe Pōtae* regions, the seven Māori electorates. Table 4.3 shows that respondents were born in a range of regions around the country, with the majority being from *Te Taitokerau*, as one would expect given the Census data which shows that *Ngāpuhi*, one of the Northern tribes is the most populace.

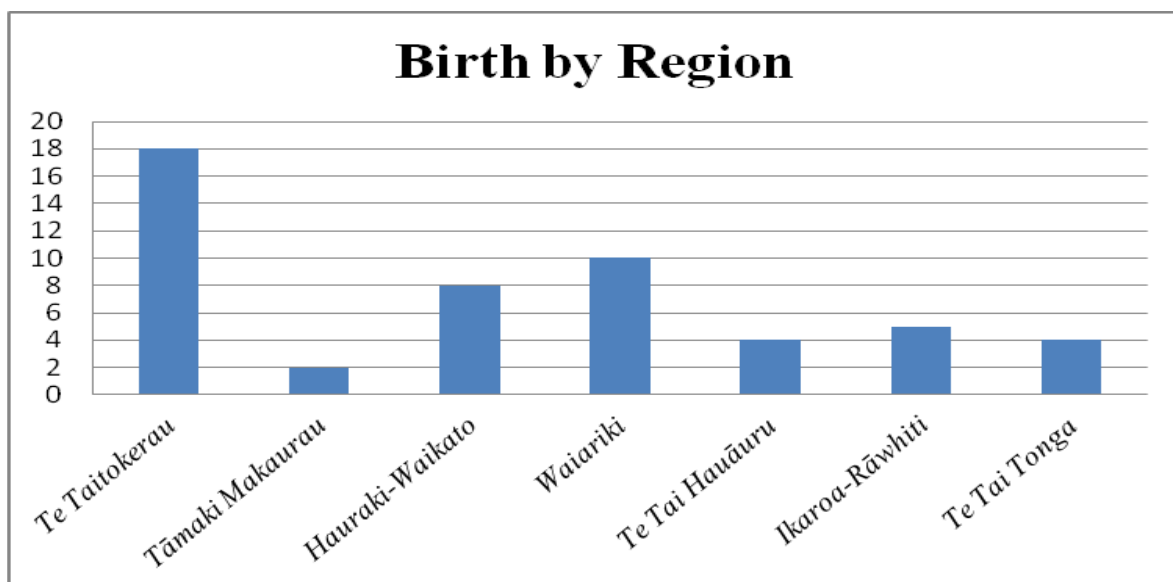


Table 4.3 Shows the distribution of birth places for respondents. Ngāpuhi, as the largest tribe recorded in the 2006 Census are, not surprisingly, the largest group of respondents.

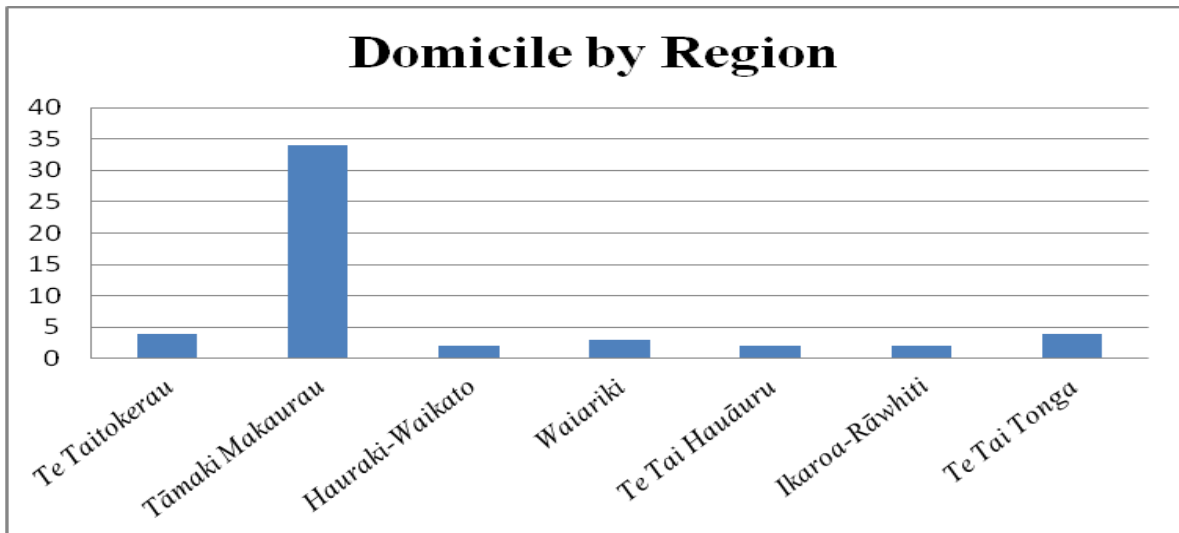


Table 4.4: Domicile by Region, shows the dominance of Auckland as the area where most practitioners have moved to and live.

GENDER

Table 4.5 shows that the respondents were predominantly female (70%), which is significantly higher than the gender proportion of Māori women in screen production (50%), or the percentage of all women in the screen industry (43%), according to the 2006 Census. This could also confirm that respondents were more likely to be friends and associates of the researcher, whose social circle in the screen industry is primarily Māori women.

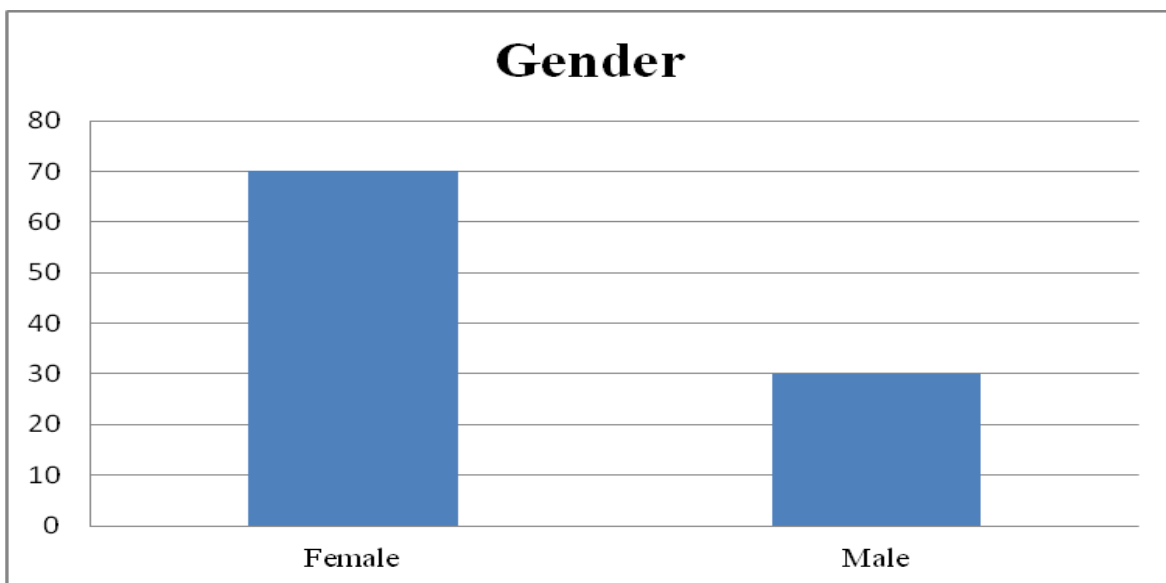


Table 4.5: Gender of Respondents

AGE GROUP

In Table 4.6, the majority of respondents were aged 30+, only 10% were under thirty, 40% were aged over forty, and 20% were 50+. Thus, the respondents are similar in age and gender to the researcher, which implies that respondents were more likely to be drawn from personal networks who share these demographics.

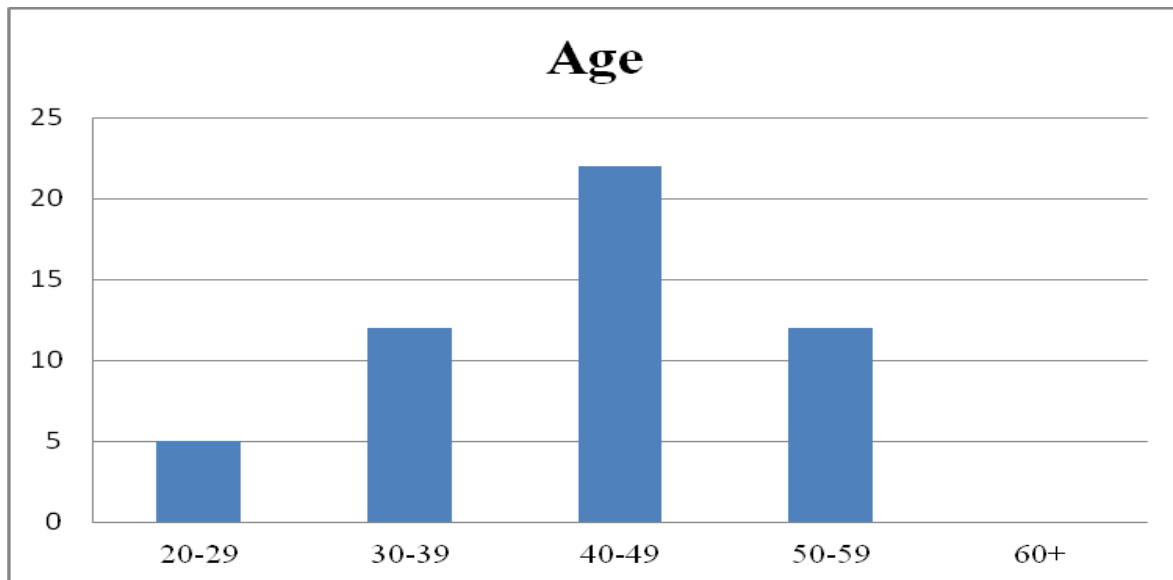


Table 4.6: Age Group

BIRTH ORDER

Table 4.7 shows that a slightly larger proportion of respondents were ‘*tuakana*’ (first-born), whilst ‘*teina*’ (middle-children), and ‘*potiki*’ (youngest-born) were smaller cohorts, with ‘only-children’ being a very small minority. Given Māori statistics tend to show that Māori are more likely to have larger families, the results for the ‘only child’ category is not unexpected. As *tuakana*, the first-born, are often called upon to adopt leadership roles in the whānau, which may also be the case in screen production. It was assumed that *potiki* might be a more dominant group, given the cultural association of *Maui-Potiki*, a renowned ancestor of Pacific peoples’, and youngest-born child, with invention, innovation and entrepreneurship (Keelan, 2009).

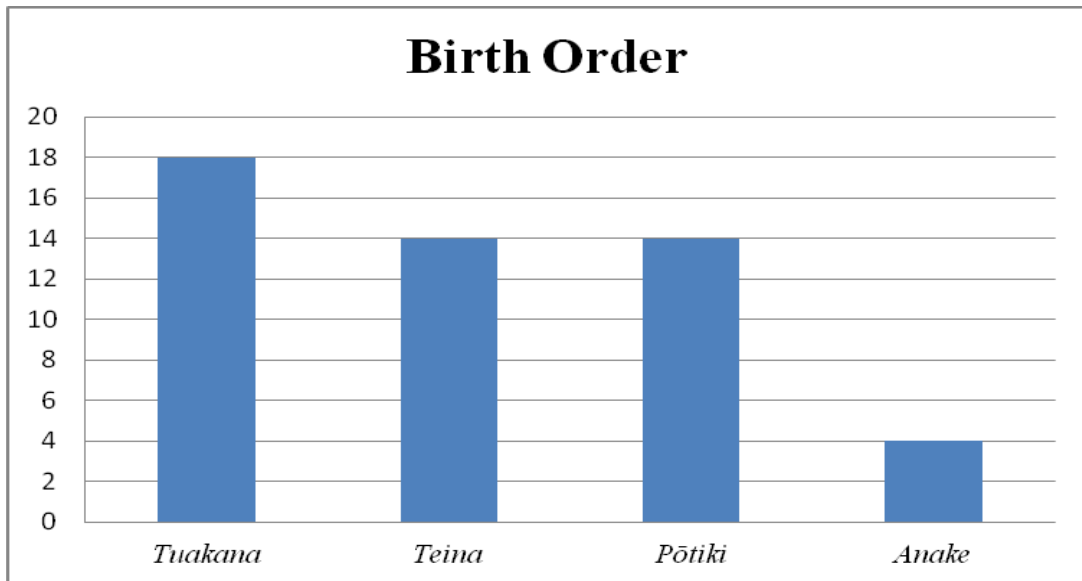


Table 4.7: Birth Order

MARITAL STATUS

Table 4.8 shows the majority of participants were in marital-type relationships, which one would assume to be the case for a mature-aged group.

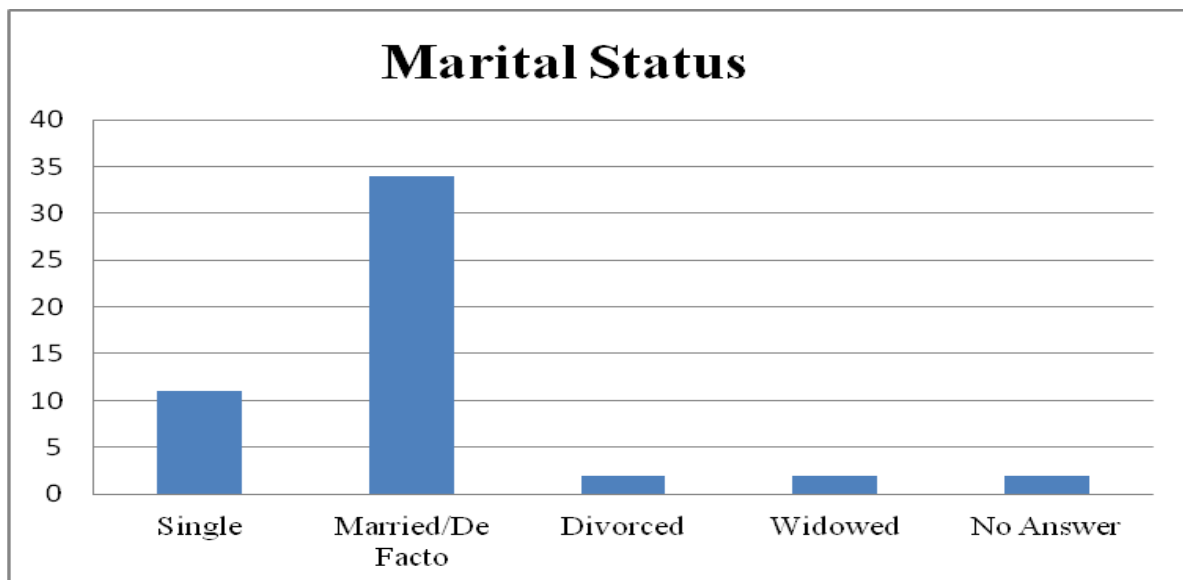


Table 4.8: Marital Status

SEXUAL ORIENTATION

Table 4.9 shows the majority of respondents were hetero-sexual, though gay-lesbian-bisexual respondents comprised approximately 10% of the participants, which is in line with estimates of homosexuality in Western society (Bagley & Tremblay, 1998).

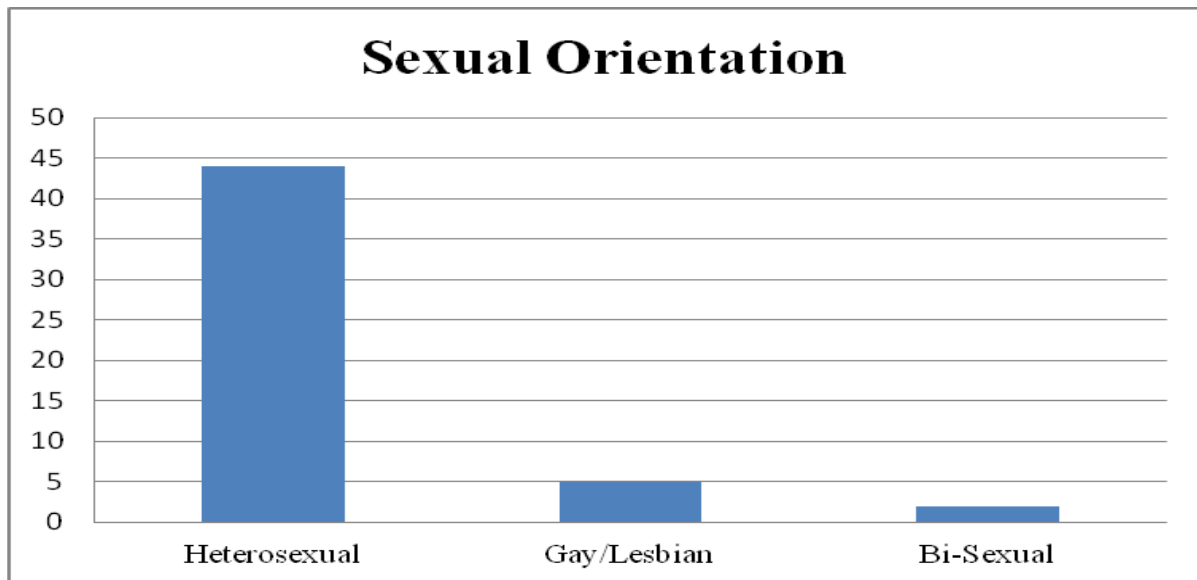


Table 4.9: Sexual Orientation

PARENTAL STATUS

Table 4.10 shows the vast majority of respondents were either parents or grandparents, with just over 20% having no children. As Māori fertility rates are almost twice that of *Pākehā* and Asians, according to Statistics NZ (2001-2006), it might be assumed that 20% is quite a high proportion to be childless, especially given that the majority of respondents were female.

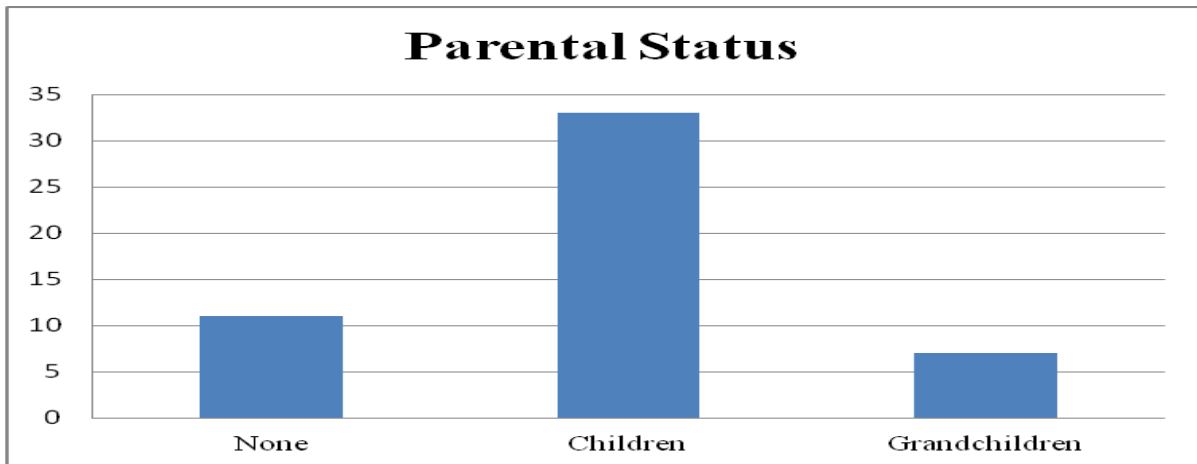


Table 4.10: Parental Status

MOTHERS' EDUCATION & WORK

The following responses related to the respondent's mother's education and work experience. The majority of participant's mothers left school with 'nil' or minimal education qualifications (28%). However, a not insignificant proportion (over 25%) had gained tertiary qualifications, with 4% holding post-graduate degrees. Based on 2006 Census data, this is a high proportion of Māori women with post-graduate qualifications. Given the number of respondents with mixed ancestry, one cannot assume all the mothers are of Māori descent. Refer to Tables 4.11 and 4.12 below.

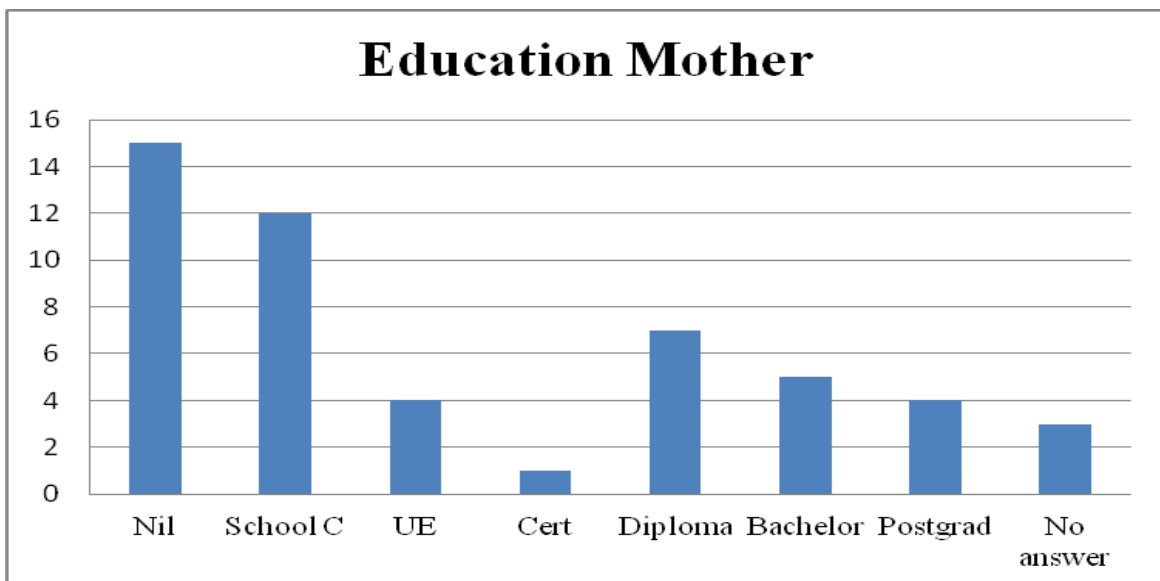


Table 4.11: Mother's Education

The largest categories of mother’s occupations were ‘home-making’, ‘teaching’ and administration. There were also a noticeable group of mothers’ who worked in Māori professions; these include Māori health, education and crafts, such as weaving.

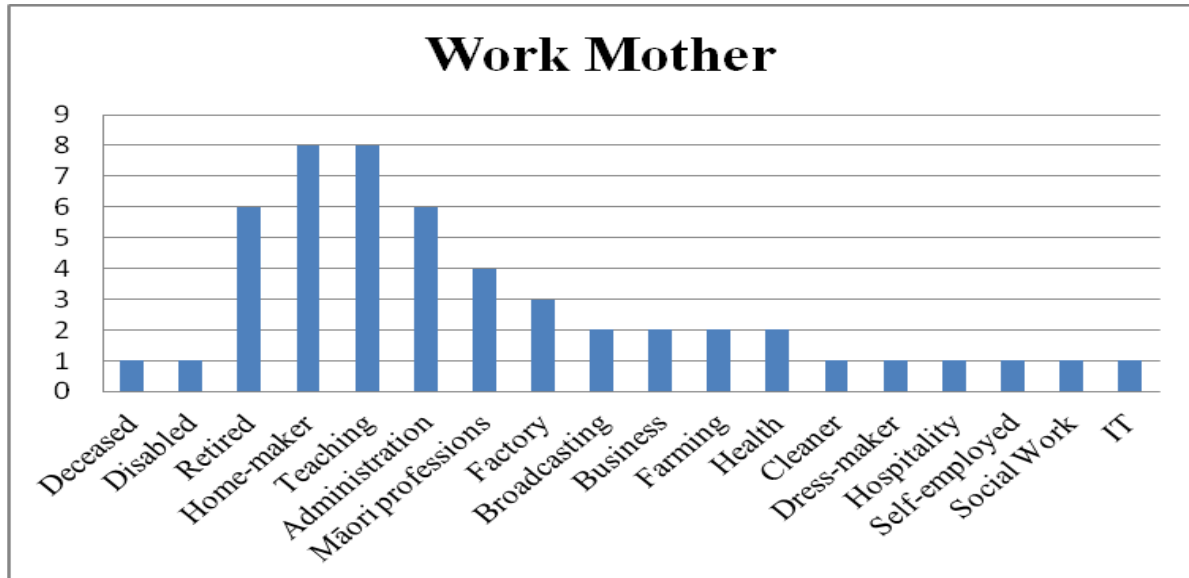


Table 4.12: Mother’s Work

MOTHER’S INTERESTS

This was an open-ended question, therefore difficult to convert responses into tables. However, based on responses to this question, categories of interests were developed, including:

- Family/ *whānau*: children, partners, friends, work
- *Māori, iwi, hapū*: *Marae, Te Reo*, Māori arts and organisations, arts, crafts, *tikanga, wairua*
- Community/ social: Religion, sport, cooking, gardening, sewing, hunting and gathering (food)
- Culture/ society: Politics, travel, health, unions, art
- Intellectual: Reading, writing, music, history, technology

The most prevalent set of interests related to *whānau*, Māori and community, however, there were individual examples of interests across all of these topics. Those mothers with higher levels of educational achievement were more likely to have interests outside the home, and a wider range of intellectual pursuits.

FATHER'S EDUCATION & WORK

Like the mothers, the majority of father's of respondents left school with minimal, or no educational qualifications, and none of the fathers had gained post-graduate degrees.

Furthermore, there were a higher proportion of fathers who held labouring, or low-skilled work.

At the other end of the scale, there were also a higher proportion of fathers who worked in either broadcasting or were self-employed. A similar percentage of fathers were employed in Māori professions, either in health, education or tribal governance entities. Refer to tables 4.13 and 4.14 below.

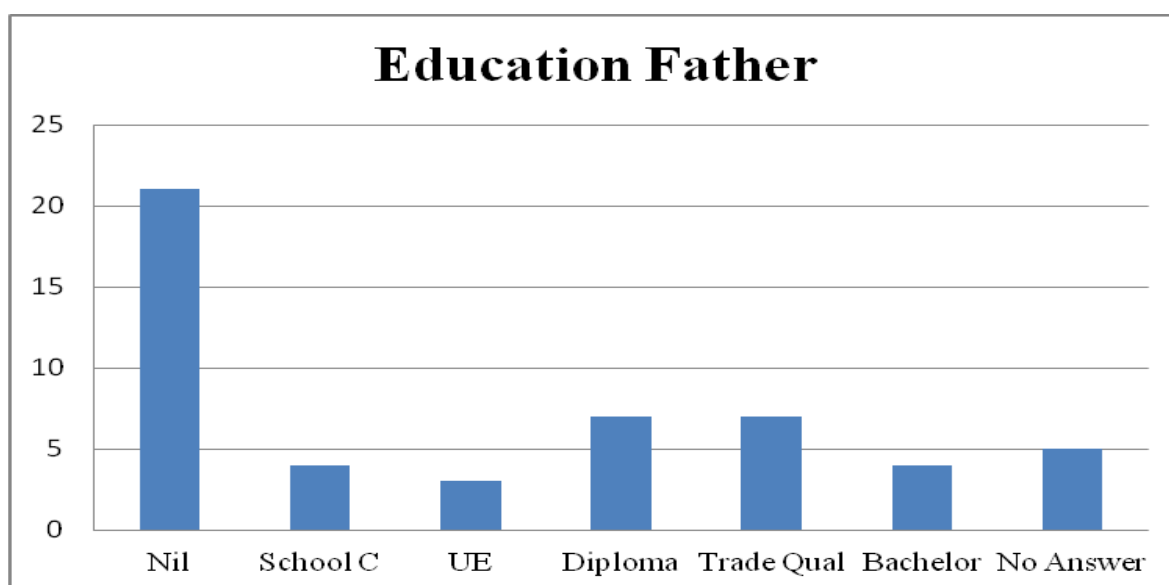


Table 4.13: Father's Education

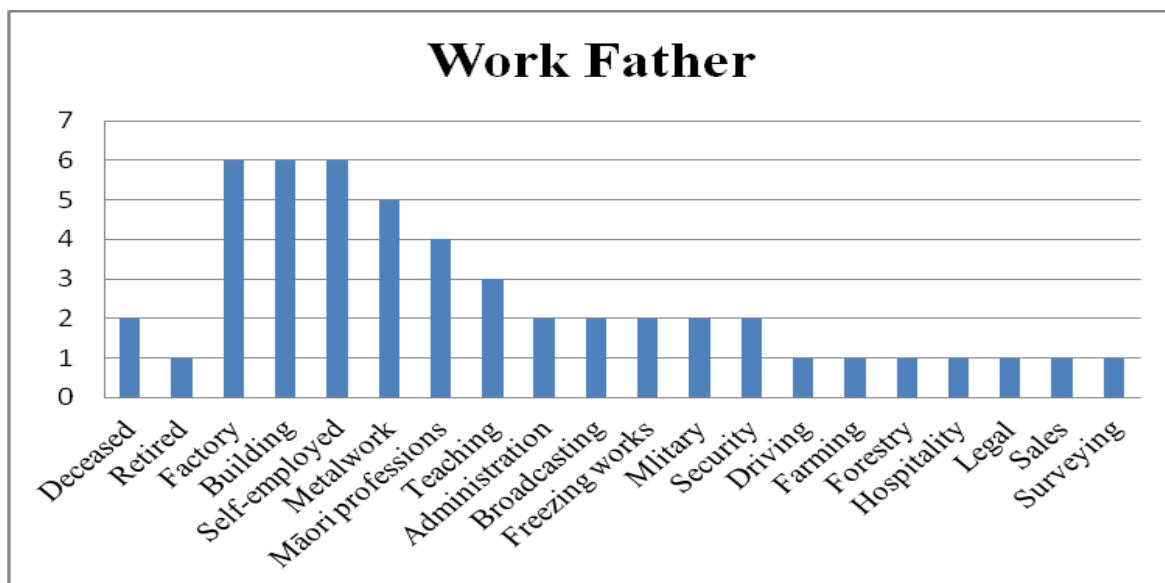


Table 4.14: Father's Work

FATHER'S INTERESTS

A similar coding system was developed to analyse father's interests. The same proportion of father's showed interest in *Whānau*, Māori and Community. However, there were additional topics within the interest-areas:

- Family/ *whānau*: children, partners, friends, work , racing, making money
- *Whānau, iwi, hapū*: *Marae, paepae, Te Reo*, Māori arts and organisations, carving, *tikanga, wairua*
- Community/ social: Religion, sport, cooking, gardening, sewing, hunting and gathering (food)
- Culture/ society: Politics, travel, health, unions, cars and bikes
- Intellectual: Reading, writing, music, history, technology

The same proportion of father's had as their primary interests in *whānau*, children, *mokopuna* and partners. Not surprisingly, more fathers were interested in hunting and gathering food, sports, racing, cars, drinking, and *paepae* (speaking on the *Marae*). The smaller group of graduates were more interested in business, religion and cultural activities, whilst those fathers with less educational qualifications were more likely to enjoy sports, hunting and fishing.

EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS

Tables 4.15 and 4.16 below show that by comparison to their parents, the respondents had gained a much higher level of educational achievement, over 50% had gained either diplomas or higher degrees, and less than 5% left school with no qualifications. The majority, almost 50% in total, gained qualifications in the Arts, with Law and Commerce being the second and third fields of study. Interestingly, very few of the respondents had undertaken production or media studies. However, given their median age (40+), that may not be surprising, as there would have been far fewer media courses available when they left secondary school.

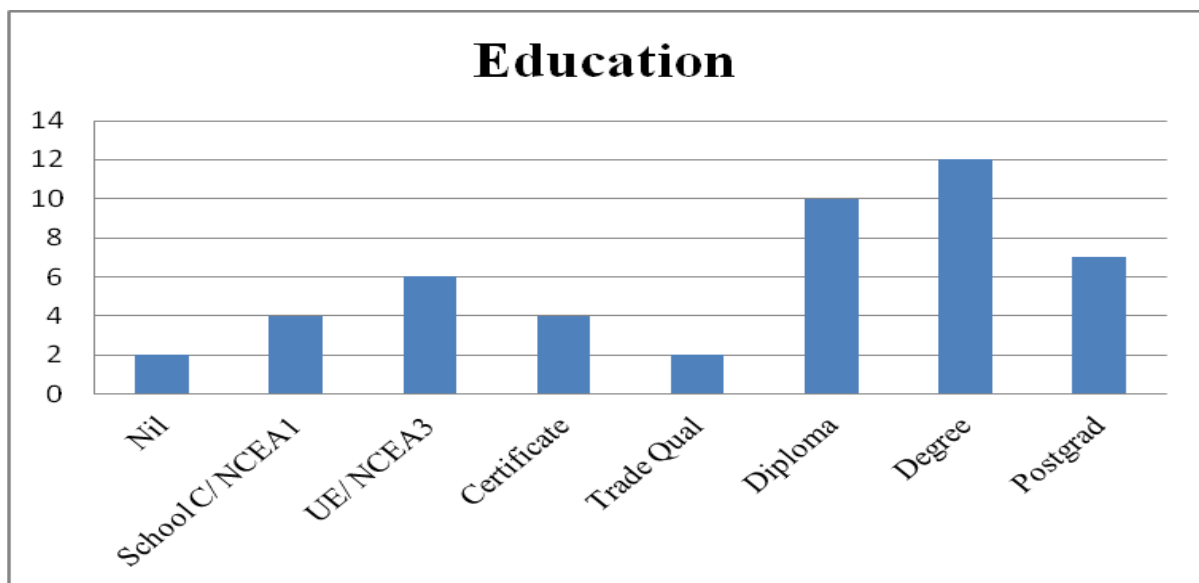


Table 4.15: Education Qualifications

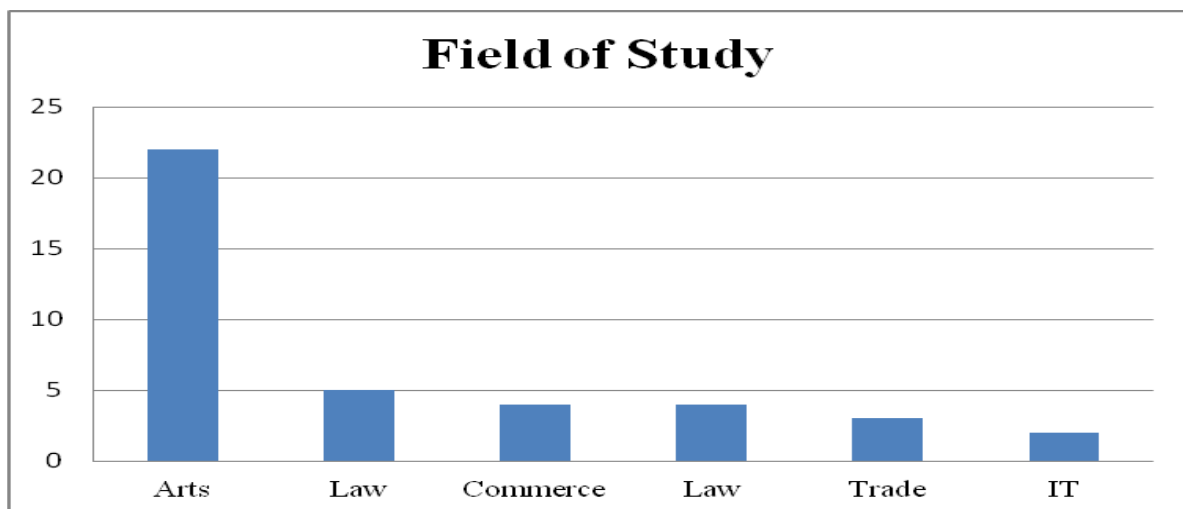


Table 4.16: Fields of Study

OTHER WORK

Table 4.17 shows that the respondents had all held jobs outside of screen production, many in other creative arts fields, particularly in theatre and advertising. An equally high proportion had worked in hospitality, in bars and restaurants. A large group, over 10%, had worked as teachers, and 5% in Māori professions and organisations. Less than 10% had worked in low-skilled jobs, including factories and freezing works.

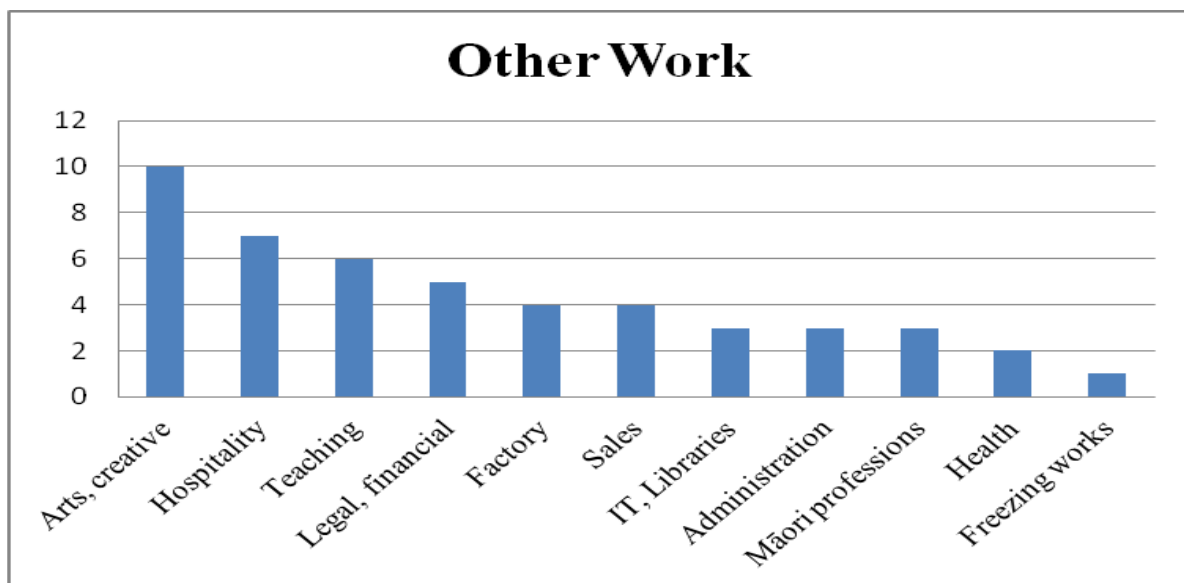


Table 4.17: Other Work

INDUSTRY TRAINING

Table 4.18 shows that the vast majority of respondents gained their industry training ‘on the job’. However, almost 25% had some form of industry qualification. One had completed an apprenticeship (as an electrician) and another held a Masters degree in media studies.

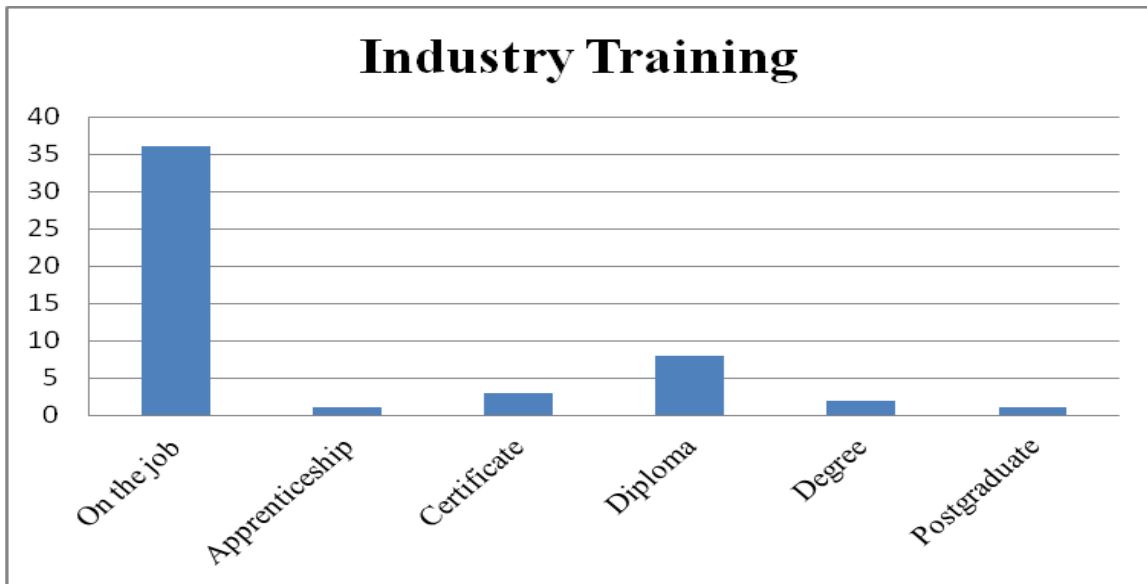


Table 4.18: Screen Industry Training

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

Table 4.19 shows that among respondents who were asked if they believed they had an ‘occupation’, as a measure of their acknowledgement of their screen production careers, a significant majority confirmed they felt their work in the screen industry was an ‘occupation’ rather than just a ‘job’.

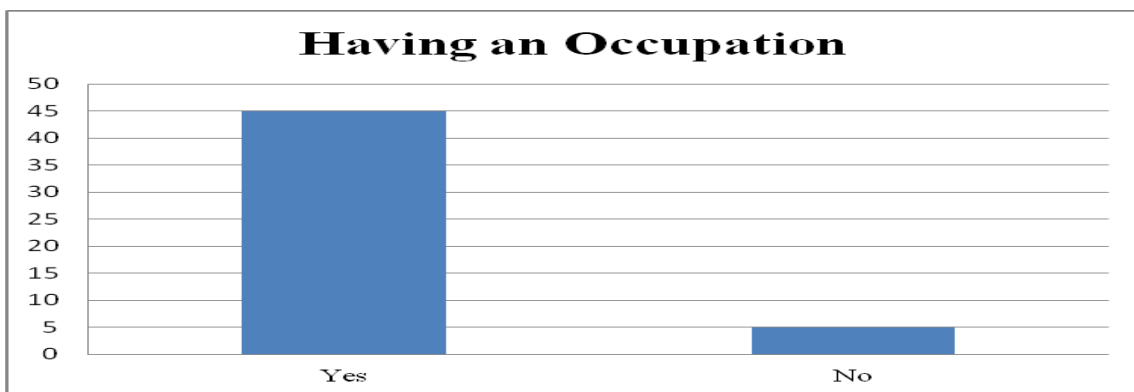


Table 4.19: Occupational Status

SCREEN INDUSTRY CAREERS

A large majority of respondents had worked in the industry for more than 50% of their work-life. Those who had left school in the last ten years, but who had worked predominantly in the screen sector were categorised as having ‘full-time careers’, the same as those who had worked in the industry for decades. The main point of this analysis was to find the proportion of screen-work that respondents had engaged in, as an indicator of their ‘careers’ in the industry, which is highlighted in table 4.20.

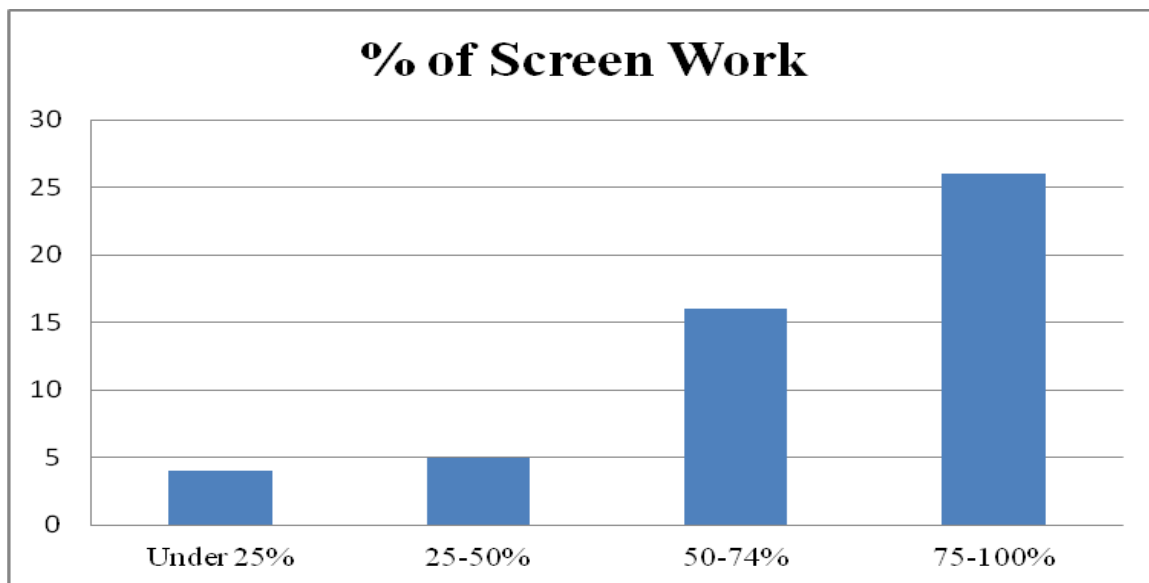


Table 4.20: Screen Industry Careers

GUILD MEMBERSHIP & BOARDS

Table 4.21 shows the responses to the questions about ‘guild membership’, which were posed to explore levels of industry-political activity, and the types of industry guilds that respondents were associated with. Not surprisingly, *Ngā Aho Whakaari*, the association of Māori in film and television, was the organisation they were most likely to have joined. This was followed by Women in Film & Television (WIFT), also not surprising as the majority of respondents were female, and the Writers’ Guild. More of the respondents were, or had in the past been, members of Screen Producers and Development Association (SPADA) and Screen Directors Guild New Zealand (SDGNZ) than the Technicians Guild. Also, though many had done some acting work, very few had joined the Actors’ Guild. The fifth highest rate of membership was in *Kawea Te Rongo*, the Māori journalists association. Taken overall, there

was a high level of involvement in guilds and associations, with some respondents (just under 10%) having been members of three or more of the guilds. When asked whether they had been elected to the Boards of any of these organisations, 25% had sat on the Executive of *Ngā Aho Whakaari*; 6% on the WIFT Board; with one each sitting on the Boards of the Actors' Guild, Technicians Guild and *Kawea Te Rongo*.

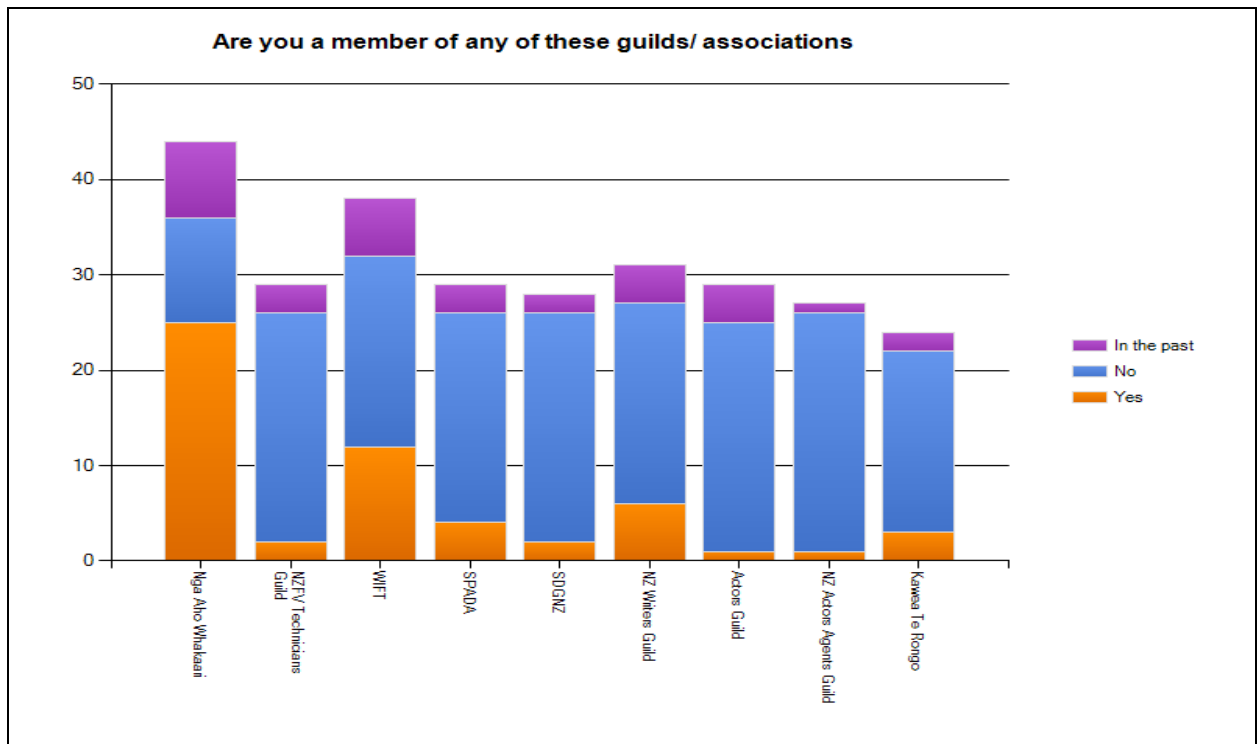


Table 4.21: Guild Membership

SCREEN WORK

Tables 4.22 and 4.23 show a slight variation in types of work done in either the film or television industries. In TV, there were a slightly higher proportion of producers and directors, whereas in film, there was a higher proportion of actors and production assistants. Interestingly, this is evidence of more work for Māori writers in film than television production. Also, in the film industry, there appears to be a greater prevalence of technician-crew roles, in production, assistant directing and camera work. This would support the notion that work for Māori in the film industry is more likely to be in less senior roles, such as acting and crewing, whilst there is more potential for taking on leadership and key creative roles, such as producing and directing, in television. This would also concur with the increased investment by *Te Māngai Pāho* in Māori Television productions.

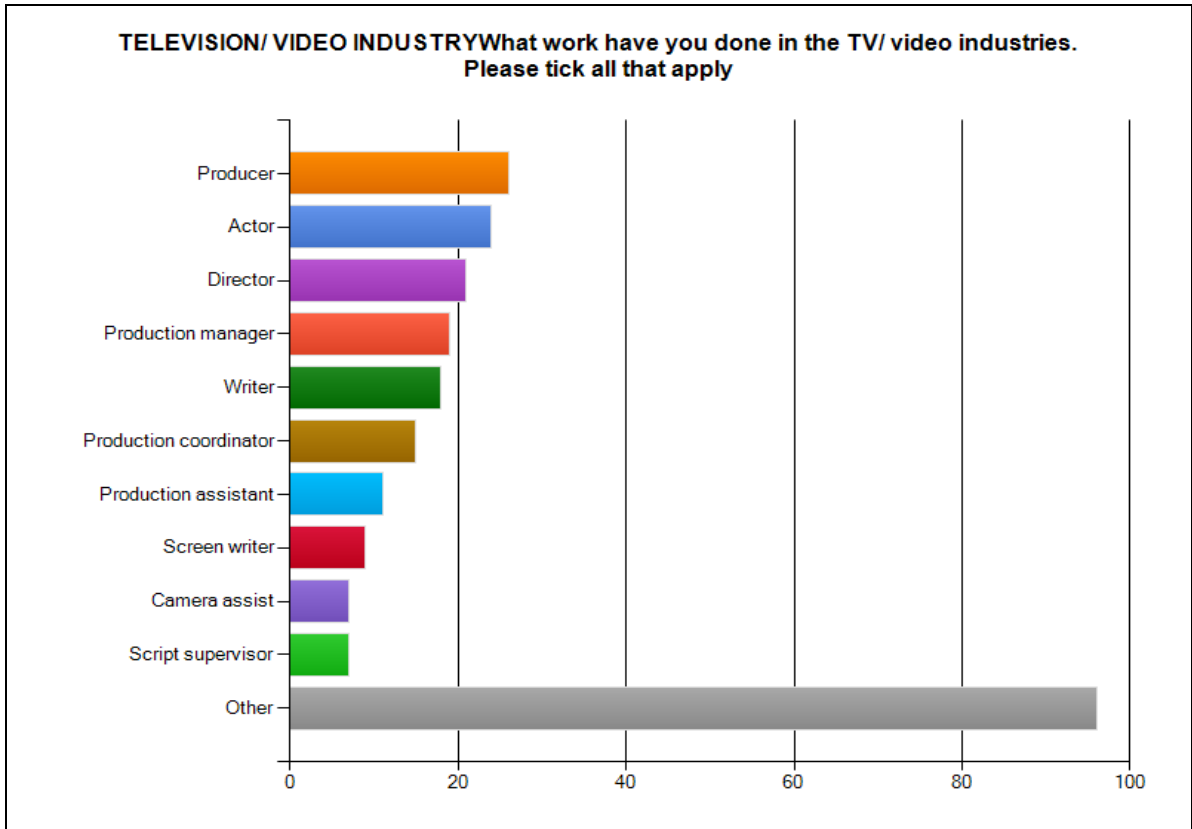


Table 4.22: TV Work

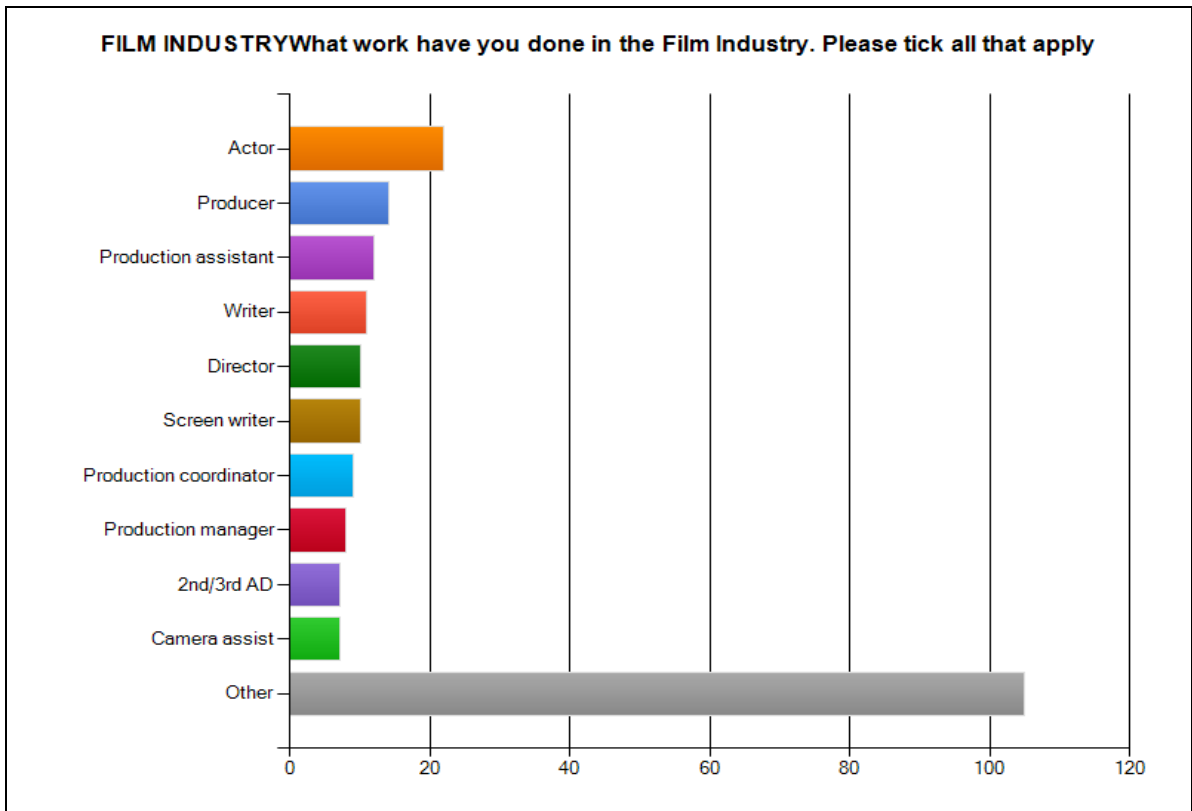


Table 4.23: Film Work

‘BOUNDARYLESS’ CAREERS

	Mean	Standard Deviation
Jobs in Film	4.38	6.25
Jobs in TV	5.38	4.45
Total Work	9.77	10.16

Table 4.24: Number of Jobs Held

The statistics highlighted in Table 4.24 suggest that respondents have held a greater number of jobs in television than film work. When combined, informants have worked in a mean number of 9.77 jobs in both film and television, suggesting ‘boundaryless’ careers within screen production (e.g. a variety of jobs they have held). Whilst the ‘mean’ number of jobs held was between four and six, there were a small number of respondents (10%) who had held more than fifteen different jobs, and two people (4%) had held over twenty jobs, in a wide variety of film and television work, suggesting the highest level of ‘boundaryless’ careers.

One of these two respondents was a women, aged 50+, who was currently a sole trader and GST registered, who had previously owned a production company; she was a member of *Ngā Aho Whakaari*, a ‘*teina*’ (middle child), of mixed ancestry, who lived and worked outside her tribal region. The other was a male, aged 30+, who owned a business, had been a member of *Ngā Aho Whakaari*, was a ‘*potiki*’, who lived and worked within his tribal boundaries. Thus, those with the most ‘boundaryless’ careers did not necessarily reflect the ‘averages’ in the data sets.

ENTREPRENEURSHIP INDICATORS

The following four questions related to business and entrepreneurship. It was assumed that those who were GST registered have adopted a more business-oriented approach to their careers, than simply seeing themselves as ‘sole traders’. GST registration is a requirement for any self-employed person earning more than \$60,000 per annum, but is useful, even if earning less, because of the tax advantages, if one maintains rigorous financial records. Table 4.25 shows that 43% are sole traders, but a higher percentage, 55% are GST registered. Therefore, some of those who are GST registered may also be business owners.

We can also see that 23.5% of participants employ staff, but only 18% are business owners. Therefore, some employers may be managers who employ staff in businesses that are owned by others. Nearly one in five respondents own businesses (20%), a key indicator of entrepreneurship. This is significantly higher than the 2001 Census, which identified that less than 10% of Māori were self-employed or employed others.

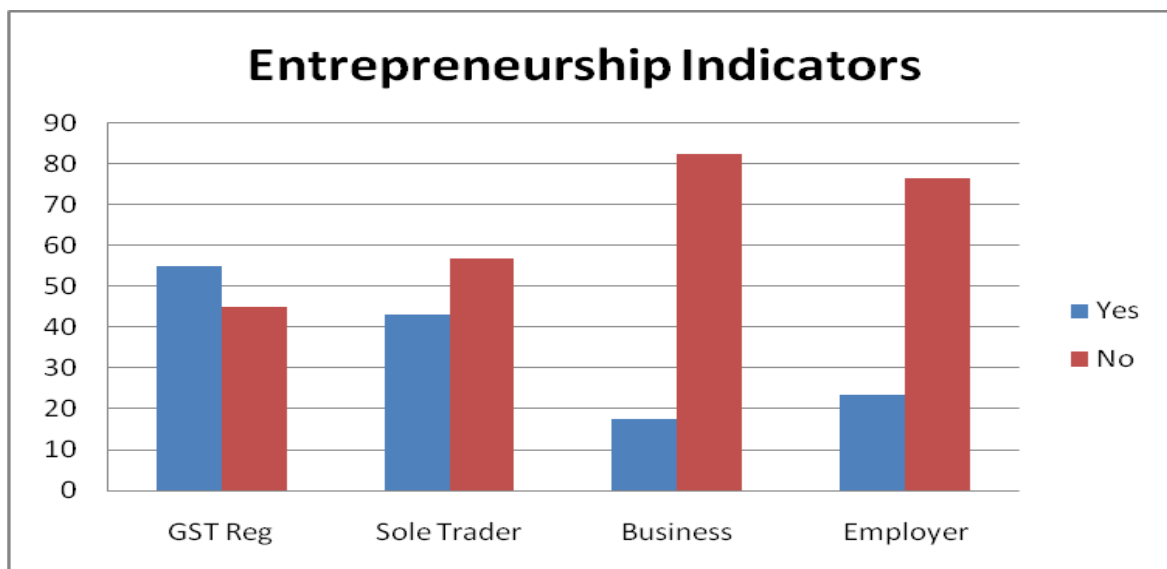


Table 4.25: Entrepreneurship Indicators

MĀORI IDENTITY MEASURES

Table 4.26 shows responses to the three questions relating to the level of identity and cultural competency based on three variables. Respondents were asked to rate their knowledge of *Te Reo*, *Tikanga Māori* and their *Whakapapa* (genealogy). It is recognised that self-rating for knowledge of the language is going to be highly personal and subjective. For example, when administering a similar survey instrument in 1993 as part of a research on Māori women and leadership for a Masters' thesis (Henry, 1995), a number of respondents who were known to the researcher as fluent speakers of *Te Reo* had ranked themselves lower than 'fluent'. When asked by the researcher why she did so, one informant from the 1993 study replied that, "There are always people who can speak the *Reo* better than me". Therefore, it is recognised that these measures are nothing more than one's belief in oneself, in terms of linguistic and cultural competency. Nonetheless, self-belief is one of the variables of interest in this study. Therefore, the responses to the questions about *Te Reo* fluency, and knowledge of *Tikanga Māori* and *Whakapapa* were relevant in the current study, because they allowed for cross-

tabulation between these cultural competencies and other demographic and personal-interest variables.

It was found that respondents felt most confident in their knowledge of their *whakapapa* (their own tribal identity), than their understanding of *tikanga Māori*. Overall, the respondents were less confident about their knowledge of *Te Reo*. However, approximately 25% felt they were very good speakers of *Te Reo*, compared to 9% for all Māori (Statistics NZ, 2001).

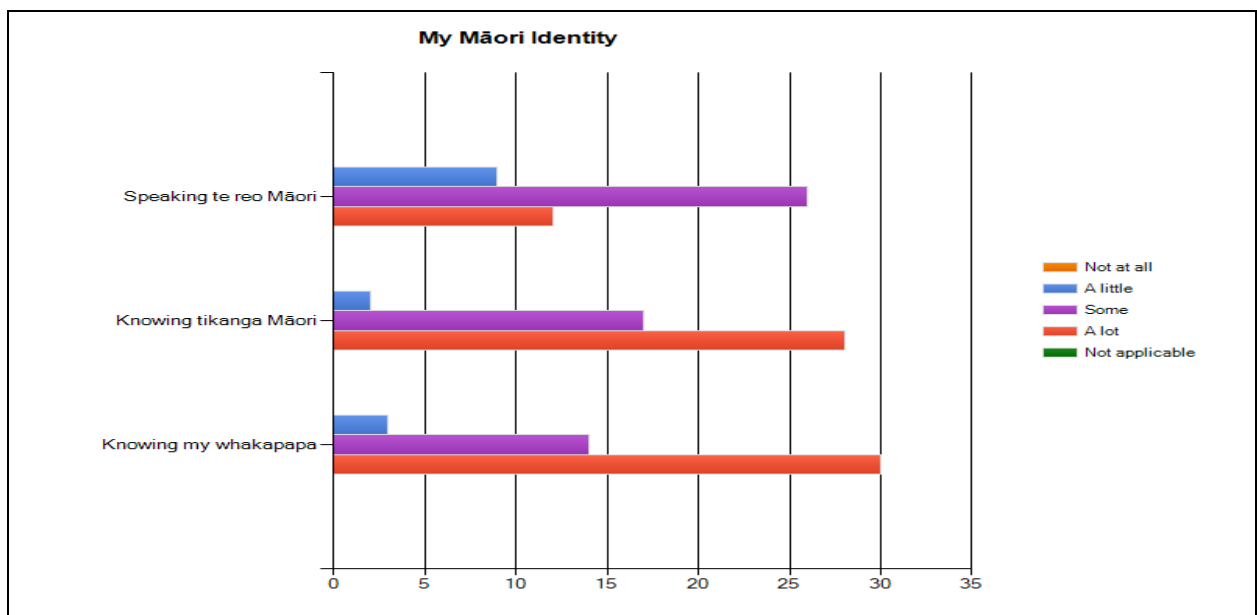


Table 4.26: Māori Identity Indicators

PERCEPTIONS OF MĀORI ISSUES

The responses to the questions about their personal Māori identity (above) are shown in Table 4.27, and were comparable to the responses to the eight questions about their perceptions of Māori identity issues. The overwhelming majority felt that Māori film and TV, resolution of Treaty grievances and their Māori identity was very important. The next factors, in order of importance, were ‘working on Māori productions’ and ‘telling Māori stories’.

The least important issue was their view of New Zealanders as ‘one people’, thereby reinforcing the strength of their distinct Māori identity. Interestingly, the next lowest rating was their perceptions of the statement that ‘racism is a problem for Māori’, which might be

seen as contradicting the previous rating, unless this is a group for whom their identity is strong and intact, and as a result, they do not feel racism is an issue or challenge for them. It might also mean that, because of changes in New Zealand society, and the high level of mixed ancestry of participants, they may have been exposed to less overt racism in their lives.

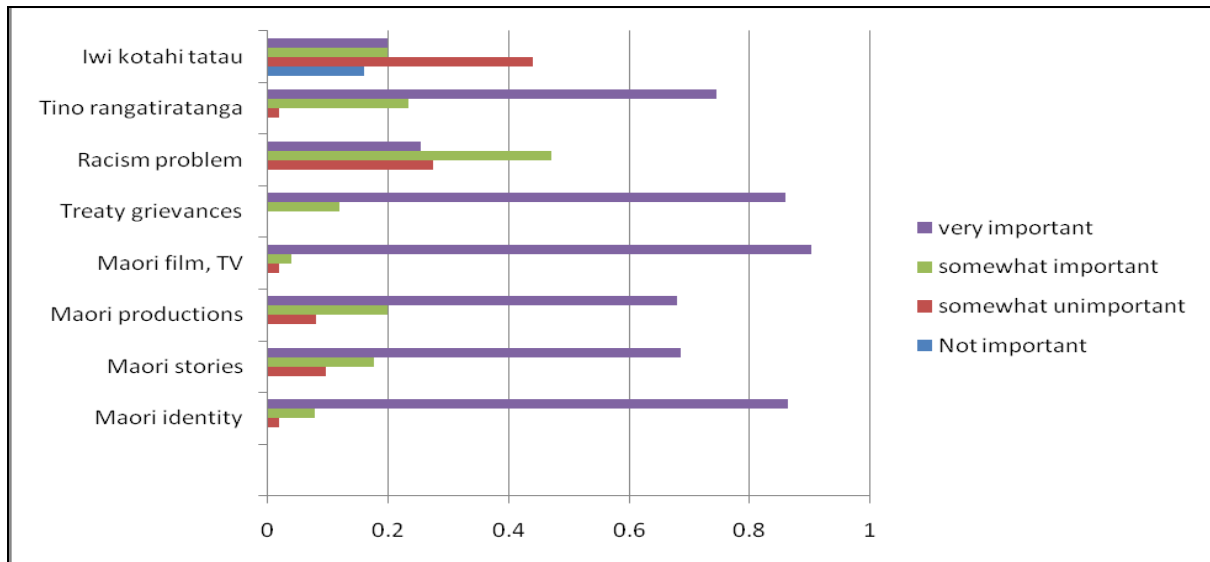


Table 4.27: Perceptions of Māori issues

SELF EFFICACY

Table 4.28 refers to the self-efficacy questions, as previously stated, were derived from the Chen *et al.* ‘New General Self Efficacy Scale’ (2001). It was envisaged that the responses to both the ‘self-efficacy’ and ‘Māori issues’ questions would reinforce each other. That is, high levels of importance of ‘Māori issues’, as a predictor of strength of Māori identity, might also be reflected in high levels of self-efficacy.

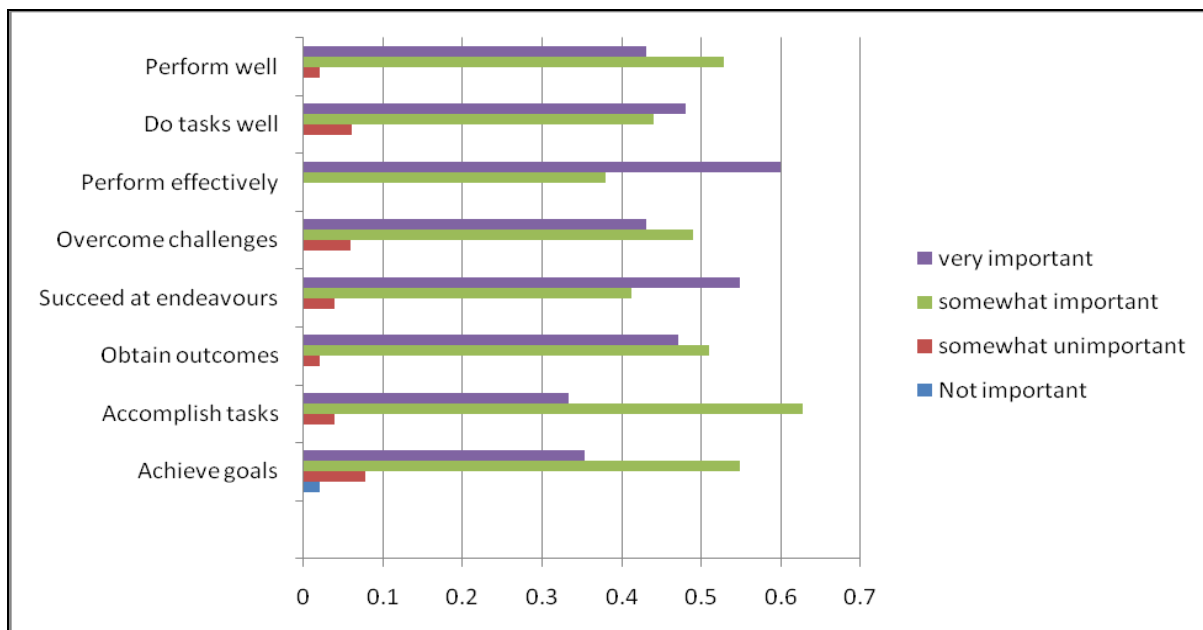


Table 4.28: Self-Efficacy

Taken together, these ratings showed high, but not extremely high, levels of self-efficacy and self-belief. The three factors with the highest ratings of ‘importance’ were:

- I am confident that I can perform effectively on many different tasks
- I believe I can succeed at most any endeavour to which I set my mind
- Compared to other people, I can do most tasks very well

The highest rating of ‘unimportance’ was for the statement, ‘I will be able to achieve most of the goals I set myself’, which may be seen as a contradiction. However, the three highest ratings related to task-oriented statements, as opposed to goal-oriented statements, which may imply the respondents are more task-focused than goal-focused.

INFLUENCES

Table 4.29 shows the main influences on the lives and careers of respondents. Despite the earlier evidence about the importance of ‘Māori identity’, the strongest influence for the majority of respondents was ‘*whānau*’, with Māori identity a close second, followed by ‘upbringing’. Thus, the three most important influences all relate closely to family and upbringing, as a context for identity. The variable with the highest level of ‘unimportance’ was ‘religion’, despite the often espoused notion by Māori that spirituality is a cornerstone of

Māori identity. This may mean that respondents make a distinction between spirituality and religion, or that neither spirituality nor religion is important for some of them. Another point of interest is that *‘whānau’* is significantly more important than *hapū* or *iwi*. Therefore one can assume that tribal affairs are of less interest to this group than families, which may be a consequence of living in urban environments, remote from their tribal links. Other influences mentioned were: my writing, being a woman, social and business connections, *Aotearoa*, the environment and friends.

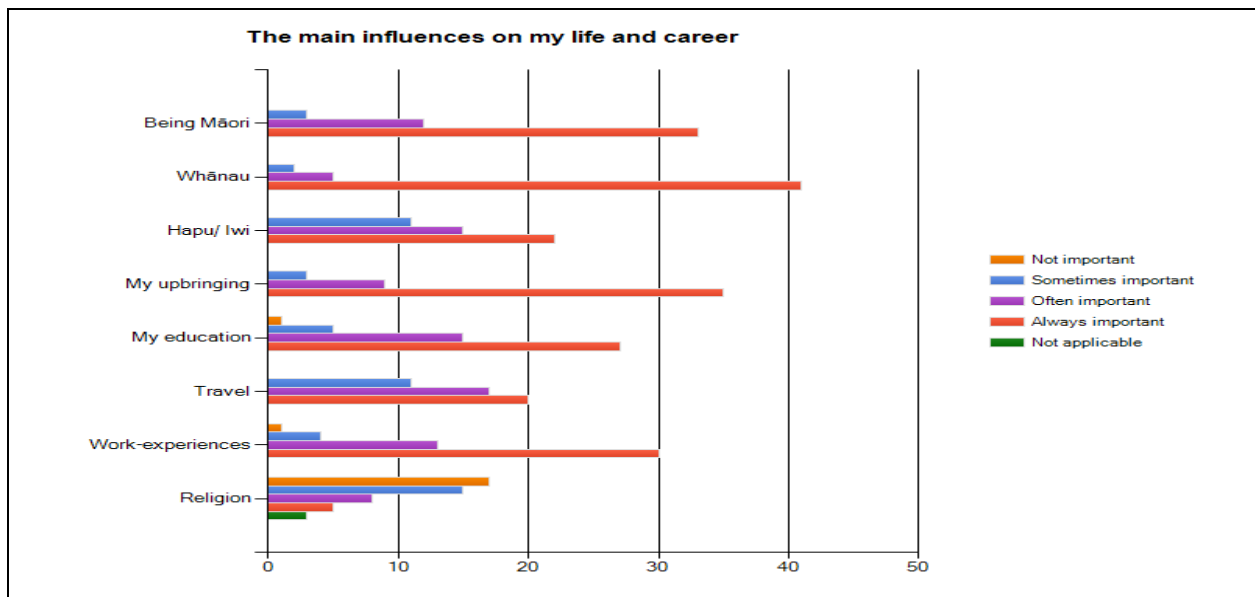


Table 4.29: Influences

ROLE MODELS

As a consequence of the previous responses, it is not surprising to find that *whānau* are the most significant role models, with ‘mother’ slightly ahead of ‘father’, followed closely by ‘grandmother’, ‘grandfather’, ‘spouse’, and ‘other family members’, as outlined in Table 4.30 below. The least important influences appeared to be ‘colleagues’, ‘bosses’ and ‘teachers’, and the last two attracted the highest number of ‘not important’ responses. Other role models mentioned were: Children, other indigenous cultures, people who strive and achieve, and notable ancestors/ *whakapapa*.

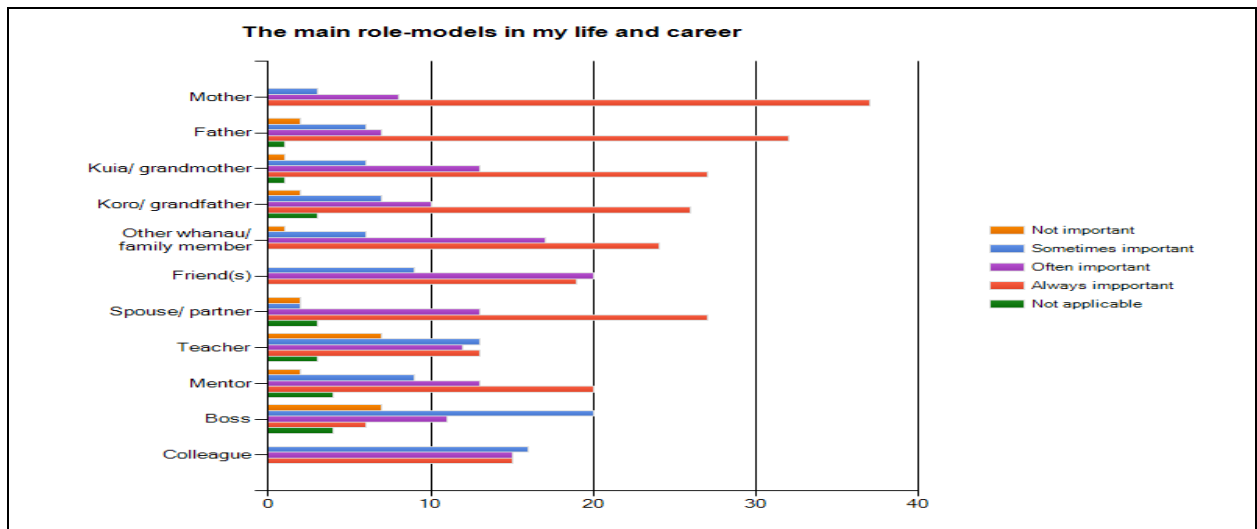


Table 4.30: Role Models

OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS

The following is a brief summary of comments made, in response to these questions:

The main reasons I went to work in the screen production industries were:

The most common response related to telling, writing, creating stories in general, and Māori stories in particular:

- “I wanted to be able to tell our stories, our way in our language and television has always been the best and the fastest way to influence people and the way they think about Māori and their place in *Aotearoa*” ;
- The next category of responses related to coincidence and opportunity, from helping friends, being raised around the industry, being enrolled in courses, “I got a job with some friends holding a boom and then they needed some tapes dropped and then they needed some scripts printed off and suddenly I had been there for a month”
- Respondents also gave emotive responses, such as: for fun, excitement, creativity, the challenge, fame.
- Many wanted to make meaningful contributions to Māori screen production, for the *kaupapa*, to change the world, “To bring the unique things of my world to a global society. To see that it is done right and with integrity”

The best things about working in the screen production industries are:

These responses were similar to the previous comments, some of the memorable comments include:

- “Being able to use *Te Reo* and *tikanga Māori* all day every day and get paid for it!
- “Independence and creative satisfaction as well as decent income and substantial life challenges”
- “Team work, problem solving”
- “The beautiful and talented Māori who have shared their stories with me; meeting and making lifelong connections with people around the motu; travelling around the country and the world staying in comfy hotels; helping to influence and educate Māori, non-Māori and general New Zealanders about Māori and our culture and our achievements”
- “Artistic expression in *Te Reo* for our children and showing them they can do ANYTHING they dream”
- “Seeing your creation on screen, that's the best thing”
- “It is a beautiful organic place to be when it is good”.

The worst things about working in the screen production industries are:

Balancing the previous comments, were some of the challenges presented by the industry, among which the low rates of pay for Māori productions, the long hours that are hard on families, and the gruelling work conditions were the most common. Because this was the one opportunity for respondents to air their concerns, most of their comments are presented below:

- “Unpredictable income and constantly having to reinvent oneself as the industry changes”
- “Unemployment, long working hours, hard physical labour, dirty at times, no control of working conditions”
- “The screen industry means my skills and expertise are not easily applied to other places and industries”
- “For Māori, the money. In mainstream the money is fine”

- “People who, knowingly or otherwise, hinder the progress of Māori in Film & TV”
- “Constantly justifying being Māori, telling Māori stories”
- “The bitchiness”
- “Having to deal with Divas and people with big egos; the fact that in most organisations, the managerial jobs are taken by MEN, though the women are the ones doing all the hard leg work”
- “The mediocre attitude adopted by some Māori, settling for second rate programmes, thinking that the language is all important when really its craft, we should be aiming to have *Te Reo Māori* win mainstream awards”
- “Where are the gutsy roles for the over 50s? We are not all wearing *taa moko* and quoting wise *whakatauki*, but we are Māori. We are women of today and the future”
- “Not enough Māori stories being made”
- “The TVNZ politics”
- “The constant battles with 'the powers that be'; the mediocrity of decision makers in the Networks and funding agencies”

If I were to leave this industry, I would like to work:

The majority had no desire to leave the industry, and intended to remain in it till they retired. The alternative careers that were mentioned included: education, some other field relevant to Māori development, returning to their whenua, or embarking on some other creative endeavour.

What are your future intentions for working in this industry?

Like the first two questions, most respondents reiterated their commitment to making more Māori stories. A number aspired to senior creative roles, creating more writing, directing and producing opportunities, making short and feature films, drama and documentary, reaching out to work with other indigenous communities, and continuing to make a difference with their work and creativity.

Any further comments you would like to make:

Over half the respondents made positive comments about the survey, how they had enjoyed completing it and reflecting on the lives and careers. Many others greeted the researcher personally. Some of the comments displayed a depth of reflection and insight, so are shared here:

- “Thank you for allowing me to have a voice”
- “I do think that to get a wider experience of the film and screen industry I would need to go and work for non-Māori. I sometimes find that in Māori circles, I can get people to do things I want them to by saying "kia ora!" really sweetly, but I think to really extend myself, to be a Māori on a set has to "not matter" and I need to develop more than a "kia ora!" to produce what I want, does that make sense?”
- “We are pretty lucky and have a lot of opportunities that weren't there 20 years ago. We need to close rank on mainstream Media, as they are willing to only show our weakness not our strengths”
- “I fell into this industry by being in the right place at the right time, it is not a lifestyle to suit everyone, it demands immediate response and takes no excuses, it builds responsibility and makes you the owner of what you do, you are only as good as your last job, and you don't have the job until the moneys in the bank, you learn to live on what you earn and never rely on a constant income EVER, it's a fantastic career”
- “I am a Māori who works predominantly in the mainstream and this can present challenges that are different to those of us who work in a more supportive mainly Māori environment. But I feel that as Māori we need to be able to work freely and capably in both worlds for a variety of reasons like capacity building; getting a broader experience of the industry, spreading the love. You know that kind of thing”
- “*Whiria te taura here ki mua i muri* - plait the rope that links the past with the future”
- “Now that Māori TV is on Air I would love to see more Māori feature films. MTS didn't happen through 'market forces' or the 'trickle down' effect. Our *kaumātua* fought for recognition of our *Reo* which resulted in MTS. We will need to do the same to get more Māori feature films made. This is an area in which 20 years ago Māori were world leaders. We are now lagging behind our Aboriginal *whānau* and the rest of the Pacific in features being made and screened. We cannot rely on government departments or on the 'market forces' to decide on Māori films being made. We must all believe and then practice our inherent *tino rangatiratanga*, our choice to decide our own future as filmmakers”.

The open-ended comments highlighted the following main themes:

- The commitment of respondents to working in and being part of the Māori screen industry, and recognises its attraction and pleasures
- The ability to work in and support the growth of Te Reo, alongside other Māori, as an expression of whanaungatanga
- The nature of recruitment into the industry, based on networks of friends and family, and unforeseen opportunities
- The disadvantages of working in an industry that is gruelling and inconsistent
- The challenge of the politics around funding and broadcasting

To reiterate the words of Crothers (2003), “The ethnography complements the quantitative part of the research programme, and allows individuals and families to speak as people, rather than appear as disembodied fragments in a statistical array”. It is hoped that this necessarily brief summary of the feedback from respondents has allowed them to speak as people, as well as populating a disembodied fragment in a statistical array.

CROSS-TABULATIONS

Cross-tabulation provides the means to display data in such a way that it shows how many cases in each category of one variable are divided among the categories of one or more other variables. In this case, the data was cross-tabulated, to make comparisons between the results for the ‘independent variables’: the Māori identity, perceptions of Māori issues and self-efficacy responses, as these were considered important characteristics of identity and self-belief. These could then be compared with other variables relating to entrepreneurial intentions.

The main point of this exercise was to test the hypotheses articulated at the outset of this study: That Māori working in screen production will manifest the following characteristics:-

- Strong levels of Māori cultural identity
- Clear entrepreneurial intent
- Examples of ‘boundaryless’ careers
- High levels of self-efficacy.

Whilst there is clear evidence presented above that these statements may be true, thus proving the hypotheses, we can cross-tabulate the data to identify any relationships that may emerge between and among these variables. Whilst there has been an increase in research on *Te Reo Māori* in recent decades, much of it arising from the ground-breaking studies conducted by Benton (1979) in the 1970s, there is no evidence of research that makes statistical comparisons between Māori identity, *Te Reo*, careers and business.

The following cross-tabulations returned findings that were statistically significant enough to bear closer inspection and analysis. There are not a huge number of them, but they are interesting and provide a useful basis for further and more in-depth research in this field.

Table 4.31: Knowledge of Te Reo & GST Registration

			GST Reg. Current		Total
			N	Y	N
<i>Te Reo</i>	Some <i>reo</i>	Count	6	3	9
		% within <i>Te Reo</i>	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%
	Can speak a little	Count	13	15	28
		% within <i>Te Reo</i>	46.4%	53.6%	100.0%
	Can speak well	Count	3	10	13
		% within <i>Te Reo</i>	23.1%	76.9%	100.0%
Total		Count	22	28	50
		% within <i>Te Reo</i>	44.0%	56.0%	100.0%

Symmetric Measures

	Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal Gamma	.501	.204	2.223	.026
N of Valid Cases	50			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Table 4.31 shows that 76.9% of those who rated their knowledge of *Te Reo* highly were GST registered, whilst only one third of those who had a lesser rating of *Te Reo* knowledge were GST registered. This suggests that those with greater knowledge of *Te Reo* were more likely to be GST registered. This finding suggests a significant link between knowledge of *Te Reo*,

a key aspect of Māori knowledge, and entrepreneurial intent, as manifest by GST registration, which requires the individual to set up business systems to manage their income and expenditure. GST registration is not a requirement of working in the screen industry, and not all screen workers bother to become or remain registered. Thus, GST registration and ‘sole trader’ status are two examples of entrepreneurial endeavour amongst screen workers, because they require a higher level of business administration as sub-contractors than merely working as a freelance employees.

Table 4.32: Knowledge of Te Reo & Sole Trading

			Sole Trader, current		Total
			N	Y	N
<i>Te Reo</i>	Some reo	Count	7	2	9
		% within <i>Te Reo</i>	77.8%	22.2%	100.0%
	Can speak a little	Count	18	10	28
		% within <i>Te Reo</i>	64.3%	35.7%	100.0%
	Can speak well	Count	3	10	13
		% within <i>Te Reo</i>	23.1%	76.9%	100.0%
Total		Count	28	22	50
		% within <i>Te Reo</i>	56.0%	44.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	8.231(a)	2	.016
Likelihood Ratio	8.515	2	.014
N of Valid Cases	50		

a 1 cells (16.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3.96.

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Gamma	.633	.176	3.017	.003
N of Valid Cases		50			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Table 4.32 shows that 76.9% of those who rated their knowledge of *Te Reo* highly were ‘sole traders’, whilst only 22.2% of those who had a lesser rating of *Te Reo* knowledge were ‘sole traders’. This suggests that those with greater knowledge of *Te Reo* were more likely to be ‘sole traders’.

Table 4.33: Knowledge of Tikanga & Employing Staff

			Employ staff, current		Total
			N	Y	N
<i>Tikanga</i>	Know a little	Count	2	0	2
		% within <i>Tikanga</i>	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Know a reasonable amount about	Count	16	2	18
		% within <i>Tikanga</i>	88.9%	11.1%	100.0%
	Know a lot about	Count	20	10	30
		% within <i>Tikanga</i>	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	38	12	50
		% within <i>Tikanga</i>	76.0%	24.0%	100.0%

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Gamma	.643	.242	2.223	.026
N of Valid Cases		50			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Table 4.33 shows that amongst those with a greater knowledge of *Tikanga Māori*, another key aspect of Māori knowledge, there was a higher proportion (33.3%) that employ staff. Those who knew least about *Tikanga* were more likely to not employ others. Though only a very small sample, this finding suggests that greater knowledge of *Tikanga Māori* and ‘employing staff’ are related in some way.

Table 4.34: The Importance of Māori Identity & Employing Staff

			Employ staff, current		Total
			N	Y	N
Māori identity	somewhat unimportant	Count	1	0	1
		% within Māori identity	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
	somewhat important	Count	4	0	4
		% within Māori identity	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
	very important	Count	34	10	44
		% within Māori identity	77.3%	22.7%	100.0%
	no answer	Count	0	2	2
		% within Māori identity	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	39	12	51
		% within Māori identity	76.5%	23.5%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	8.054(a)	3	.045
Likelihood Ratio	8.486	3	.037
N of Valid Cases	51		

a 6 cells (75.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .24.

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Gamma	1.000	.000	2.392	.017
N of Valid Cases		51			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Table 4.34 shows that those for whom their Māori identity is very important are more likely to employ staff. That is, 22% of those for whom their Māori identity was very important were employers, whilst none of those for whom their Māori identity was less important were employers, suggesting that strength of identity is linked to this aspect of entrepreneurialism.

Table 4.35: ‘Māori Productions are important’ & Employing staff

			Employ staff, current		Total
			N	Y	N
Māori productions	somewhat unimportant	Count	4	0	4
		% within Māori productions	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
	somewhat important	Count	8	2	10
		% within Māori productions	80.0%	20.0%	100.0%
	very important	Count	26	8	34
	% within Māori productions	76.5%	23.5%	100.0%	
	no answer	Count	0	2	2
		% within Māori productions	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	38	12	50
		% within Māori productions	76.0%	24.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	7.688(a)	3	.053
Likelihood Ratio	8.000	3	.046
N of Valid Cases	50		

a 5 cells (62.5%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .48.

Table 4.35 shows that those who have a greater belief that telling Māori stories is important are slightly more likely to employ staff. For example, of those for whom telling Māori stories was very important, 23% were employers. Among those for whom telling Māori stories was somewhat important, 20% were employers, and there were no employers among the group for whom telling Māori stories was not important.

Table 4.36: ‘Tino Rangatiratanga is Important’ & Owning a business

			Business: partnership, now		Total
			N	Y	N
Tino rangatiratanga	somewhat unimportant	Count	0	1	1
		% within Tino rangatiratanga	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	somewhat important	Count	12	0	12
		% within Tino rangatiratanga	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
	very important	Count	30	8	38
		% within Tino rangatiratanga	78.9%	21.1%	100.0%
Total		Count	42	9	51
		% within Tino rangatiratanga	82.4%	17.6%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	7.541(a)	2	.023
Likelihood Ratio	8.418	2	.015
N of Valid Cases	51		

a 3 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .18.

Table 4.36 shows that those who believe Māori aspirations for ‘*tino rangatiratanga*’ are very important are more likely to own their own businesses. For example, of those for whom ‘*tino rangatiratanga*’ is very important, 21.2% owned their own business. There was only one respondent for whom ‘*tino rangatiratanga*’ was somewhat unimportant, and he owned his own business.

Table 4.37: Achieving Goals & Employing Staff

			Employ staff, current		Total
			N	Y	N
Achieving goals	Not important	Count	1	0	1
		% within Achieve goals	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
	somewhat unimportant	Count	4	0	4
		% within Achieve goals	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
	somewhat important	Count	23	5	28
		% within Achieve goals	82.1%	17.9%	100.0%
	very important	Count	11	7	18
		% within Achieve goals	61.1%	38.9%	100.0%
Total	Count	39	12	51	
	% within Achieve goals	76.5%	23.5%	100.0%	

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Gamma	.601	.201	2.213	.027
N of Valid Cases		51			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Table 4.37 shows that those for whom achieving goals was most important were most likely to employ staff. That is, 38.9% of those for whom ‘achieving goals’ was very important also employed staff, whilst none of those for whom achieving goals was ‘not important’, or ‘somewhat unimportant’ were employers, and among those for whom ‘achieving goals’ was ‘somewhat important’, 17.9% employed staff.

Table 4.38: ‘Accomplishing Tasks’ & Employing Staff

			Employ staff, current		Total
			N	Y	N
Accomplish tasks	somewhat unimportant	Count	2	0	2
		% within Accomplish tasks	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
	somewhat important	Count	27	5	32
		% within Accomplish tasks	84.4%	15.6%	100.0%
	very important	Count	10	7	17
		% within Accomplish tasks	58.8%	41.2%	100.0%
Total		Count	39	12	51
		% within Accomplish tasks	76.5%	23.5%	100.0%

Symmetric Measures

	Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal Gamma N of Valid Cases	.620 51	.206	2.107	.035

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Table 4.38 shows that those who are more likely to feel they can accomplish the tasks are also more likely to employ staff. Thus, 41.2% of those for whom accomplishing tasks was ‘very important’, whilst there were no employers amongst those for whom accomplishing tasks was ‘somewhat unimportant’, and 15.6% of those for whom accomplishing tasks was ‘somewhat important’ employed staff.

Table 4.39: ‘Succeeding at Endeavours’ & Employing Staff

			Employ staff, current		Total
			N	Y	N
Succeed at endeavours	somewhat unimportant	Count	2	0	2
		% within Succeed at endeavours	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
	somewhat important	Count	19	2	21
		% within Succeed at endeavours	90.5%	9.5%	100.0%
	very important	Count	18	10	28
		% within Succeed at endeavours	64.3%	35.7%	100.0%
Total		Count	39	12	51
		% within Succeed at endeavours	76.5%	23.5%	100.0%

Symmetric Measures

	Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal Gamma	.712	.203	2.597	.009
N of Valid Cases	51			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Table 4.39 shows that those who have a stronger belief in their ability to succeed in their endeavours are more likely to employ staff. Of those for whom their belief in the ability to succeed in their endeavours was ‘very important’, 35.7% employed staff, whilst amongst those for whom it was ‘somewhat unimportant’ there were no employers, and among those for whom the ability to succeed in their endeavours what ‘somewhat important’, 9.5% employed staff. This finding suggests that self-belief in their ability to succeed in endeavours is related to being an employer.

Table 4.40: ‘Performing Effectively’ & Employing Staff

			Employ staff, current		Total
			N	Y	N
Perform effectively	somewhat important	Count	17	2	19
		% within Perform effectively	89.5%	10.5%	100.0%
	very important	Count	21	9	30
		% within Perform effectively	70.0%	30.0%	100.0%
	No answer	Count	0	1	1
		% within Perform effectively	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	38	12	50
		% within Perform effectively	76.0%	24.0%	100.0%

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Gamma	.639	.246	2.135	.033
N of Valid Cases		50			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Table 4.40 shows that those for whom performing effectively is ‘very important’ are more likely to employ staff. Of those for whom it was ‘very important’, 30% employed staff, whilst only 10% of those for whom it was ‘somewhat important’ were employers. None of the respondents rated this variable as ‘somewhat unimportant’ or ‘unimportant’ therefore all respondents considered that ‘performing effectively’ was important to some degree.

SUMMARY

The data from the survey has provided an insight into the range of the background factors that have shaped the careers and entrepreneurial intentions of the participants. Though not necessarily representative of a wider group of Māori in the screen industry, we can make some conclusions about this group of respondents.

They are predominantly women, of mature age, most are in marital-type relationships, and are parents. They come from tribes around the country, but the majority live in Auckland. Roughly half were of mixed-ethnicity. Their parents come from a broad range of work backgrounds, and most parents showed a high level of interest in their families and community affairs. Most of the respondents achieved higher levels of educational qualifications than their parents. Most felt they had an ‘occupation’ in the screen industry, and had spent the majority of their work-life in screen work. The respondents had diverse work experience, the mean number of jobs held in film and television work was ten, suggesting many had ‘boundaryless’ careers, insofar as they had worked across a variety of jobs and organisations. The levels of GST registration, sole trader status and business ownership suggest this is a group that is more entrepreneurial than the national average for Māori. There were high levels of involvement with industry guilds suggesting a propensity for involvement in political associations. The Māori Identity indicators, knowledge of *Te Reo*, *tikanga* and *whakapapa* were high, as were self-efficacy measures, and perceptions about the importance of Māori issues.

The open-ended responses showed a high level of commitment to, and passion for working in screen production, despite the plethora of negative effects identified in the open-ended comments. Many had entered the industry through networks, happy accidents, and ‘being in the right place at the right time’. Only one of the respondents had left the industry, disillusioned with the negative factors. The majority were optimistic about the contribution they, and the telling of Māori stories with integrity, was making to the Māori world.

Some fascinating correlations between variables emerged as a consequence of the cross-tabulations. In particular, those with stronger levels of Māori identity, as measured by self-rated knowledge of *Te Reo*, *Tikanga* and *Whakapapa*; stronger identification with Māori social and political issues; and higher indicators of self-efficacy; were more likely to manifest

expressions of entrepreneurial in terms their entrepreneurial intent. This factor, entrepreneurial, was measured by company ownership, being registered for GST, operating as a sole trader, and employing staff. These cross-tabulations suggest a relationship between Māori knowledge and identity, cultural competency, on the one hand, and entrepreneurial intent on the other, which has not been identified in previous research.

Thus, we may now return to the hypotheses that were to be tested, after analysis of the Survey results.

- Strong levels of Māori cultural identity were identified, through the self-rated measures of knowledge of *Te Reo*, *Tikanga* and *Whakapapa*;
- Clear entrepreneurial intent was manifest in the levels of GST registration, sole trading, business ownership and employment of staff;
- There were numerous examples of ‘boundaryless’ careers, based on multiple jobs held in both film and television industries, and examples of careers that involved a wide range of work within and outside the screen industry;
- High levels of self-efficacy were evident in responses to the questions derived from the General Self-Efficacy Scale.

We can then conclude that the hypotheses to be tested by the Survey were proven. Māori knowledge and identity are woven into the fabric of respondent’s perceptions of Māori issues, and the development of their careers and entrepreneurship. Māori identity also appears to be correlated with self-efficacy and entrepreneurial intentions. These findings are novel and tentative, but deserve to be further investigated with a larger sample. We can now explore how the data from the survey may complement or contradict the findings from the interviews, which have been analysed and incorporated into Case Studies, as well as being presented in the attached documentary.

THE DOCUMENTARY

As this research incorporated a documentary, it is valuable to explore the documentary literature to locate the documentary and research within its scholarly, cultural and creative contexts.

According to Ellis & McLane, “It was Grierson who arrived at the concept of the documentary film as we think of it today: not to tell a story with actors but to deal with aspects of the real world that had some drama and perhaps importance- that we might do something about a particular situation or at least should be aware of it. How he chose to define this kind of film was ‘the creative treatment of actuality’, (2005, p. ix). They go on to discuss documentary as, “one of three basic creative modes in film, the other two being narrative fiction and experimental avant-garde”, and distinguish documentary from other types of films in terms of (1) subjects; (2) purposes, viewpoints and approaches; (3) forms; (4) production methods and techniques; and (5) the sorts of experiences they offer audiences, (2005, p. 1).

Nichols is an American historian, who has been writing on documentary film theory since 1980. He articulated the four major documentary styles (Nichols, 1983), which have formed the basis of most documentary film theory literature since:

1. The direct-address Griersonian style, often referred to as the ‘voice of god’, which Nichols describes as didactic, employing an authoritative off-screen narrator. This mode became less popular after WWII, except for television news, game and talk shows, television commercials and documentary specials.
2. *Cinéma vérité*, a style which emphasized the ‘reality effect’ through directness, immediacy, and the unfolding of events in everyday lives.
3. In the 1970s a direct-address style emerged, in which the character or narrator speaks directly to the camera and the audience, often in an interview. Nichols refers to, “a host of political and feminist films [in which] witness-participants step before the camera to tell their story”, (1983, p. 17).
4. Nichols refers to the then newly emerging phase of, “films moving toward more complex forms where epistemological and aesthetic assumptions become more visible. The new self-reflexive documentaries mix observational passages with

interviews, the voice-over of the film-maker with inter-titles, making patently clear what has been implicit all along: documentaries were always forms of re-presentation, never clear windows into ‘reality’: the film-maker was always a participant-witness and an active fabricator of meaning, a producer of cinematic discourse rather than a neutral or all-knowing report of the way things truly are”, (1983, p. 18)

Nichols concludes his 1983 paper with the comment that, “Changes in documentary strategy bear a complex relation to history. Self-reflexive strategies seem to have a particularly complex historical relation to documentary form since they are far less peculiar to it than the voice-of-god and *cinema vérité* of interview-based strategies... It is very heartening to see that the realm of the possible for documentary film has now expanded to include strategies of reflexivity that may eventually serve political as well as scientific ends”, (p. 29).

Nichols (2001) later expanded on his thinking and definitions of ‘documentary modes’, as follows:

Poetic Mode: transforming historical material into abstract or lyrical forms

Expository Mode: the direct-address, social issues assemblage, including some ‘voice-of-god’ narration

Observational Mode: observation of reality in an unobtrusive manner, made possible by technological developments in the 1960s, e.g. smaller more portable cameras and equipment

Participatory Mode: encounters between film-makers and their subjects are recorded and form the basis of the documentary

Reflexive Mode: in which the film-maker engages issues of realism and representation, and acknowledges the presence of the audience

Performative Mode: in which ideas are presented as part of the context, it can sometimes be used for autobiographical documentary.

Writing in 2010, Nichols extends the documentary genre, when he discusses the work of Morgan Spurlock (*Supersize me*, 2004); Zana Briski (*Born into brothels*, 2004); and Michael Moore (*Roger and me*, 1989; *Fahrenheit 9/11*, 2004; *Sicko*, 2007). He states that their films,

“remind us that these film-makers maintain their distance from the authoritative tone of corporate media in order to speak to power rather than embrace it”, (p.5). Furthermore, ‘Seeking to find a voice in which to speak about subjects that attract them, film-makers, like all great orators, must speak from the heart and ways that both fit the occasion and issue from it’, (2010, p. 6).

On this point, Chapman stated that, “The starting point of the documentary maker is usually to examine an aspect of perceived reality within a selected real life location. The main unifying factor for all filmmakers who use the medium in the very many ways that are possible is the belief that making a documentary is a worthwhile thing to do. Usually documentary makers are committed not just to the genre, but also to certain subject matter”, (2007, p. 1).

Thus, when embarking on a documentary-making venture, if the film-maker chooses to adopt a self-reflexive strategy, they must not only take account of their (1) subjects; (2) purposes, viewpoints and approaches; (3) forms; (4) production methods and techniques; and (5) the sorts of experiences they offer audiences, but also articulate the epistemological and aesthetic assumptions, and, where relevant, their political position of the documentary-maker.

To that end, this documentary has taken account of these issues in the following manner:

Subjects

Ten producers agreed to be interviewed between September 2010 and February 2011. The interviews generally comprised a single visit to a place of their choice, usually their office or home, though in one case the interview was conducted at AUT Marae. Seven of the interviewees consented to being filmed at the first meeting, for use in the documentary. Three preferred audio-interviews, as they did not wish to be filmed while discussing their life-histories. However, after the initial interviews, two agreed to a follow-up interview on camera. Only one interview is audio-taped, as the interviewee does not enjoy being filmed. However, his interview is included in the documentary, complemented with photographs and video clips of his work, which illustrate the points he made in the interview.

Purpose, Viewpoint, Approach

Whilst the primary purpose of the research was the satisfaction of the requirements for a PhD, however, the documentary was intended as a creative endeavour, which could be viewed separately from the written work, drawing on a Māori-centric narrative style, because of the researcher's commitment to the *Kaupapa Māori* paradigm. Thus, the purpose of the documentary is to share the producer's stories, from their perspectives, with minimal input from the documentary-maker except during the introduction and conclusion.

Form

The documentary took a self-reflexive approach, incorporating a direct-address style, to enable the film-makers to voice their own stories. This can be described as a combination of a reflexive-participatory mode of documentary-making. Therefore, the ongoing discussions between the film-maker and subjects, to clarify and confirm their agreement on content and analysis, were a critical part of the documentary-making process. The final form of the documentary reinforced the notion that the film-maker was both a participant-witness to the subject's stories, and an active fabricator of meaning.

Production Method

All producers who agreed to be filmed were told in advance who the camera operator would be. He was known to all of them, and they were comfortable having him present during the interview, because they knew of his skills as a camera operator.

Each interview took between one and two hours, as the initial part of the interview comprised informal discussions, ensuring the comfort of the interviews, sharing food, catching up with each other, and preparing for the filming. The questions were used as an indicative guide only. In all but one case, the first question alone, '*Nō hea koe?* Tell me about your background?' stimulated extensive discussion covering a large part of the interviewees' life-histories.

There were a number of points in each interview, where the personal relationship between the researcher and the researched, ensured a rapport that enabled the interviewees to discuss personal, family and business issues with comfort. In two cases, matters were raised which might cause dismay or embarrassment to others if they were made public, so the researcher, when sending the video of the footage and transcripts, asked whether those points should be

removed, as they were not directly related to the scope of the interview. In both cases, after discussing the material, it was mutually decided that the information was not specifically relevant to this study, or the careers and businesses of the interviewees. The Map Points and Insider-Researcher Challenges, identified earlier, were useful in ensuring continual reflection on, and awareness of the interview process and content. Only occasionally were interviewees prompted to think about issues that had not previously been addressed, by asking specific questions. As each of the participants is articulate, intelligent and thoughtful, these discussions and musings were often circuitous, but highly informative.

In the 'rough cut' phase, a Creative Consultant with extensive film-making experience was recruited to watch the full interviews and 'first cut', which reduced the interviews to between fifteen and twenty minutes. The Creative Consultant provided impartial technical and editing advice about the content, based on the previously identified 'key themes' which interviewees discussed, and also the 'look' of the shots and choice of cuts. This facilitated the process of reducing interviews to 4-5 minutes, but still retaining all the key themes that participants touched upon. However, some jumps between topics or repetition, as happens in informal conversation, were not able to be transformed into smooth transitions in the editing process, and remain 'rough cuts' in the documentary. However, any form of research, based on taking words, phrases and comments from interviews, and weaving them into a research narrative, involves a form of 'rough cuts' of the words and ideas shared by the interviewee.

Documentary-making illustrates that process more overtly, but it is in essence the process of research, taking the words of others and making them fit into the analytical frameworks devised by the researcher.

The final edits were done using Final Cut Pro, the editors worked closely with the researcher on the selection of images and footage that would complement the interviews. This footage was, in the main provided by the interviewees for inclusion in their interviews. However, given that they were all very busy, some interviews contain more images and footage than others, as the researcher did not want to burden them with continual requests for additional material. The penultimate edit of the interviews, and rough cut of the documentary was made available for each interviewee to view and make final comments and amendments, e.g. in one case the name of a tribe had been misspelled. In three cases the interviewees notified the researcher they were happy with the previous material they had seen, and trusted the researcher enough to give their final consent to the interviews and the documentary.

The critical point under-pinning the production method was the relationship between interviewer and interviewee, based on ongoing communication and trust, checking and re-checking of content, gaining approvals, accessing images and footage, to ensure the narratives of the subjects were accurate reflections of their stories and the key themes they identified.

Audience

The primary audience for the documentary is Māori, as it is a *Kaupapa Māori* production, made by, with and for Māori. It is assumed that Māori audiences will share the knowledge and understanding of *tikanga Māori*, *Te Reo Māori*, *Māoritanga*, which has been borne out in screenings for those who were interviewed.

However, it is also creative work that will be judged and evaluated by the academic community. As an academic work, it should be viewed by those unfamiliar with Māori language and culture, after having read this report which accompanies the documentary. It will also be viewed by Māori Media students within Te Ara Poutama, and it is hoped that it will inform them about the history of Māori screen production in a manner that validates their language and culture.

Furthermore, it will be made available for screening by relevant industry organisations, e.g. at an Annual Hui of *Ngā Aho Whakaari*, and a New Zealand documentary forum such as the annual Expanding Documentary conference, which incorporates creative and academic communities of interest. There is also the possibility that, after completion of the PhD, it can be re-edited to better fit broadcaster requirements and made available for screening by Māori Television.

Thus, it is envisaged that a wide range of individuals and communities may view the documentary. It has been produced in such a way that its *Kaupapa*, the promotion of Māori language, culture, identity and narratives, is self-evident. This *Kaupapa* includes sharing the experiences of this group of Māori film-makers, who are an intrinsic part of the evolving genealogy of Māori screen production. Their journeys and narratives hold invaluable insights into the issues they have confronted, the strategies they have developed, and the work they have created, which may inform and inspire future generations of Māori in screen production.

Epistemology (Ontology and Methodology)

The epistemology, ontology and methodology of the documentary is intrinsic to the *Kaupapa Māori* paradigm. Māori language and knowledge (*Māoritanga*) are used throughout the documentary, often without translation, because it is produced for, with and by Māori. The format is based on *tikanga Māori*, in that it follows the pattern of the *Mihi*, the ritual of formal welcome onto the *Marae*. In this case both a welcome to *Ngā Wai o Horotiu*, the *Marae* at Auckland University of Technology, and the metaphoric meeting place of the filmmaker and the audience. Also, in all mentions of those who are interviewed or contribute to the documentary, their tribal affiliations are noted, as they are an intrinsic aspect of Māori identity. This epistemology is articulated in each element of the documentary, which is described as follows.

Kārangā

The *Mihi* is the welcome ritual which usually takes place on the *Marae*; it is also referred to as a *Pōwhiri*, and begins with the *Karanga*, which is traditionally the woman's voice in the welcome ritual. In this case, the woman's call of welcome was specially written for the documentary by Erana Foster, one of the *Kaiako* in the *Te Reo Māori* teaching team in Te Ara Poutama. It comprises two stanzas, the first stanza overlays the opening titles, and is a general statement of welcome. The second stanza specifically both welcomes viewers to our *Marae* and acknowledges those in the Māori screen industry. The footage accompanying this stanza was shot during the *Powhiri* held in December 2010, for the International Symposium on Māori and Indigenous Screen Production.

Karakia

Once *manuhiri* (visitors) have been welcomed in to the *Whare Hui* (meeting house), they share communion, through prayer. In this case, the *Karakia Maumahara*, a prayer of remembrance, is recited by Valance Smith, another of the *Kaiako* in the *Te Reo Māori* teaching team in Te Ara Poutama. The images that accompany the *Karakia* are those who have been the most influential for the researcher, in her screen production endeavours. They are prominent among those pioneers of Māori screen production who have in recent years passed on: Don Selwyn (*Ngāti Kuri, Te Aupouri*), Barry Barclay (*Ngāti Apa*) and Merata Mita (*Ngāti Pūkiao, Ngai Te Rangi*).

Te Taumata

The *Taumata*, in some tribal regions it is referred to as the *Paepae*, is the panel of orators. They are usually elders, male and experts in *whaikōrero*, formal speech-making, the repository of knowledge and tradition, passed on through oratory. In this case, the *Taumata* comprises the ten interviewees, who share their insightful and compelling stories, which shed light on the backgrounds, influences, and motivations that underpin their career pathways and entrepreneurial intentions. These interviews comprise the bulk of the documentary.

The participants were extremely generous, providing stills and footage from their lives and work, which were used to intersperse their interviews, adding personal and intimate dimensions to the interview footage. In some cases, images were sourced externally, as in the case of Keri Kaa, a doyen of the Māori art world in Wellington, who was mentioned by Whetu Fala, or in the case of footage that was shot for the documentary, for example images of Māori Television and the footage of the researcher in the Marae, which was shot by Mark Teirney and John Ramsey after completion of the analysis, as those ‘pieces to camera’ link the different segments of the documentary, and the theory construction, which is portrayed in image, rather than detailed text.

Te Kaupapa

The *Kaupapa* is the agenda, *raison d’être*, purpose of the gathering. Therefore, at the conclusion of the narratives, the researcher reiterates the key themes. These themes are illustrated with photos taken at the International Symposium of Māori & Indigenous Screen Production. Then, the theory of Māori entrepreneurship in screen production is articulated in graphic form.

Waiata

The *Waiata*, which usually occurs after each speaker, is in this case an original *kōauau* composition by Riki Bennett, of *Ngāti Pīkiao*, *Te Arawa*, *Ngāti Porou*. These haunting snippets of melody are played during the *kāranga*, *karakia*, between each speaker, and during the closing credits because this music encapsulates the *wairua* of the documentary, the subject matter and the participants.

At the conclusion of the documentary, the *waiata*, *Purea Nei*, was performed during the *poroporoaki* (farewell) at the International Symposium on Māori and Indigenous Screen

Production, so this was included as the farewell song for this documentary. Especially as, in the closing frames of the *waiata*, a greeting was issued by Whetu Fala, one of the subjects of this study.

Poroporoaki

The *Poroporoaki* is the farewell speech, or eulogy. In this case, the *poroporoaki* is an excerpt from an interview with Merata Mita that the researcher filmed for a documentary she produced in 1990 on Māori film-makers, entitled '*Nā Te Whatu Māori*'. In her *kōrero* Merata also encapsulates the key elements, and challenges of being a Māori film-maker, the interview concludes with a short clip from her 1979 film, '*Bastion Point Day 507*', about the struggle for Māori sovereignty, and the recognition of Māori grievances, which are the images that fade to black, and the credits.

Thus, the documentary attempts to not only reflect on the narratives of the subjects, and the central thesis of the researcher, but also to reflect those narratives and the theory in a *Kaupapa Māori* mode.

Political Stance

The political stance of the researcher, as articulated in research conducted and published over the last fifteen years, has been unabashedly *Kaupapa Māori*. That is, research for, with and by Māori; research that validates Māori language and culture; and which delivers meaningful and empowering outcomes for Māori. This commitment to *Kaupapa Māori* has also been expressed in the models of Māori business and entrepreneurship that the researcher has developed in recent studies. The *Kaupapa Māori* agenda has evolved out of education and research into business and creative studies, but retains its roots in the *tinu rangatiratanga* movement, with its concomitant aspirations for Māori self-determination, under-pinned by *Māoritanga*. It is presumed that this documentary and theory will deliver on those aspirations.

THE CASE STUDIES

The challenge for the researcher has been to distil the wide body of information given by participants into an abridged form in both written and pictorial form. This was the stage based on developing intellectual rigour, as Mintzberg (2005) suggested, suspending disbeliefs, and allowing the mind to roam freely and creatively, to muse like mad, albeit immersed in this interesting and revealing context. This process involved listening and responding, probing and sharing during the interviews, as well as taking notes, then listening again to the tapes and transcribing them, then watching the footage numerous times. Each exposure to the stories helped to further synthesise the key themes that emerged, which were then coded, sifted and re-analysed in terms of the main topics under investigation.

The following case studies draw on the transcripts from the interviews, including the documentary scripts, and are supplemented by information about the participants from published sources, including their own web-sites and publicity material. The aim of this strategy is to incorporate the interviewee 'stories' of their own careers, with their 'meta-stories', about the reflections on what shaped them. The case studies conclude with a distillation of the key elements from their meta-story.

RHONDA KITE (TE AUPOURI): OWNER OF KIWA MEDIA, KIWA FILMS, VOICEQ, SINGQ, AND QBOOKS

TRANSCRIPT

Born 1953, to a family of ultimately nine, dad, a merchant seaman, mum, freezing worker, factory worker, whatever she had to do, brought up in Otara, most of our lives. One of the things that my parents insisted on was that when we left school, ah, we were not allowed to work in the freezing works. I got a job as an office junior, and I found that, I actually had a photographic memory for numbers.

I went for a interview, for a job as a creditors clerk, I think what was going for me was that the accountant who interviewed me, he'd just come off his OE so all we talked about was, was Europe and England, and my boss, the woman who was to be my boss, didn't want any smart upstart, and I didn't even know what a reconciliation was then, so I got the job, within twelve months, I had her job. So I found my niche.

I was being groomed to be the general manager, and, scrub, we were gone, so I was made redundant. About that time I was coming up to my 40th birthday, I realised then that in order for me to discover what it was I really wanted to do then, I needed to take control of my own career.

I was approached by a person, and he had a recording studio, so he asked me, would I be interested in managing that for a couple of years, while he went away, I told him that I wasn't interested in managing it, but I was interested in maybe looking at becoming his business partner. I realised that, to be a producer, a producer of programming took all the skills that I had.

I just happened to be at the launch of TV3's Inside NZ initiative, I'm standing there having a drink with Vincent Burke, and I started saying, "why doesn't someone make a documentary about the success stories that came out of Otara? And he says, "Yeah, you're right, someone should". Two days later he rings me and he says, "Well, are you going to make it or not?", and I went what? Now, with that documentary, I won, um, a television award, TV Guide award.

A lot of the changes that I've made in my business have been through necessity, so I'm a necessity entrepreneur really. I start looking at post-production for film and television, I start making documentaries, but that's not enough, because we're working in a contestable funded environment, so I need to create some other form of activity. The first Māori television channel is starting up, and I think back to watching Fred Flintstone speaking Arabic on

television, we should be able to do this in Māori, why can't we? And, guess what, what do you need? Well, I need a recording studio, oh, I just happen to have one. But I had to, to convince them that children out there in the world, our Māori children out there in the world, did want to watch cartoons, and did want to watch them in their own language. I had to find a more cost effective way of the process of dubbing, um, from one language into another. Anything's possible, and that's my mantra, if anything, is that, from a technology perspective, no-one can tell me that it can't be done, it's just not being done right now, that's how I made the segue in to what we are doing now, multi-media, on-line, interactive, touch applications. When we lost our mum, I had 8 other siblings who turned to me and said, OK Rhon, what do we do now? It's a tricky one, this one, bringing family into business, because, there's got to be a certain skill set, one thing that you want is someone watching your back, and no one is going to watch your back other than your family. There's always the one person who is going to take the risk, and because the priority is generational wealth, it's not about them anymore, and it's not even about me, really, there's only room for one dictator in this business and that's me.

I went to a record company in Manhattan, and they go, "we love New Zealanders", and I say 'oh, do you, that's nice', you know, and then ah, they go, yeah, yeah, yeah, our biggest shareholder is Doug Myer. It pisses me off a bit, because those companies here, that really just need a leg up, and you're not asking for funding, you are asking for investment, like you have backed yourself.

You want to commercialise your product overseas, you've got to have been out into the marketplace, and maybe even turning over a few mill' before you can even get their assistance, well, in that time, they shouldn't be getting the assistance, you know? So what do we do, we either sell our IP overseas, or we move overseas, or we fold.

I'm a quick learner, you know, I, I, I do this. We grew up learning how to walk on, on either side of the fence, Pākehā side or the Māori side, but no-one knew, nor was able to teach us how to walk down the middle, too white to be brown, and too brown to be white, it, it wasn't the most comfortable place to grow up, being Māori, so, for myself, I've had to find my own place within it, and I don't know that I have found it yet, I've found it within myself, but I don't know that I've found it in the Māori world per se.

Additional Notes

Rhonda was the fifth of nine children, born to a Māori mother and Pākehā father, who were determined that their children would not work in factories as they had. Despite leaving school

at fifteen, she found that she was good at numbers and enjoyed organising. After working for a few years, she travelled to Europe before settling down and starting her own family. Her mother died, when she was in her twenties, and her siblings looked to her as the leader in the family.

Rhonda was made redundant at forty, after being groomed for a General Manager position, but found a new opportunity for her business skills, as a partner in a recording studio, which took her in a completely new, creative direction. Within six years of buying shares in Eden Terrace Audio, she had bought out the company, and moved into television production, winning a prestigious award with her first documentary, a metaphor about her own life, those people born and raised in *Otara*, who defied the odds and have gone on to success. In that same year, Rhonda won the top three awards in the Māori Women's Business Awards, an unprecedented achievement.

Over the twelve years since that first documentary, Rhonda has gone on to produce children's television (re-versioning cartoons in *Te Reo Māori*), light entertainment (*Aunty Moves In*, *Tirohia*), a feature documentary (*Squeegee Bandit*), drama (the first series of *Matakū*) and social issues programs (*Kete Aronui*, *Kaitiakitanga*), primarily for Māori Television. At the same time, she has diversified, and created new businesses, primarily because of her drive to make programmes in *Te Reo Māori* for her own grandchildren, and then to develop economies for their production. This was how VoiceQ, the ADR software, was born, which then evolved into SingQ, 'karaoke' software for mobile devices, and finally QBooks, interactive, talking books that can be read in a choice of different languages. Rhonda voiced concerns that funding and commissioning of Māori programmes, whether on Māori Television or mainstream, seems to be ad hoc, without clear strategies that can help Māori producers to plan for the future. Rhonda has sat on the Executive of *Ngā Aho Whakaari*, New Zealand on Air and WIFT.

Rhonda's companies have produced millions of dollars, and hundreds of hours of productions, much of them in *Te Reo Māori*, all with a strong Māori focus. Despite being 'half-caste', and still exploring her identity as a Māori, having minimal relationships with her tribal homeland, she has a strong, purposive sense of identity and direction.

Rhonda is an entrepreneurial and innovative woman, who found her way to screen production after a career in business and management. Her companies are an expression of her creative

and entrepreneurial intent; her desire to contribute to inter-generational wealth for her family; informing, entertaining and empowering Māori; promoting the Māori language; and telling stories about the Māori world, from a uniquely Māori perspective.

Key Themes

- Why doesn't someone make a documentary about the success stories that came out of Otara?
- A lot of the changes that I've made in my business have been through necessity, so I'm a necessity entrepreneur really,
- Our Māori children out there in the world, did want to watch cartoons, and did want to watch them in their own language,
- Anything's possible, and that's my mantra,
- When we lost our mum, I had 8 other siblings who turned to me and said, 'OK Rhon, what do we do now?'
- We grew up learning how to walk on, on either side of the fence, Pākehā side or the Māori side, but no-one knew, nor was able to teach us how to walk down the middle, too white to be brown, and too brown to be white,
- I've had to find my own place within it, I've found it within myself, but I don't know that I've found it in the Māori world *per se*.

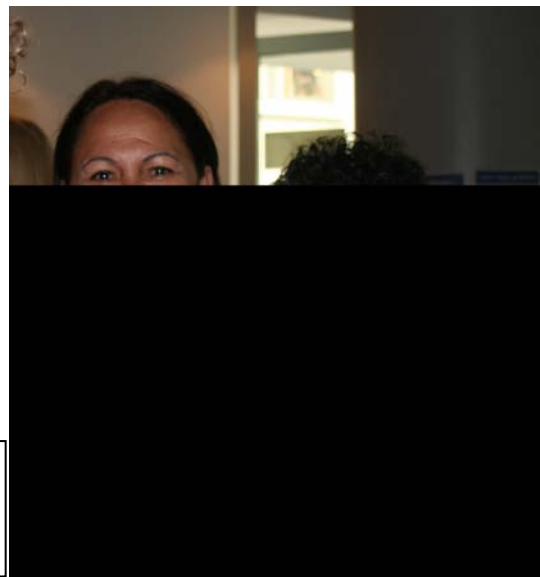


Photo: Rhonda Kite, Ella Henry at the
Ngā Aho Whakaari Annual Hui, AUT,

Photo by Linda Tuafale Tanoa'i for *Ngā Aho Whakaari*

For further information, Kiwa Media website: <http://www.kiwamedia.com/>

CLAUDETTE HAUITI (NGĀTI POROU, NGĀTI HINE, NGĀPUHI), FRONT OF THE BOX PRODUCTIONS, GOGGLE BOX IPTV

TRANSCRIPT

I'm a second generation urban born Māori baby, we were babies of those that generation that came to the city for better jobs, for a better lifestyle, and back in those days our whenua wasn't offered to our parents to take home with them unless they argued for them and took them, our whenua was flushed down the plug hole and seeped out into the whenua that is now the North Western Motorway.

My father is from Ngāti Porou, Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti, my mother is also Ngāti Kuta, Ngāti Hine, Ngā Puhi. Having parents who deliberately came to town so that we could have a better life than they did there was an expectation at home that we must succeed, no expectation at school, huge expectation at home.

At Teacher's College we were encouraged to take up some university papers so we went to Auckland University and found a whole new world, and we fully embraced it to the point of you know um protesting, joining movements you know sit-ins it was just amazing, there were things outside of nursing and teaching that Māori girls could do.

So I was still playing sports and you know pursuing that area but it dawned on me one day when some really good friends of mine came back from playing softball in Italy and they had no jobs, jeez shit I better use my, put my brain into gear and get money off using my brain. So I looked around and thought well maybe I could go you know go into sports reporting because there weren't any women at that time. I phoned the Herald, I phoned the Editor, the Sports Editor. He said yes you can be the netball reporter.

Wanted to finish my degree, I looked and saw around New Zealand, found one in Australia and lo' and behold, the course was being run by a Kiwi guy and so I phoned him, and he said yes, and you are Māori, as well too which is a huge point of difference please apply. I applied, got in, went and it was just an eye opener. We were taught to look at the political ramifications when covering sports games that it wasn't just about who won and who lost

The Sunday News got wind of this woman who is a sports reporter they asked me to work part-time for them as a Rugby League reporter. So I did that and then Aotearoa Radio came along and they were looking for a sports' editor. Then TV3 opened up and they were looking for some people in the sports department so I went there. Then I went to One World of Sport and worked there and then an opening came up in the Māori programmes department, there were more pressing issues for Māori than just sport, so moved me into news and current

affairs, saw documentary making as one of those areas but unfortunately for me I wasn't able to do that and work at the Māori programmes department. So I started up a company

My whole career pathway is in more issues based. If you want as many people as possible you have to show it offshore, the only way you show it offshore is via the internet.

Being Māori, being a woman, being gay, as well too, takatāpuhi, have all impacted on my perspective of life, but the major, major contributing influence has to be the fact that I'm a Māori.

There are lots of people that have come into my life that have shaped my perspective, in terms of mahi, I can honestly say no one. I think there are various reasons for that. One is that, um I have been slightly ahead of everybody else. In terms of being a current affairs director, there was nobody else. There were other men but there were certainly no other women.

How I have shaped Front of the Box Productions as a business model, I work on the business while they work in the business. Front of the Box Productions has been around for ten years now. We wouldn't have, we wouldn't have survived if we hadn't have manipulated the disadvantages to advantage us.

Additional Notes

Claudette is unashamedly 'urban Māori' despite being born into a family with strong ties to their tribal roots. Claudette began her academic life as a student at Auckland University in an era where Māori activism was at the fore. University life politicised her, and showed her there were new and better opportunities for Māori women. At the same time, her passion for sport, and realisation that it might not deliver many long-term work opportunities, culminated in her travelling to Australia to complete a degree in Sports Journalism, the first Māori woman to do so.

Claudette's career is littered with 'firsts', as a Māori woman coach, sports journalist, as an openly lesbian journalist, first in sports in print, radio and television, then in Māori programming at Television New Zealand, and finally in her own business 'Front of the Box', and latter her IPTV (internet protocol television channel) 'Goggle Box'. FOTB has made programmes that challenge stereotypes about Māori (*Tarnz Story, Mob Daughters, Children of the Revolution*), provide insights into the gay-lesbian world (*Takatāpui, Wero*), and vehicles for Māori political viewpoints (*Eye to Eye with Willie Jackson*). Throughout her career, Claudette has known she was a fore-runner, and embraced each challenge, confident in her abilities and direction. Claudette talks about working 'on' her business, rather than 'in'

it, preferring to recruit creative talent to make shows, while she builds the business. Claudette has been equally committed to political commentary and social justice issues for Māori. In recent years, Claudette has become increasingly sceptical about Māori Television funding and commissioning, and the lack of certainty that creates for Māori production houses. Claudette has sat on the Executive of *Ngā Aho Whakaari*. Her career, creative endeavours and business are a testimony to her self-belief and strong political views. That political persuasion has led Claudette to a change of direction in 2011, as she is standing as a candidate in the National Elections in November.

Key Themes

- We were babies of those that generation that came to the city for better jobs, for a better lifestyle,
- There was an expectation at home that we must succeed, no expectation at school, huge expectation at home,
- There were things outside of nursing and teaching that Māori girls could do,
- My whole career pathway is in more issues based,
- Being Māori, being a woman, being gay, *takatāpuhi*, have all impacted on my perspective of life,
- How I have shaped Front of the Box Productions as a business model, I work on the business while they work in the business,
- We wouldn't have survived if we hadn't have manipulated the disadvantages to advantage us.



Claudette Hauiti with Sir Paul Reeves, Chancellor of AUT, at the *Ngā Aho Whakaari Annual Hui*, AUT, 2008.

Photo by Linda Tuafale Tanoa'i for *Ngā Aho Whakaari*

For further information, see: <http://www.frontofthebox.co.nz/>

**BRADFORD HAAMI (NGĀTI AWA, TŪWHARETOA, KAHUNGUNU, KAI TAHU),
4 WINDS PRODUCTIONS, TAUIHU MEDIA**

TRANSCRIPT

I was born in Rotorua, but mostly brought up in Whakatāne. I did journalism, so my entry into the media world was through a Māori journalism course that we did in Rotorua. Most of us that did that course ending up by working at TVNZ, under Ernie Leonard in 1986-ish. So I worked in there for about eight years. And then I finished there and spent two years writing the biography of my grand-father's life before the old people died. And at the same time I was interested in drama, and Carey Carter and I, we always used to talk about ghost stories, and then Matakū got some money, so that was how I got into drama really.

If there was a hero in my life, it would be my grandfather, and he was big and bold, and he was a little bit famous too which was cool. We used to have rooms in our house that were considered tapu, because they were where all his books were. A lot of his materials over the years, actually helped me, helped create stories.

My mum tells me the story, when I was born and I was two or three-months prem' and I came back from hospital, and my grandfather, he kind of chose me, as the one that would take on his mantle. Because he was one of those guys that never slept, did his work in the day, then he would spend the rest of the night writing everyone's stories down that came in, these are old people who as teenagers were running with Te Kooti. He'd put in a chair next to him, next to the fire, because I could only sleep kind of in a chair standing up, and then he would chant everything into me. I'd go somewhere, and I'd hear these old guys talking, and I'm going, I know that story, I know what's going to actually happen next! And then I'd find those stories in his manuscript books.

The whole thing of storytelling and genealogy was actually instilled in me as a baby. I just have a photographic memory like him, he's got a photographic memory, and I'm the only grandchild that holds that stuff, so I'm a little bit worried now, because I could pop off tomorrow, and where's all this stuff going to go, so I've got to find someone in the family that can hold it,

I didn't actually want to do journalism, it's just that my uncle and a few others had created this Māori journalism course because they needed it, and I hated it. I hated journalism because I had to get over my shyness, but I look back now and go' man', actually that was the best thing I could have done, because you can't tell stories unless you can talk to people.

Maanu [Paul], who was like a second dad to us, he also influenced me, I watch him, he's quite an entrepreneurial guy, he instilled a lot of stuff in me about working hard, and about being very Māori, but going across the divide. I just watched those guys be quite forceful, and a little bit demanding, but they always had a good reason. And, then I realized that a lot of the old people were like that, they had loud voices, they were authoritative, and they knew what they were talking about, and I realized, if I'm going to make it in this world, I've actually got to be like that, so that point on I said I would always have my say at the table. You have no power over your stories unless you own them. We created 4 Winds Films because we felt that all our stories were actually being made under Pākehā thinking. It didn't quite work out like that, because we, we couldn't get loads and loads of work in to really sustain everyone.

The thing I see now is, your home life and the way you are at home, even the way you were brought up, it really does affect the way you relate to people, so if you are gonna have a company that has a number of other people involved, you gotta make sure you know those people well, because I don't care what anyone says, their moral view of life and their family life really does affect how the structure of a company works.

Essentially, I would say I am more of a story person than a company person, stories that have a message that transform life. I am a church fulla, and I kind of think like that. If you haven't got that passion in you, to drive something, to make it happen, you'll fall down every time. I heard a really good statement yesterday was, the other day, that you hire and work with the best people in the land, and then, and then you will live in the land of the giants.

Additional Notes

Brad was born in a community surrounded by his tribal links and heritage, and raised for the first few years of his life by his grand-father, Dr. Golan Maaka, a well respected doctor in the isolated communities of *Ngāti Awa* and *Ngai Tūhoe*. His grandfather infused him with knowledge of *Te Reo* and *Tikanga*, the power of the written word, and the importance of ancient Māori stories. Brad was a sickly and shy child, but was convinced by his uncle Maanu Paul, a prominent *Ngāti Awa* elder, to enrol of the Māori Journalism course he (Maanu) had helped create at Waiariki Polytechnic in Rotorua in 1986.

The journalism course changed Brad's life, introducing him to a cohort of other young Māori wanting to work in the media, and forcing him to be more outgoing. A number of those graduates were employed at TVNZ, in the newly created Māori Department, where Brad

worked with some of the early, staunch advocates for Māori story-telling and Māori language. Brad has published three books, a biography of his grand-father (*Golan Maaka*), a history of the Māori written word (*Pūtea Whakairo*), and a biography of an ex-gang member whom he met through his Church (*True Red*), and was selected as the Michael King Māori Writer in residence in 2010. In 2007, Brad researched and co-wrote '*Urutahi Koataata Māori: Working with Māori in Film and Television*' for *Ngā Aho Whakaari*.

Brad's had a partnership with Pio Terei, Ngamaru Reirino and Carey Carter, with whom he formed 4 Winds Productions, which went on to produce the '*Matakū*' television series, described as the Māori 'Twilight Zone', the first of which was produced by Kiwa Films. They went on to make three series between 2001 and 2005; winning international (2002 NAFAATA Film Festival USA, 2004 New York Festivals Television Programming Award) and national recognition (2003 NZTV Awards; 2005 Qantas TV Award). Brad continues to write and develop feature film and drama projects in a variety of business partnerships.

Brad's most recent business venture is Tauihu Media, with Tui Ruwhiu, a 'creative, multimedia business that is driven by the power of the story'. In 2010-2011 they are executive producing two Premier Shorts for the New Zealand Film Commission's Short Film Fund. Brad remains a quiet, introspective man, primarily a writer, rather than a business-oriented producer. For him business is a means to an end, rather than a passion, but he enjoys the opportunity to work in a variety of different business collaborations. He continues to work with Ngamaru Reirino as a Māori consultant on television programmes (e.g. *Shortland Street*), dramas (*The Man Who Lost His Head*, *Tracker*), and his own scripts (e.g. *Waimarie*).

Brad was raised with a deep commitment to *whakapapa*, genealogy. Ironically, his wife and *whāngai* (adopted) daughter are both Pacific Island, which he believes has helped him to move beyond a narrow focus on Māori identity and *whakapapa*. Brad has overcome his shyness through his writing and story-telling, which reflects his faith, his passion for sharing ancient Māori knowledge and his family.

Key Themes

- If there was a hero in my life, it would be my grandfather, he would chant everything into me. The whole thing of storytelling and genealogy was actually instilled in me as a baby,

- We used to have rooms in our house that were considered tapu, because they were where all his books were,
- I hated journalism because I had to get over my shyness, but I look back now and go man, actually that was the best thing I could have done, because you can't tell stories unless you can talk to people,
- I just watched those guys be quite forceful, and a little bit demanding, and I realized, if I'm going to make it in this world, I've actually got to be like that,
- You have no power over your stories unless you own them,
- We created 4 Winds Films because we felt that all our stories were actually being made under Pākehā thinking,
- I am more of a story person than a company person, stories that have a message that transform life.



Brad Haami with fellow film-maker Karen Sidney (*Ngāti Kahungunu*) at the International Symposium of Māori and Indigenous Screen Production, December 2010, AUT.

Photo by Linda Tuafale Tanoa'i for Te Ara Poutama
 For further information, see: <http://www.tauihumedia.com/about>

NICOLE HOEY (NGĀTI KAHU, TE AUPOURI), CINCO CINE PRODUCTIONS

TRANSCRIPT

Our whānau is a huge influence on my life, especially. I had a mother who worked, who was a school teacher as well as a mother. I had a pretty crazy father, he was always encouraging us do things that were outside the box, and to explore things, and not to be scared of things, and mum being the school teacher, was very disciplined and, and quite regimented in how our life was led.

We go home every Christmas, we go up North, and as a whānau all camp together on land around the bottom of Oneroa a Tohe, and, one of the reasons we go back especially is to ensure that our kids knew the value of the whānau, the hapū and then the iwi

I was sent away to boarding school at twelve, and I, my mother and all the rest of the whānau had gone to Queen Vic, but I was a hockey player and Queen Vic didn't have a hockey team We had to learn to lose in hockey, and be able to walk back on that field the next day and believe we could win. I guess in business that's what it's about, I mean, I say to people, whenever I talk to them about business, 'no doesn't mean no to me'

And then moving on to people like Trish Downey, who taught me the bulk of what I needed to know to go on to be able to go on and open my own company up at the age of 24.

We weren't heavily politicised, I'd say, I know the kuras were set up, the kohangas were set up, so, when I had Tom, was the minute I think I became politicised, about who I was, I decided, I actually decided in the hospital that he was going to go to Kohanga, also, I wanted his, his reo to be very, very strong when he left, because at home he didn't have a strong base of reo, his base of reo came from Kohanga.

I loved Kohanga, and I was the, I looked after the money and I got us money, money in our Kohanga, so I was the money person out there

I was making television commercials when Tom was at Kohanga, and Bettina Hollings at the time was the commissioner for TV3, head of commissioning and she said, 'Look Nicole, if you could give me a Māori programme that would rate, I'd put it in prime time', and by the time I went back to her, I had this one-minute programette, which was really huge for TV3 at the time, because that one-minute, that one minute was a huge amount of revenue that they would be giving up, and that was their commitment to us, with the reo as well, so that, and that was a huge success, both politically for TV3, but also audience-wise for TV3, and that's when I did actually start making one-hour programmes for them., all in te reo Māori, not in prime time, however, we, I went on to decide that I would make a programme for Tom and his

mates, because one day he was watching 'What Now', and he turned around to me and said, 'Oh Mama, you know, Mama, if you made a show for us in Māori, all those Pākehās wouldn't be able to ring in and win the prizes, and I actually thought, 'Yeah, you're right, well why don't you guys have a show, you know, why don't we have a show, all in the Reo, for our kids of that age?' First it was called 'Tu Meke', and it was on TV4, and that changed to 'Pukana', um, and we've been on air now for thirteen years with it. So, the generation it was made for is now making it, which is something that, you know, I am extremely proud about. 'Pukana' was, is my second child, because I didn't have another baby after Tom. I based the organisational structure of Cinco Cine from the Kohanga. At the centre of Kohanga's organisational structure is the word aroha, which also sits at the centre of Cinco Cine's structure. And, in terms of the aroha, it means that, sometimes we have to do things in business that don't make us particularly popular, sometimes is, a um, in my job and also in the production's jobs, you have to tell people they can no longer work for you, or you don't have the money to pay them, or actually they're not doing a particularly good job, when you're doing that, it needs to be done with no malice, and you need to make sure that it's actually done with truth, and so you are moving with love, when you make those decisions, they actually come from a place where it is actually best for the company to make that move. The next circle that we have is whānau; anyone who works for Cinco Cine becomes whānau, and stays whānau with us; the next circle out is what we call our hapū, and our hapū are our productions, like 'Pukana', 'Kōrero Mai', 'Nights in the Garden of Spain', 'Spongebob Square Pants', I could go on forever, 'Manu Tioriori', they are all our hapū; and then the next circle out is the Iwi, which is Cinco Cine, and that's the only circle, the outer circle is the only one that goes outwards as well as comes inward.

Additional Notes

Nicole was born in *Kaikohe*, in Northland, to a Māori mother and a *Pākehā* father, at a time when this was neither common nor fashionable. Her mother's family were committed to education, sending her mother and aunts to be educated at the then prestigious Māori girls' school, Queen Victoria College in Auckland. Her father's family were entrepreneurial, owning a bakery in *Kaikohe*, where her father was a pastry chef.

Nicole played representative hockey from an early age. Because Queen Victoria did not have a hockey team, Nicole and her sister were sent instead to board at Diocesan Girls' School, an exclusive private school in the wealthy Eastern suburbs of Auckland. There were few Māori

at the school, and Nicole's cousins, who were students at Queen Victoria, would come to visit on the weekends. One of her cousins, Ripeka Evans, went on to work in TVNZ and assist with the setting up of the *Kimihia* programme in the 1980s. Nicole attributes hockey with nurturing her competitive spirit, and teaching her the value of losing and never giving up.

For the first ten years, Cinco Cine was primarily a producer of TV commercials. It was not till her son Tom was born, in 1990 that she became more interested in *Te Reo Māori*, and she began making Māori-centric programs in 1999, primarily for her son and his friends in Māori-immersion education.

Nicole has structured her company, along similar lines to the *National Kohanga Reo Trust*, to reflect her passion for *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*, which is also reflected in the programmes they make, such as '*Kōrero Mai*', '*Whānau*', '*Ihūmanea*', '*Koina te Kōrero*', 'Sponge Bob Square Pants' in *Te Reo*, and the tele-feature '*Kawa*', based on the novel 'Nights in the garden of Spain', by renowned Māori author, Witi Ihimaera.

Nicole's competitive nature underpins her business strategy, to build the production scope and capacity of Cinco Cine, within a *Kaupapa Māori* framework, telling Māori stories, and employing and training many hundreds of Māori since she began. Nicole is also active in industry organisations; she sat on the Executive of *Ngā Aho Whakaari*, and currently sits on the New Zealand on Air Board.

Key Themes

- I had a pretty crazy father, he was always encouraging us do things that were outside the box, and to explore things, and not to be scared of things, and mum being the school teacher, was very disciplined,
- We go home every Christmas, and, one of the reasons we go back especially is to ensure that our kids knew the value of the *whānau*, the *hapū* and then the *iwi*,
- We had to learn to lose in hockey, and be able to walk back on that field the next day and believe we could win. I guess in business that's what it's about,
- When I had Tom, was the minute I think I became politicised, about who I was,
- I loved *Kohanga*, I was the money person out there, I based the organisational structure of Cinco Cine from the *Kohanga*,

- Mama, if you made a show for us in Māori, all those *Pākehās* wouldn't be able to ring in and win the prizes, the generation it was made for is now making it,
- in terms of the *aroha*, it means that, sometimes we have to do things in business that don't make us particularly popular, when you're doing that, it needs to be done with no malice, so you are moving with love, when you make those decisions.



CEO of NZFC Graham Mason, Tearepa Kahi and Nicole Hoey, speaking on the Industry Leaders' Panel at the International Symposium of Māori and Indigenous Screen Production, December 2010, AUT.

Photo by Linda Tuafale Tanoa'i for Te Ara Poutama.

For further information see: <http://www.cincocine.co.nz/>

ROBERT POUWHARE (NGĀTI HAKA PATUHEUHEU, NGAI TŪHOE), WAIORA PRODUCTIONS, TANGATA WHENUA TELEVISION

TRANSCRIPT

Our grandfather, Te-Iki-o-Te-Rangi Pouwhare, was a major influence on us, in that he was the rangatira of our area, he was a very kind, very gentle person, very clever; our grandmother was this wonderful woman, who was a huge worker, we actually lived in a compound around the old people, and, sort of like five o'clock there'd be karakia first thing in the morning, they were inculcating all sorts of things into our heads as kids.

Coming from a history of Tūhoe, a history of resistance against the Crown, our grandfather, never, I felt that he never relinquished his sense of sovereignty, and forbid us to speak English in their presence

Then we went to school, you weren't allowed to speak Māori there, you only had to speak English, and by the time we got to university, we had to agitate there to have Māori, so we became Māori-language zealots.

The next strategy was to try to get people into um television. I quickly became aware that I had to play this other persona, and I knew that Pākehās basically would prefer the gay persona. So, I went to help set up the first programme which was Koha, in 1980, dedicated even though it was only 15 minutes, on a Sunday, I always complained then, once we got there, our strategy was then to set up a department, wider, wider, wider. We'd been advocating having a programme about the Treaty, and of course we were never allowed to do it.

We had a big run in with the head of the department, and, he effectively gave me an ultimatum, you either have to be a corporate person or a Māori, and I said, well I can't choose, I am both, I am a Māori, we're here to do Māori programmes, and he said, no, you're here to make programmes for wider, for the wider audience.

They carefully selected people to work in there that they, you know, could manipulate, and, that they really wanted to be like them, but if you were too Māori, or too political, not acceptable. So we left, and I have to say it was the best thing that ever happened, even though

it was deeply traumatic at the time. But we thought, well, it's best that we make the programme and sell it to them, rather than them dictating to us, what sort of programmes.

They allowed us in, begrudgingly, and, you know, it was because of the Te Reo Māori case, which was taken to the Privy Council, which proved that it was taonga, under the Treaty. Ten years later, they finally made the Reo an official language, you know in '86, or whatever it was. Well it took us over twenty years to set up the channel, and I guess this speaks to the resistance on the part of the power-culture, to having us included in this spectrum

We had to fight all the way, because it was really a very painful experience, in, within the mainstream, within Television New Zealand, very, very painful, and you know, you have to compromise all the time, and you know, we want to look back in twenty years time and say, well, we did the best we could, given the limited budget that we had.

Now in this series, Kōrero ki Ngā Kararehe, um, we're using babies and animals, it's a philosophy, is to try and expand the reo, one time we took the kids to speak to the orang-utan, it was the most incredible experience, we all stood there crying, and it looked very lonely, because it was on its own, depressed, anyway, these kids starting singing to it, one by one, they went up and did an awahi on the orang-utan, oh my god, the power of our kids!

Additional Notes

Robert has worked the longest in screen production, over thirty years. He was raised in his *Tūhoe* homeland. His grandfather was from that generation of *Tūhoe* who never renounced their *tino rangatiratanga*, who were imbued in the ancient knowledge of their ancestors, and who continue to resist incursions from the Crown (see 'After the raids', 2010).

Robert went to university in Wellington in the 1970s, where he became part of the '*Te Reo Māori Society*', Māori-language activists who planned a strategy to promote *Te Reo* in society, education and broadcasting. Their first incursion into broadcasting was the Māori radio station in Wellington, *Te Upoko o Te Ika*. Robert was successful in gaining a place on Television New Zealand Broadcasting course, at Avalon (Wellington) in the early 1980s. A small group of Māori were selected to train in all aspects of television production. This was an exciting time for Robert and Māori programming, with the creation of programmes such as '*Koha*' and '*Te Karere*'. However, Robert clashed with producers, who wanted

programmes that reflected ‘mainstream’ stories, about Māori for a wider audience, rather than in Māori. Eventually, Robert realised that, if he wanted to make his own stories, it would have to be independent, so, in 1986 he set up *Waiora Productions*.

In 1996, Robert was one of the Directors of the ill-fated first attempt at Māori television, Aotearoa Television, which ended in acrimony. It was a painful time for Robert, but he has continued to produce Māori-language programming. His company now called *Tangata Whenua Television*, focuses on children’s programming, ‘*Kōrero ki ngā Kararehe*’, (Talk to the Animals), and documentaries with a strong political voice, e.g. ‘*Tūhoe: A history of resistance*’ (2007).

Robert is a highly intelligent, articulate and introspective man, who has brought the ancient epistemologies of his ancestors to the programmes he makes. He is deeply concerned about the evolution of Māori Television, *Te Māngai Pāho* and other funding entities, which make decisions he feels are inconsistent or ambiguous, with their emphasis on making Māori programmes on minimal budgets compared to mainstream. He feels this will ultimately jeopardise the viability of independent Māori production houses. However, he continues to work assiduously to tell his stories, in his own way, and in *Te Reo Māori*.

Key Themes

- Our grandfather, Te Iki o Te Rangi Pouwhare, was the rangatira of our area, we actually lived in a compound around the old people, five o’clock there’d be karakia first thing in the morning, they were inculcating all sorts of things into our heads as kids,
- Coming from a history of Tūhoe, a history of resistance against the Crown, our grandfather, never relinquished his sense of sovereignty, and forbade us to speak English in their presence,
- By the time we got to university, we had to agitate there to have Māori, so we became Māori-language zealots,
- I am a Māori, we’re here to do Māori programmes, and he said, no, you’re here to make programmes for the wider audience. They carefully selected people to work in there that they could manipulate, but if you were too Māori, or too political, not acceptable,

- They allowed us in, begrudgingly, it was because of the *Te Reo Māori* case, which was taken to the Privy Council,
- Within Television New Zealand, very, very painful, and you know, you have to compromise all the time,
- Now in this series, we're using babies and animals, it's a philosophy, is to try and expand the *Reo*.



Robert Pouwhare, photographed while filming interviews for a project for *Te Ipukārea*, at
AUT in August 2011
Photo by Ella Henry

TEAREPA KAHU (NGĀTI PĀOA, WAIKATO), AREPA CREATIONS, KURA PRODUCTIONS

TRANSCRIPT

Kōtahi te wā i a tau, i a tau kā whakatika mai mātou, mai ō Otautahi ki Pukekohe [Each year we would go from Christchurch to my father's home in Pukekohe].

My father was a jazz fusion drummer. So Billy T K always promised my father that they would go to Canada for a tour and they got as far as Christchurch (laughter) where they met their wives, my mum, she's a school teacher, she took a year of school two years ago to learn te reo Māori. My mother, she's the daughter of doctor, and my father, you know his family are, family of potato pickers from Pukekohe.

Something happened to me in fifth form. A Māori theatre company came to our school, headed by a man called Jim Moriarty, and Jim burst through our, our school hall, for the next hour and a half completely spellbound by Jim. So when I graduated from high school, I left Christchurch and headed up to Wellington um and joined his theatre company, it was just a incredible, it was an incredible introduction to the power of story every day.

I came up to Auckland, attended University of Auckland, stayed with my nana for the first year out in Pukekohe, you know can have a good conversation with her in Pākehā, but when she really comes alive is when she is speaking Māori, not really a big 'I have learn te reo Māori to be a better person', but I just wanted to get closer to my nana, and reconnecting to who I was as Waikato and Ngati Pāoa.

I fell in love with stories with my brother on a big double bed that we use to share when I was a little kid and dad was there and he use to roll over and tell us something, my mother, she brought stories, you know the written word into our life. But I do remember a night when I was 13 and Utu was on and honestly that's where I first felt the power of cinema.

Still carried on with a bit of acting up here while I was at Uni, and I remember that there was this job going around the corner, it was a production assistant, a the Māori children's series called 'Tikitiki'. The producer, who was Paora Maxwell wasn't very happy with one of the field directors, and I remember, in that moment just turning around to him going I'll do it. So he looked and me and he goes you're on, and then I was shooting these small inserts for 'Tikitiki' by the end of the week. And I wrote um a documentary proposal, Paora made some tweeks and it ended up being funded and he backed me to be the director for this doco. I think I had just turned 21, 32 now and a lot of stuff under the belt, you know, but, when you look at the anatomy of the journey, happy coincidences, right-time, right-place but not afraid to seize

the opportunity, had I not been thinking of stories myself, then that opportunity might of been lost.

I was recruited as a director for a big series called Hawai'iki. I had a really good relationship with my History Lecturer and he wrote the Hawaiki series. I come through the History Department you know, I understood about Māori methodology, ancient Māori knowledge, mātauranga Māori.

The actual idea of having my own production company came about when I noticed that I would like to specialise in mātauranga Māori kaupapa, I wanted to develop something that was very specific, new technology, new imaging to bring out our Māori concepts.

I really am a director-writer as opposed to director/writer/producer. Producing is something I can do, but it's not something I love doing.

I've spent some time with Don Selwyn, he would always was it's about the kaupapa and you hear that and that, but he was somebody who really brought those words to life and lived them. Spent a lot of time with Merata in terms of story craft, writing, Professor Rawiri Taonui, he's been influential. There's my wife of course, who in all honesty just keeps me real.

If we can just get away from the pursuit of bright lights and get more into the craft work then I think we are looking at careers as opposed to jobs. So now it's about heart, passion and craft.

Additional Notes

Tearepa is the youngest of the producers spoken to, in his thirties, though he has worked in screen production for over ten years. He was born to a Māori father and Pākehā mother, whom his father met whilst playing in a band, and travelling the South Island in the 1970s, a long way from his tribal homeland near *Pukekohe* in South Auckland. However, each year his father loaded the family into the car and travelled the thousand kilometres back to *Pukekohe*, to maintain strong *whānau* links.

Tearepa's moved first to Wellington to join Jim Moriarty's theatre group, travelling the country for two years, then to Auckland to enrol at the University of Auckland, living with his grand-mother in *Pukekohe*. Whilst completing a degree, majoring in history and Māori studies, he found work as a production assistant on a Māori-language children's programme, 'Tikitiki', produced by Paora Maxwell, now General Manager of the Māori department at TVNZ. Paora gave him his first opportunity to direct an insert for 'Tikitiki', then supported

him in the preparation of a proposal for documentary, which saw him enter broadcasting as a director, at the age of twenty-two.

Over the last ten years, Tearepa has gone on to direct documentaries for television, with a strong Māori focus, and he has written, directed and produced a short film in Māori. He has gone on to marry, Reikura Morgan, daughter of Tukuroirangi Morgan, another of the Directors of the original Aotearoa Television Network, one-time Member of Parliament, and now leader of the business arm of the Tainui tribes. Reikura has also been a Commissioner for Māori television, and her brother Kawariki is a director and journalist with *Waka Huia*, one of the longest-running Māori-language programmes on TVNZ, so, he is immersed in a *whānau* of ‘creatives’ and broadcasters. Tearepa acknowledges that he can produce, but it is not his first love, writing and directing are, so he prefers to work in partnership with others who have complementary skills. In recent years, that has often worked with Quinton Hita, also a well known, producer and director of Māori-language programming. Tearepa is actively involved in organisations that promote Māori screen production, as Chair of *Ngā Aho Whakaari*, and a member of *Te Paepae Ataata*.

Key Themes

- My mother, she’s the daughter of (*Pākehā*) doctor, and my father, you know his family are, family of potato pickers from *Pukekohe*,
- A man called Jim Moriarty, and Jim burst through our, our school hall, it was an incredible introduction to the power of story every day,
- I stayed with my nana, you know can have a good conversation with her in *Pākehā*, but when she really comes alive is when she is speaking Māori, not really a big ‘I have learn *Te Reo Māori* to be a better person’, but I just wanted to get closer to my nana, and reconnecting to who I was as *Waikato* and *Ngati Pāoa*,
- I remember, in that moment just turning around to him (Paora Maxwell) going I’ll do it. So he looked and me and he goes you’re on,
- When you look at the anatomy of the journey, happy coincidences, right-time, right-place but not afraid to seize the opportunity,
- The actual idea of having my own production company came about when I noticed that I would like to specialise in *Mātauranga Māori Kaupapa*,
- It’s about heart, passion and craft.



Tearepa Kahi with business partner, Quinton Hita, of Kura Productions, at the Ngā Aho Whakaari Annual Hui, AUT, 2008

Photo by Linda Tuafale Tanoa'i for Ngā Aho Whakaari

TE KAHOE WANO (TE ATI AWA, NGĀTI AWA) TOA TELEVISION

TRANSCRIPT

Born and bred in Hawera, I went through Catholic schooling originally, because we're, mum and dad are still staunch Māori Catholics. Dad, very hands-off approach, but just said, this is what you're going to do and that was it. Mum, being a typical Māori mother was all the, full of nurturing and cooking and being for us, you know, we were always right, and dad was always wrong, you know. But, they were both achievers too, um, because mum studied hard while raising us, we saw that at home, so they had impacts on us as well. I wanted to be a 7th Former, because there weren't a lot of Māori 7th Formers, so I had those goals and I think they both came from my parents.

And I wanted to be a Phys Ed teacher, my next path was, Palmerston North Teachers' College, and, um when I got down there, I met half a dozen Māori rangatahi that spoke Māori, and um, after two weeks spending, hanging out with them at Orientation and partying, I said, I want to be like you. But the Reo, you know, sixties, seventies, it wasn't something that was really promoted, especially at school. You know, lucky enough that I came out with a degree and, and you know, four years of learning Māori. I realized that all my Reo influences were Ngāti Porou, or Tūhoe, so (laughs), it was time to go home, getting back onto my marae and enjoying learning about my marae was something that I hadn't done a lot of growing up.

Then OE, then back to Taranaki, where I met Piri, we married, tamariki, early 90s', teaching at the Polytech, right through the 90s. So we tried to establish our own sort of Reo, total immersion wānanga in Taranaki Polytech. At the same time, however, we established the Korimako Taranaki, our um, Māori radio station and that was my introduction to broadcasting. I would be the contact for TVNZ, one little job that I'd done, Tainui Stephens, approached me and said, look, would you be interested in coming up to work for Māori Programmes, and I was, you know, 37, and had an established career in education, but, Piri and me had a sit down and had a talk and said, look, if it doesn't work out, education is going to be there to fall back on, let's go and see what Auckland's like. And, I must admit, that first three months, I was asking, what the hell am I doing here, um, but at the same time, it was exciting.

One guy that had a big influence on me was, initially, was Rueben Collier, he taught me so much, about camera shots and styles and treatment, and all those sorts of things, he was really free with knowledge. And all Māoris, I believe, want to tell their own stories. I'd love

to make my own stuff, but I didn't have the confidence to be able to do that, I knew that I needed to spend time with a network, people like the camera operators there, one of the first questions I'd ask them was, how long you have been a cameraman, and if they said 25 years, you know, my directing style would be, oh, what do you think?

One of my first Pākehā broadcasting influences was Melanie Reid, and I, I rung her up, and I said, I want some time in the news room, and she set up an interview. I was offered a, um, freelance role, in the news, a sports journo. Māori Television was gearing up, getting started, and um, you know I thought, 'now there's an opportunity for me to make my own programs', Now the initial setup wasn't as clean as me stopping one job, I still didn't have the confidence to do that, so I spent a year in the TV1 News Room, by the time I walked out of TVNZ we had three shows on the run.

'Hikoī Māhanga: Twins on the road' really came out of my passion for surfing, um, and also showing people that we could use the reo anywhere.

Communication skills is still number one, ah, for me in this game, being motivated, um, you know when the going gets tough, and you've gotten a couple of 'nos', being able to get out of bed and start writing another one, also building a good positive lifestyle, you know, within your family, having the ability to work with Piri, has been awesome, we do feel that it's a, a whānau unit, working together, for the same goal.

When I talk about lifestyle, it's also outside work, so, you know, surfing, and, and going back to my maunga every chance I get, they are all important things to me too, and think they help me be a good broadcaster, if you've got a passion for telling stories, you're going to be a natural broadcaster.

Additional Notes

Te Kauhoe Wano and his twin Whare, are among six high-achieving siblings, born in their tribal homeland of *Taranaki*, to parents who supported and nurtured their children's aspirations. Te Kauhoe is a passionate sportsman and surfer, who wanted to study sports education at university, but was not accepted into his first choice of study, so went for his second choice, teaching at Massey University in Palmerston North. There he fell in with a group of Māori students who all spoke *Te Reo*, and exuded a confidence that he wanted to emulate.

Te Kauhoe acknowledges that, whilst his *whānau* were very loving and supportive, they did not speak *Te Reo*, or take an active role on the *Marae*, so discovering his language and

culture at university was a revelation. After university he travelled overseas then returned to Taranaki, where he met and married Pirihira and began a family and career in teaching. He has a Master of Education Management. His focus was on teaching *Te Reo*, and he was part of group, which included Te Ururoa Flavell, currently an MP with the Māori Party, that set up Wānanga, to revitalise *Te Reo* in *Taranaki*.

After moving to Auckland, to take up a post at TVNZ, Te Kauhoe realised that he wanted to tell his own stories. He would see the independent Māori producers coming into TVNZ for meetings, and realised that was the direction he wanted to go in. Te Kauhoe also maintained his teaching career, as a *Te Reo* lecturer at Unitec, and took a role in the *Māori Merchant of Venice*. By the time Māori Television was setting up, and Te Kauhoe had moved into sports journalism for mainstream TV. When left mainstream to set up Toa TV, they had contracts for a number of shows, among them '*Hīkoi Māhanga*', which aired for four seasons, but was not renewed. However, Toa TV continues to produce '*Code*', the sports-focussed show on Māori Television, which has proven to be a ratings winner with sports-keen youth, and which melds together Māori and English language in a humorous 'sports café' environment.

Te Kauhoe acknowledges that he was a late entrant to Māori screen production, and business, but is heartened that their business allows him to marry his passions for promoting *Te Reo*, enjoying an outdoors lifestyle and working with his *whānau*.

Key Themes

- They (his parents) were both achievers to, so they had impacts on us as well,
- I met half a dozen Māori *rangatahi* that spoke Māori, and, I said, I want to be like you. But the Reo, sixties, seventies, it wasn't something that was really promoted, especially at school,
- It was time to go home, getting back onto my marae and enjoying learning about my marae was something that I hadn't done a lot of growing up,
- We established the *Korimako Taranaki*, our um, Māori radio station and that was my introduction to broadcasting,
- I'd love to make my own stuff, but I didn't have the confidence to be able to do that, I knew that I needed to spend time with a network,

- ‘Hikoi Māhanga: Twins on the road’ really came out of my passion for surfing, and also showing people that we could use the reo anywhere,
- Being motivated, um, you know when the going gets tough, and you’ve gotten a couple of ‘nos’, being able to get out of bed and start writing another one.

Postscript

In December 2011, Te Kauhoe Wano passed away suddenly. This occurred after this research had been submitted for examination. The researcher contacted his wife, to seek her views on whether or not to retain information and images gained from Te Kauhoe for this study. It is with her permission that his Case Study remains in this written material and the documentary, for which I am deeply grateful, as I believe that the information he imparted adds to the depth and breadth of knowledge available to future generations of Māori screen practitioners.



Te Kauhoe on a location. Photo courtesy of Toa TV

For further information see: <http://www.toatv.co.nz/>

KAY ELLMERS (HAURAKI, NGĀTI RAUKAWA KI TONGA), TŪMANAKO PRODUCTIONS

TRANSCRIPT

We spent our childhood collecting for the Red Cross and for the Leprosy Mission, and dad was, you know, in the Lions and very community minded. Wanting to do something that contributed to the world was just something that I grew up believing was what you did, and this is my adoptive family that I am referring to. I don't really know how at Bay of Islands College, I decided when I was about 14, 15 that I'd like to make documentaries, but I just thought that that would be a good way to influence the world. I knew, even from then, they would be social issues type of documentaries.

Another big influence was, Richard Smith, at Auckland University. When I did my Postgraduate Diploma in Broadcast Communications, he sort of took a round-about way of influencing me because he spent the entire telling us how ridiculous we were to think we could influence the world through making television, making you all the more determined that you wanted to do that, um, my first job was at Māori Programmes at TVNZ, I was really fortunate to get straight into a whole group of practitioners who were all about social justice, and it was all about the message, rather than just the craft of television. Every day storytelling was always around the politics of it.

Setting up my own production company really was probably mostly about controlling the work. Having been a director for many years, you're the person going out there, you're asking them to trust you to look after their stories and effectively if you're working for another company, those aren't necessarily promises you are really in a position to make. Bottom line is, if you're not the producer, and if you're not the production company that signed the contract with the broadcaster, and the funder, you're not in total control of what happens with that material. So, I realised that as long as I was kind of a 'gun for hire' for anyone else, then I couldn't feel like I could make those promises with a lot of integrity. So I never actually went into it thinking, I want to create a business, if I want to control the projects, I have to have a company structure.

The first company I set up was with AKA, you know, we had a partnership, and everyone brought different skills, so, that probably gave me the confidence then to feel that I could actually set up my own structure. It's not much fun; nobody really wants to be doing end of the year tax returns, and worrying about the fact the alarm goes off at 2 o'clock in the morning, and you have to drag yourself out of bed and come and check out that nobody's

stolen all your gear. But that's the price you pay I think for being able to then control your work, to some extent. If you are going to take any money from anyone else to make anything, then there are strings attached.

'Mīharo' grew out of the fact that I had tamariki in immersion education. When Māori Television was created, there just wasn't anything on screen reflecting that experience that they were having at school back to them. Had no experience in making children's television, so I spent quite a bit of time in development, so that we could work with education specialists. A lot of kids that are in Rūmaki education have this kind of one world that's going on at school, where they are being taught in Te Reo Māori, with a kind of Māori world view, but then they step outside of the school and that's not the world that they are living in. When my kids were young, they really did start thinking that Māori was just the language of school, and the Marae. The idea of 'Mīharo' was to try and reflect back to them that it is a language that can exist in all spheres of society, and to some extent, let's be honest, that is a constructed reality, but the idea was partly to try and normalise that for the kids and show it can be used everywhere. How can we actually use television as a vehicle for reinforcing and extending the language that they are getting? It may be idealistic, but the idea was that whānau can sit down with their tamariki and engage with the programme, if they can't actually sit down and help them with their homework, because they don't have a good enough reo to do that. But that was where 'Mīharo' came from.

Additional Notes

Kay was adopted as a baby by a *Pākehā* couple, with a firm commitment to social justice and their faith. She did not meet her birth family till later in life, when her mother found her, and she was able to make connections to her *Iwi*. However, she was raised in Northland, attending College in *Kawakawa*, where she was attracted to documentary making, as a means to tell stories and 'change the world' for the better.

After finishing school, Kay attended Auckland University, where she eventually went on to complete the Diploma in Broadcast Communication. Kay then went on to work in the Māori Department at TVNZ, as a journalist on '*Marae*'. Kay's passion was directing, but she realised that, as a director within mainstream television, she could not guarantee to the Māori communities that she visited in and worked with, that their stories would be told as they wished, because those production decisions were made by others.

Kay eventually realised that the only way she could control that process was by starting her own company. The first company was a partnership, AKA Productions, with Aroha Shelford and Pio Terei. Whilst that company met many of their needs, and produced a series of programs, Kay knew she wanted to go in her own direction. At the same time, her young family, who were enrolled in *Kohanga Reo* and *Kura Kaupapa Māori*, were reaching an age where they did not see themselves and their language being reflected on television.

Kay struck out on her own, and set up *Tūmanako Productions*, so she could focus on telling the stories she wanted to tell, in the way that she wanted to tell them. The mainstay production created by *Tūmanako* is 'Mīharo', a Māori-language programme targeting eight-ten year olds, based on the Māori-language curriculum. It introduces viewer to science, maths, and other school subjects entirely in *Te Reo*. Alongside 'Mīharo', Kay continues to produce documentaries that address social justice issues, for example 'Canvassing the Treaty' and 'Pōwhiri: welcome or not' in 2010, and *Tā Paora*, the profile of the late Sir Paul Reeves, directed by his daughter Jane, in 2009.

Kay is the first to admit she would rather work in her business, rather than on it, but she has worked assiduously to build the profile of *Tūmanako* Productions, and is currently exploring new technologies for teaching and learning *Te Reo*. Like many of the other interviewees, she has also sat on the Executive of *Ngā Aho Whakaari*.

Key Themes

- Wanting to do something that contributed to the world was just something that I grew up believing was what you did,
- At Bay of Islands College, I decided when I was about 14, 15 that I'd like to make documentaries, but I just thought that that would be a good way to influence the world,
- I knew, even from then, they would be social issues type of documentaries,
- He spent the entire telling us how ridiculous we were to think we could influence the world through making television, making you all the more determined that you wanted to do that,
- At TVNZ, I was really fortunate to get straight into a whole group of practitioners who were all about social justice,

- Setting up my own production company really was probably mostly about controlling the work,
- ‘*Mīharo*’ grew out of the fact that I had tamariki in immersion education. When Māori Television was created, there just wasn’t anything on screen reflecting that experience.



Kay Ellmers and Jane Reeves at the launch of their documentary, ‘Canvassing the Treaty’, (2010)

Photo from Tūmanako Productions.

For further information see: <http://www.Māoritelevision.com/default.aspx?tabid=75&pid=829>

PIO TEREI (TE RĀRAWA, NGĀPUHI), PIPI PRODUCTIONS, AKA PRODUCTIONS

TRANSCRIPT

From the Far North, our parents loaded us up, and came down, like, it was that whole rural-urban thing. We were whangai'ed, we were legally adopted by my parents, and my parents were in their mid-40s when they adopted us, um, native speakers, gum-diggers, from another world, really. We were so blessed to have them, sort of like grand-parents bringing us up.

We got a 3 bedroom house in Te Atatu, and we all stayed in this one room, so it was a couple of years before me and my brother ventured out to other parts of the house. Dad was a truck driver; then he ended working for the Power Board, mum stayed at home. There was no real help from mum and dad, with regard to academic achievement, other than, they created a really wonderful home life and a base.

I was always on school councils and things like that, which was an achievement I was always proud of. We had Māori around us who kept telling us that we were, we were, we had some stuff, you know. Mum and dad introduced me and my brother to music early, so that whole entertainment seed was borne. Most guys were spending money on a Friday and Saturday night, I was earning it.

I started life as a car-cleaner, totally Pākehā environment, but good guys, and they recognised some, um, some, some potential in me. I had a, an accountant, who came to do my books, and, and, Māori fulla, and he says, I'm the accountant for Aotearoa Radio and I went ping! Cos' I was taught by my dad that doors don't open, you have to give them a bit of a kick, or ring the bell, just keep your thumb on the bell of opportunity, you know. To cut a long story short, I ended up selling advertising for (Aotearoa) Māori Radio, and I always salute the pioneers who got us Māori radio, because that became a training ground for a lot of people. That was a pathway for me into broadcasting that was provided by Māori.

I was writing songs in the afternoon, political satire, so my talents, I know that sounds whakahihi, but I don't mean it like that, yes I do, we should rejoice in our bloody talents, so my talents were in a, in a waka, that could be developed, I could have a go, I was cheeky as anything, but not disrespectful, okay, next minute the phone rings, 'Oh, Brendon Butt here', Oh yea, what do you do bro? He says, "I'm the director". Māori director, cher! So I went in and I sung them my song, he says, yep, sweet as bro', we'll buy the song off you, eh? Yeah. \$250 a minute, was those days, for script-writing, I says, oh bro', I can whack a few extra verses in if you, give you a half hour song. Next minute, there's John Gadsby, David McPhail were in this stupid reggae band, singing this song, and that was the beginning of it.

You were at the total mercy of the production houses that grabbed you, as a, as a, as a perceived talent, and you were milked like a 'cash cow', basically, what happens is, you give your ideas over, they pay you \$500 for the idea, and they get all the, all the generation of income, and, blah, blah, blah. Consequently, having your own production company, or companies, okay, is a good idea. So, main things is some control, some ownership of your material, and the ability to make television to show off our people in a true light, and that's it. I've been in business with other people. Some have worked, some haven't, I'm not being sexist here, but I do find that, our wahine Māori have been wonderful partners because of their attention to detail. It's like picking a football team, same thing, you make sure you got people in the right places or you just lose it. We're like brothers and sisters in this group, that doesn't always happen in a Pākehā world, when you're with a group of people who have the same whakaaro about broadcasting, and the imagery of Māori people to a broader audience, who are on the same page, that makes you strong. I have a code of ethics that my parents gave to me, and it's not written down, it just the hairs, you know you can feel your tupuna on your shoulder, going, ah-ah, kua e haere, don't go there, kia tūpato, be careful, and I've always pledged to myself that I wouldn't use my people as a lever to make the masses laugh. From a production side, 'do the business properly', 'deliver to the network', because you have a contract cuzzie, we have our documentary makers, we have our entertainers, we have our musicians, and I'm just part of that jigsaw, and it's a bloody privileged place to be, and it's enhanced our lives eh.

Additional Notes

Pio was born and raised in the *Hokianga*, Northland. He and his brother were adopted by an older Māori couple, who instilled in the boys traditional Māori values. Pio attended college in Te Atatu North, where he enjoyed teachers (such as June Mariu and Pita Sharples, now an MP and co-leader of the Māori Party) who nurtured their Māori students' belief in themselves. By the time Pio left college, he had his own band, and was performing and earning on the weekend. He was a car salesman, for fourteen years, at the end of which he was importing commercial vehicles from Japan. A chance discussion with accountant, who was also the accountant for *Aotearoa Radio* in the 1980s, introduced Pio to broadcasting.. On his radio show, he would write witty ditties about current political issues.

One day, a Māori director from TVNZ called and asked him to submit a song he had written and sung on *Aotearoa Radio* to a light entertainment show, which they would pay for. Pio

agreed and was asked to perform the song, on 'McPhail and Gadsby', a popular show in the 1980s, after which he became a regular. This was followed by 'Pete and Pio', with Peter Rowley, in 1994, and a string of acting and presenting shows throughout the 1990s and into the new millennium, including 'Pio!' (1997-1999), 'The Life and Times of Te Tutu' (2000), produced by his company Pipi Productions, then his role as a Director of 4 Winds and the production of the 'Matakū' series.

In recent years, Pio's company has produced 'Tangaroa', a fishing and travel show, and 'No Sweat Parenting', co-produced with Parents' Inc, both for Māori Television, and light entertainment show 'Are we there yet?', which allows Pio and wife Deb to travel the country with their three sons. Pio is in high demand as a public speaker, and has had a number of dramatic acting roles, as well as his ongoing work as a comedian and presenter. For Pio, his broadcasting career has been a privilege allowing him to make a living doing things he loves to do, entertain and make people laugh, challenge their negative stereotypes about Māori. He is involved in a number of companies, one with his wife Deb, and others for specific projects; each of these collaborations provide him with an opportunity to maintain control of his stories and his talents.

Key Themes

- We were legally adopted by my parents, in their mid-40s when they adopted us, native speakers, gum-diggers, from another world, really,
- There was no real help from mum and dad, with regard to academic achievement, other than they created a really wonderful home life and a base,
- We had Māori around us who kept telling us that we were, we were, we had some stuff,
- Mum and dad introduced me and my brother to music early, so that whole entertainment seed was borne,
- I was taught by my dad that doors don't open, you have to give them a bit of a kick, or ring the bell, just keep your thumb on the bell of opportunity,
- We should rejoice in our bloody talents,
- You were at the total mercy of the production houses that grabbed you, as a, as a, as a perceived talent, and you were milked like a 'cash cow',

- Some control, some ownership of your material, and the ability to make television to show off our people in a true light,
- We're like brothers and sisters in this group, that doesn't always happen in a Pākehā world,
- I have a code of ethics that my parents gave to me, and I've always pledged to myself that I wouldn't use my people as a lever to make the masses laugh.



Pio Terei, photo courtesy of Parents Inc.

For further information: <http://www.nzonscreen.com/person/pio-tere>

WHETU FALA (NGĀ RAURU KI TAHI, SAMOA), FALA MEDIA

TRANSCRIPT

Kō Taranaki te maunga, kō Waitotara te awa, kō Nga Rauru ki Tahī te iwi, engari, ka huri ki te taha o taku papa, ko Ngāti Hamoa te iwi.

My mother um, had a traditional Māori upbringing, her marriage was decided by our kaumātua. So when we were kids, she'd pile us all into the bed, and she would tell us these tales of her growing up, we had the tale of her first marriage, to a guy that she didn't love, and she jumped out the window, and run away from him. And then there was the tale of our father, she walked into a bar, and across the bar, she saw the most handsome man she'd ever seen in her life, and she thought, so she went up to him, because my mother is very forward, and very, she was very gorgeous looking, and a flirt, and he was probably the first foreigner she had ever seen.

One of my nicknames, as a child, was Ngutu, and there's not many careers that you can embark upon where having a big mouth is an asset.

At private school, which was a Seventh Day Adventist School, if you took an interest in something, you had to pursue it, having to communicate with people led eventually to my interest in the theatre.

When I left school, my mother got me a job at Māori Affairs in Whanganui and I was what they called a clerical cadet, which I thought was a hideous job, so I chucked all of that in to runaway to Auckland to be in the theatre.

So my very first audition I went was 'A Midsummer Night's Dream'. So I went to walk past the door of the theatre and this man, Māori man, came out of the theatre and went "oi, where are you going"? In all of that crowd, I was the only Māori person in cooey and he pulled me to the front of the theatre. Paki Cherrington was amazing. He introduced me to Auckland um thespian circles. I travelled the country ah for two years with Town and Country players. It was a time in New Zealand when New Zealand writing was finally being awahi and putting it in a place where it has never been before.

I became very dissatisfied with acting, and I did this wonderful course at the Wellington Arts Centre. I have had many patrons of the arts in my time and my patron in that time was Keri Kaa. Tina Cook and I would turn up, and there would be a huge roast and someone interesting for us to talk to.

Ripeka Evans happened to be one of those interesting people, and she said well you know are you interested in television and Keri goes oh well this one has just done a PEP scheme on film and video and she said well why don't you apply for Kimihia, and then I entered TVNZ. I stayed at TVNZ for 10 years, I was the only Māori person in my sector. Surely there's going to be more to join me, but there never was so in the end I left. I began freelancing, at that time, there was hardly any Māori women producing or directing. The first production company I had was Ngā Karawhetu Productions, we had basically the same belief that Māori people had to actually go out there and try and bring home the bacon in film and television. I decided to become a producer and have my own company because it seemed to be expedient, behind it all was the same belief that led my mother to leave the Waitotara Valley and that was a belief that we as Māori people need to have control of our own destiny. I think that means tino rangatiratanga, we have to really strive for our own economic independence. I'm trying to um I'm trying to feed myself and my family in a way that doesn't involve a hand out. I am a very competitive person. I'm naturally, call it the warrior woman, and so for me, it is, the hurdle is the challenge. But I think you have to have a passion for it. Mahia te mahi, you are what you do, not what you say you do.

Additional Notes

Whetu is one of six children born to a Māori mother and Samoan father, born and raised in a small Whanganui town. She and her siblings received a private education at the Seventh Day Adventist School in Whanganui, where they were encouraged to pursue their interests and follow their dreams.

After finishing school, she moved to Auckland to pursue a career in acting in the early 1980s. For the next few years, Whetu was part of an acting troupe, taking New Zealand theatre around the country. She eventually settled in Wellington, under the patronage of Keri Kaa, where she met Ripeka Evans, at that time employed by TVNZ and setting up the Kimihia programme. Whetu spent the next ten years with TVNZ, originally settling into editing, where she the only Māori and woman. After becoming disenchanted that no other Māori were entering that field, she left TVNZ and started her first business with Ngahuia Asher and Kara Paewai, called *NgaKaraWhetu* Productions, which produced a number of short films written and directed by the three.

Eventually, Whetu set up her own business, Fala Media, which has produced a wide range of documentaries and dramas. Whetu was one of the original members of *Te Manu Aute* and *Ngā Aho Whakaari*. She sat on the inaugural Executive of *Ngā Aho Whakaari*. For the last ten years, Whetu has lived and worked in Christchurch, much of that time producing programmes for the *Iwi, Kai Tahu*. In the aftermath of the Christchurch earthquakes, Whetu and her partner Ian have re-located to Auckland, where she is currently developing productions.

Key Themes

- My mother had a traditional Māori upbringing; her marriage was decided by our kaumātua. So when we were kids, she'd pile us all into the bed, and she would tell us these tales of her growing up,
- One of my nicknames, as a child, was *Ngutu*, and there's not many careers that you can embark upon where having a big mouth is an asset,
- If you took an interest in something, you had to pursue it, having to communicate with people led eventually to my interest in the theatre,
- (Ripeka Evans said) why don't you apply for *Kimihia*, and then I entered TVNZ. I stayed at TVNZ for 10 years; I was the only Māori person in my sector. Surely there's going to be more to join me, but there never was so in the end I left,
- The first production company, we had basically the same belief that Māori people had to actually go out there and try and bring home the bacon in film and television,
- I decided to become a producer and have my own company because it seemed to be expedient, behind it all was the same belief that led my mother to leave the Waitotara Valley and that was a belief that we as Māori people need to have control of our own destiny,
- I think that means tino rangatiratanga, we have to really strive for our own economic independence,
- I am a very competitive person. I'm naturally, call it the warrior woman, and so for me, the hurdle is the challenge.



Film-maker, Anne Keating, Māori Television Commissioner, Melissa Wikaire and Whetu Fala at the International Symposium of Māori & Indigenous Screen Production, AUT, 2010

Photo by Linda Tuafale Tanoa'i for Te Ara Poutama

For further information: <http://nz.linkedin.com/pub/whetu-fala/5/a12/853>

SUMMARY

These producers have diverse careers in screen production, creative enterprise and business. Their 'boundaryless careers' have transformed their 'social capital', as confident, creative individuals with a passion for telling stories in their own way. They have an equally diverse range of 'cultural capital', whether as Māori or some other mix of ethnicities, which has impelled them to contribute to the Māori world. These two forms of capital have been transformed into their 'career capital', and that in turn has structured their 'career fields', thereby contributing to the further development of the Māori screen industry. Their career pathways have moved inexorably towards business ownership, so that they could take control of their careers, their businesses and their passion for telling Māori stories, which has benefitted themselves, their whānau and their communities of interest. How these two bodies of data, the survey and the case studies, contribute to a theory of Māori entrepreneurship in screen production will be explored in the Discussion chapter to follow.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION

Having paddled the *waka* of the thesis-exegesis thus far, it is time to look back over the stern and see where the voyage has taken me in making an original contribution to knowledge specifically about Māori entrepreneurship. This journey grew out of my experiences with Māori in screen production over the last twenty years; a journey that has taken me around the world and back into my history and one made with a group of people for whom I have the utmost respect and affection. This group, community, *whānau* of creative spirits have been my colleagues, confidantes and co-conspirators, some of whom I witnessed grow from gawky adolescence to the highest levels of achievement in the Māori screen industry. I recognised, on a personal level that many of these kindred souls have extraordinary talents, drive and passion. And a group of them were producing work recognised both nationally and internationally as excellent. They were running successful companies, employing hundreds of people, and telling uniquely Māori stories. But, as an academic, there was no evidence to support my belief that here, in the Māori screen industry, something very interesting and unusual was occurring. Thus began a journey to explore and better understand Māori entrepreneurship in screen production.

This concluding chapter provides a written summary of the findings from both the documentary and the exegesis. To guide my thinking, I reiterate the questions that emerged from the Literature Review.

1. How has the researcher enacted Māori values in the research design and analysis?
2. How has the researcher reflected on her insider-outsider status?
3. What are the social and cultural sources of identity for Māori in screen production?
4. What are Māori careers in screen production?
5. How and why have Māori become entrepreneurs in screen production?
6. How do Māori in screen production reflect on their self-belief?
7. What political and cultural issues are relevant for Māori in screen production?
8. What relevance has *Māoritanga* in screen production?

As previously observed, Mintzberg (2005, p. 356) argued that, “We must choose our theories according to how useful they are, not how true”. This theory of Māori entrepreneurship has developed out of the *Kaupapa Māori* principle, that theory ‘for, with and by Māori’ must be

both ‘useful’ and the ‘best so far’ at understanding and explaining Māori entrepreneurship in screen production, in a manner that is plausible, explicit and parsimonious, and which helps Māori in screen production better themselves and guide their future actions.

Māori Values in Research Design and Analysis

Tikanga Māori shape Māori worldviews, and in turn underpin Māori activities, whether in research, education or in creative domains, such as screen production. I have attempted to enact Māori values, *tikanga* in all aspects of the research. Thus, *tikanga* like *manaakitanga*: showing respect and generosity; *whanaungatanga*: expressing the values of kinship in all dealings with participants in the research and documentary; *aroha*: being empathetic to the needs of all the participants, were an intrinsic part of the research design.

Similarly, Māori values and knowledge have imbued the analysis of the data and making of the documentary, in terms of research conduct, ethics, ongoing communication and liaison with interviewees, consultation with people whose images and footage were used. In each case, great care was taken to be respectful and sensitive about the knowledge and resources they shared, and to acknowledge participants as owners of that knowledge, the researcher merely being a conduit for the transmission of the knowledge in specific forms, in this case as research and creative outputs.

Also the outcomes of the interviews, the footage was returned to participants. All gave their permission for a copy to be archived by Te Ara Poutama. This contradicts New Zealand research ethics practice, which requires researchers to destroy ‘data’ after six years. However, the material gathered for this study is considered to be more than data destined for disposal, it is a unique body of knowledge from a group of people who have, and will continue to make a significant contribution to the evolution of Māori screen production, and as such is a *taonga*, a legacy for future generations, stories for, with and by Māori.

Each of these steps was an important part of the process of developing knowledge for, with and by Māori, with the goal of contributing to Māori knowledge, and empowering Māori with that knowledge. It was of paramount importance to conduct the study, and all activities associated with it according to principles which ‘*tikanga Māori*’ embodies. Māori ontology, the *Kaupapa Māori* essence of ‘being’; Māori epistemology and methodology, knowledge

and knowledge-construction are embodied in the truth, that which is *'tika'*, which is consistent with the *Kaupapa Māori* paradigm.

Insider Research

The challenges presented by insider-research have been explored and tools and techniques for ameliorating biases have been applied. I have used every possible avenue to check with interviewees on transcripts, drafts and edits, to ensure that my biases were not evident but I acknowledge that it is almost impossible to conduct research in one's own community of interest and not be influenced in some way by one's personal knowledge of that community. Perhaps someone from outside the community, conducting a similar study, might come to different conclusions. One can only report on what one believes one has seen, experienced and deduced. One can never truly say those experiences and deductions have not been influenced in some way by personal history and context. However, the process of continual reflection has been most helpful in distilling and synthesising the data, ensuring that insider-knowledge has not overtly influenced that data gathered or the analysis of the data. The documentary facilitated this process, as participants were comfortable to tell their stories in their own way, and at their own pace, and they approved the final edits of their interviews as an accurate record of key issues in the life stories.

Insider status gave me access to a community that has not been studied in this way before. As an insider, I assumed that people would be open and honest with me, and that they would trust me to respect their stories. This was borne out by those who consented to participate in the interviews. The interviews were more like conversations, stories, anecdotes and experiences were shared openly, with humour and insight. The interviews were conducted in a location of their choice.

In retrospect, these are benefits of conducting insider-research, which have made this study even more gratifying for the researcher and the researched. This view is based on the open-ended comments made by respondents in the Survey. Also, informal feedback from interviewees given during the follow-up meetings to check transcripts, discuss the interview footage and screen the final version of the documentary, focussed on how satisfying it had been to participate in the study and reflect on their lives and work.

Māori Identity in Screen Production

The literature on identity highlights the concept of ‘self’, which individuals internalise as part of their group affiliation and identity; it is as a cognitive, experiential phenomenon that involves a combination of the person’s awareness of themselves as an actor in the social world. People’s identities are shaped by their group membership. One’s commitment to identity can be explored through family, personal relationships, interests, and beliefs. So, both the survey and the interviews delved into these aspects of identity.

However, identity can also refer to one’s ethnicity. The literature suggested that negative attitudes towards one’s ethnic affiliation are more likely to be associated with lower levels of well-being, including self-esteem and self-efficacy. Thus, individuals may try to avoid social disapproval by denying or negating their membership in groups they perceive as negative or stigmatised, by trying to ‘pass’. The interviewees challenge the orthodoxy of impacts of negative stereotyping. This was true even for those of mixed ancestry, those who were adopted, or who might have suffered discrimination because of their ethnicity, gender or sexual orientation. Their identities grew out of a ‘messy accumulation of learning’ (Hamel, 1994), experiential knowledge founded on a combination of whānau, fostering self-belief and confidence, emulation of role-models and mentors, school, work and life experiences, happenstance and happy coincidence.

The challenge for this theory of Māori entrepreneurship in screen production is to make connections and provide explanatory links, to highlight ‘when’ and ‘how’ these factors combine to spark entrepreneurial intent. As O’Neill and Ucbasaran noted, “entrepreneurship offers a means not only to enact desired entrepreneurial identities but also to express one’s authentic and inwardly-derived values” (2011, p. 2). Thus, entrepreneurship has given these producers the opportunity to ‘break free’ from the non-Māori organisations, mainstream organisations in which they began their careers, and ‘break up’ non-Māori social practices, so they can better express what they believe to be their ‘authentic identity’.

Thus, the effects of stigma associated with their ethnic affiliation may also encourage them to focus more specifically on their ethnicity, as a means of affirming their social worth. The literature referred to the ways that positive perceptions of ethnic identity can affirm social

worth and self-esteem. Therefore, involvement in Māori networks, the ability to speak Māori and an understanding of Māori culture and knowledge may well have contributed to the enhancement of their self-worth, promoting bonding to their Māori identity, and thereby reinforcing positive views of their identity.

We can now look in more detail at the findings from the Survey and Case Studies.

The Survey found that participants were all knowledgeable about their cultural identity, in terms of the range and numbers of *iwi* and *hapū* affiliations they recorded. It was found that many of their parents had more humble work and educational experiences than their offspring, but that many of these parents were also primarily focussed on family and Māori community, as well as a wide range of other social activities; clear evidence of strong and supportive *whānau*. The respondents, on the other hand were well educated, in a range of fields of study. Also, respondents displayed high levels of self-efficacy, and notwithstanding their diverse ethnic affiliations, they were none the less Māori-centric in their views about Māori identity, screen production and political issues. Their identity was often reinforced by role models and influences that had strong *whānau* and Māori connection. A significant number rated the telling of Māori stories and being part of the Māori screen industry very highly, so one can assume these positive feelings about being Māori, telling Māori stories, holding strong pro-Māori views are part of the cognitive and experiential framework of their identity.

The Case Studies yielded similar findings. All ten subjects held equally strong views about ‘who they were’, ‘what they were’, and how they ended up doing the things they did. These ‘identities’ were not identical, nor were they universally Māori, but they all seemed equally strong and confident about their identity. These identities grew out of their diverse ethnic affiliations, but also the people, life and work experiences that shaped and guided the pathways taken and the choices made in their lives.

Rhonda: born to a Māori mother and *Pākehā* father, raised in one of the poorest suburbs in Auckland, with a the strong parental drive not to let their children work in factories; the realisation that she was ‘good with numbers’ and enjoyed organising and managing; the need to assume a leadership role in her *whānau* when their mother died; learning to negotiate the pathway between being Māori and *Pākehā*; finding her own place and identity; being

prepared to embark on a new career and business in her forties', and the self-belief to develop new technologies to help build her business.

Claudette: high parental expectations for success; born into the second generation of urban Māori and fiercely proud of her 'urban Māori' identity, despite strong tribal links; politicisation at university; confident to seek out opportunities and create new career pathways; comfortable with her Māori, woman and lesbian identity; moving from sport, to sports journalism, then social justice and political issues are the hallmarks of her career and business trajectory.

Brad: born and educated in and near his tribal homelands by a grandfather who inculcated story-telling and genealogy, and the *tapu* of the written word, from an early age; journalism helped overcome his shyness and brought him to Auckland for work at TVNZ; mentors and colleagues taught him to be more forceful and authoritative; he feels strongly he was born into the Māori world for a purpose; he is committed to stories that transform lives, he is a writer and story-teller who finds satisfaction working collaboratively on a range of projects, with a variety of companies.

Nicole: born in Northland to a *Pākehā* father taught her to think outside the box, and her Māori mother taught her to be disciplined, as well as the importance of *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*; hockey taught her to be competitive, and brought her to Auckland for education; she started her business at twenty-four; motherhood politicised her about her identity and *Te Reo*, the *Kohanga Reo* movement provided her with an organisational model, and her son encouraged her to make programmes in *Te Reo*.

Robert: born in his tribal stronghold, speaking only *Te Reo*, his grandfather was a *rangatira*, his grandmother a hard worker, they imbued the *mokopuna*, grandchildren with a knowledge of and love for *Te Reo* and *Tikanga*, which under-pinned his zealous support for the *Reo*; his *Tūhoe* identity and their ongoing resistance and struggle mirrored his struggles within mainstream TV, and desire for control of his stories; Robert has been at the forefront of Māori broadcasting for thirty years.

Tearepa: born in Christchurch, where his father met his mother, the love of story was inculcated by his Māori father, and passion for the written word from his *Pākehā* mother; the

actor Jim Moriarty inspired his passion for performance, and the Geoff Murphy film ‘*Utu*’ stirred his passion for cinema; on moving to Auckland for university and living with his grandmother, learning *Te Reo* was a way to get closer to his Nana and tribal roots, developing stories about ancient Māori concepts is his passion; beginning his career as twenty-one has seen Tearepa go on to directing, writing and producing for film and television before turning thirty.

Te Kauhoe: born in his tribal homeland to Catholic parents who were high-achieving role-models; meeting rangatahi at university who spoke *Te Reo* encouraged him to learn *Te Reo*; his passion for surfing and teaching *Te Reo* influenced his career pathway until a foray into *Iwi* radio opened a pathway to broadcasting, their productions are a reflection of his passion for sport and *whānau*; despite a long career in Māori education Te Kauhoe has made the transition to Auckland, from TVNZ to independent productions for Māori Television.

Kay: raised in Northland, adopted into a *Pākehā* family where social justice was an important; wanting to make documentaries to influence the world guided her studies and career as did her early work in the Māori Department at TVNZ; her pathway to entrepreneurship was underpinned by her desire to take control of the process, but she is not passionate about the business side of production; the desire to normalise *Te Reo* through ‘*Mīharo*’ was a mission to help her children’s learning.

Pio: born in Northland, adopted by an older, traditional Māori couple who nurtured his self-belief and love of performing, moved from his tribal homelands to Auckland as a child; having teachers who further encouraged his self-belief, a father who taught him to ‘knock on the door of opportunity’ and take chances on new pathways; capitalising on those opportunities to enter radio, then television and ultimately taking control of his talents through multiple business partnerships.

Whetu: born to a Samoan father and Māori mother in her Taranaki homelands, where her mother encouraged a love for story-telling; educated to pursue opportunities and communicate with people; she followed her dreams into acting, then broadcasting, then independent production; encouraged by the belief that Māori need to control our destiny and strive for economic independence; an outgoing and competitive drive to overcome challenges.

Taken together, one can conclude from the findings of the Survey and Case Studies that the social and cultural sources of identity for Māori in screen production include their *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*, their tribal and family identity, the people who inspired them to believe in themselves, the events that challenged them and encouraged them to achieve their goals, the desire to tell Māori stories, to enhance the Māori world, and succeed at their endeavours. We can conclude from this evidence that these characteristics, the strong sense of identity and purpose, appear to be shared by the subjects and the majority of the respondents to the Survey.

Māori Careers in Screen Production

“The old meaning of being employed was one’s occupation or business. The new meaning is that current employment may be one in a series of temporary stops in an evolving career. Owning your own business may well be part of your rich new career”, (Moore, 2000, p. 4).

The career literature emphasised career as a framework rather than a linear pathway upward and through a single organisation. For many, the new career is ‘boundaryless’, one that traverses employers, industries, even nations. It is within these boundaryless careers that individuals may ‘enact’ pathways, thereby creating new careers for themselves. That is, they may create career pathways for themselves, where none had previously existed, because of the range of jobs and organisations they have worked with. Also, there was the potential to ‘enact’ environments and industries, that is, to create not only new jobs, but new industry sectors. This is certainly the case in Māori screen production, an industry that barely existed thirty years ago, and which now has a number of specialist jobs for Māori-language speakers and Māori-knowledge experts, e.g. in journalism, presenting, acting, and sub-titling.

The Survey responses to the ‘career’ questions showed clear evidence of ‘boundaryless’ careers. It was equally clear that many respondents felt their work in the industry was an ‘occupation’, and they were thus professionals in their fields, whether they were doing make-up and hair, translating sub-titles, or holding down key creative roles such as writing, directing and producing.

From the Case Studies we learned that the careers of the interviewees were diverse, in terms of the jobs held and the amount of time they had been in the workforce. The youngest had been in the workforce for less than fifteen years, approximately twelve of those working in screen production. The eldest had a degree and career before entering broadcasting, and had been in the industry for over thirty years. Only two had planned careers in the screen industry, one by gaining a broadcasting qualification (Kay), the other as part of a strategy to revitalise *Te Reo* (Robert). Two others, Tearepa and Whetu, entered broadcasting and screen production through acting. Whetu went on to learn about broadcasting through *Kimihia*, the TVNZ Māori training programme in the 1980s, and from there to telling her own stories. Nicole went from her first job, working for a company that made TV commercials to starting her own production company at twenty-four. Rhonda entered the industry, by first buying into a recording studio after being made redundant from a senior management role at forty, then expanding its operations, technology and strategy. Te Kauhoe came by invitation to work for TVNZ, then realised he wanted to tell his own stories and own his own business. Claudette made the segue from sports, to sports journalism, from radio to television, then in to Māori programmes at TVNZ. Pio went from selling cars to selling advertising on Māori radio, to making a living from his talents as a performer and entertainer. Brad was coerced into journalism by an uncle, where he gained the skills and confidence to build a career in journalism, then writing and now producing. It is clear for all of the interviewees, that their careers not only provided them with work, but gave them the impetus to start their own businesses. There is a sense, in the Case Studies that their screen careers have resulted from a vocation, a calling towards being creative, telling stories, and being part of the evolution of the Māori screen industry.

Thus, it can be concluded that Māori careers in screen production are still being ‘enacted’ by early entrants into the industry who are creating new roles on Māori and Māori-language productions, and that the Māori screen industry itself has been enacted by those early pioneers who challenged the mainstream to give Māori an equal voice in broadcasting. Further, those careers in Māori screen production have, for many provided the confidence and abilities to start their own production companies, which will be addressed in more detail in the following section on entrepreneurship.

Māori Entrepreneurship in Screen Production

The literature review in Chapter Two acknowledged that entrepreneurs are individuals who are determined to follow their own path, who embrace risk-taking, challenges and innovations, and who express the self-belief necessary to embark on new pathways in business (Wadeson, 2006; Chen *et al.* 2001). The ‘entrepreneur’ is the individual who takes on the personal financial risk in new ventures. Also, the entrepreneur generates new economic knowledge and thus transforms the structure of economic activity. Despite years of research on the character and personality of entrepreneurs, ‘achievement motivation’ was found to be one of the only traits that appear to have a strong association with the creation of new ventures.

Another point made in the literature was the need to analyse enterprise and the role of market institutions, as the context that induces and channels entrepreneurial activity (Williamson, 2000). It was recognised that, apart from personal characteristics, social institutions can also shape entrepreneurial motivations (Shapiro and Sokol, 1982). These include the informal institutions where norms, customs, mores and traditions are located, the general locus of ‘culture’, but also the formal rules, regulations and laws in any given society, and the structures that make up contracts, firms and networks which can either impede or stimulate entrepreneurship (Licht and Siegel, 2006). Thus, culture was found to have a role in nurturing entrepreneurial intent, through subjective norms, self-efficacy, and social self-justification. Therefore, in a culture that places a high value on the formation of new ventures more individuals will choose that path. Thus, the organisations that fund Māori productions, such as NZFC, NZOA and *Te Mānga Pāho*, are charged with inducing and channelling entrepreneurial activity in Māori screen production.

Māori are recognised as being highly entrepreneurial from the earliest period of colonisation (Petrie, 2005), but that entrepreneurial spirit was diminished by expropriation of land, loss of economic base and ongoing negative impacts of colonisation (Walker, 1990). However, despite that colonial history, entrepreneurship continues to flourish in Māori society (GEM NZ, 2006; OECD, 2010). Therefore, we can argue that Māori culture nurtures entrepreneurial intent, despite the formal rules, regulations and structures of the predominantly *Pākehā* market-place and culture, which is the basis of the New Zealand economy. This is an economic system in which proportionally fewer Māori have prospered, and in which a

proportionally larger number of Māori continue to occupy the most impoverished social groups.

Social entrepreneurship was also explored, as ‘social entrepreneurs’ are a species in the genus of ‘entrepreneur’. They are entrepreneurs with a social mission, and social entrepreneurship signals the imperative to drive social change. Social entrepreneurship is recognised as being as vital to the progress of societies as entrepreneurship is to the progress of economies. There is a growing body of literature that has found high levels of social entrepreneurship and social enterprise among indigenous peoples.

The literature on indigenous entrepreneurship was also reviewed. It was recognised as the second wave of indigenous development, those who are charged with rebuilding their nations through entrepreneurial enterprise, rather than relying on largesse and handouts from the State. However, the indigenous entrepreneur uses innovative and entrepreneurial business practices not for the benefit of individuals *per se*, but rather for the benefit of their community.

Māori entrepreneurs, as another sub-species within the genus of ‘social entrepreneurs’ were defined as those with entrepreneurial flair, underpinned by a sense of commitment to their Māori community, whether it be *whānau*, *hapū* or *iwi*, pan-tribal, or urban; entrepreneurship and innovation for, with and by Māori. Finally, the emancipatory entrepreneurship theme focused on entrepreneurs’ motivations for career transitions, identity consideration and social change ambition. Thus, we can now explore how Māori entrepreneurs have ‘broken free’ from mainstream organisations, thereby enabling them to ‘break up’ non-Māori, *tauiwi* business practices that they see as a constraint on their ‘authentic identity’.

The Survey found high levels of entrepreneurial intent amongst respondents, manifest in their levels of GST registration, sole trader status, business ownership, and employer status. It also provided cross-tabulations, suggesting that those with stronger levels of Māori identity, identification with Māori issues, and higher levels of self-efficacy, were more likely to be GST registered, sole traders and employ staff. This is the first study of its kind, to find any patterns and relationships between Māori identity and entrepreneurial intent. The open-ended comments from respondents also supported the notion that working on Māori screen productions allowed them to tell Māori stories, be part of a Māori *whānau* in screen

production, and the freedom that came from working in an industry which celebrated their language, culture and creativity.

The findings from the Survey were reinforced by the Case Studies. Every one of the interviewees talked about starting their business as a means of taking control of their talent, their stories and the production process, clear examples of *tino rangatiratanga* in practice; each discussed the importance of telling Māori stories in their own way, creating opportunities for Māori creativity and practitioners to flourish; building on the work of the pioneers who shared their skills, encouraged and nurtured them. The ten subjects had all been influenced, by grand-parents, parents, siblings, teachers, colleagues, mentors, bosses, who believed in their abilities, encouraged them to take risks and capitalise on opportunities.

They have all taken on huge personal and financial risks, spent years building their businesses, working gruelling hours, enduring time away from their *whānau*, facing the ongoing stresses of preparing proposals, seeking investment in their productions, only to have them turned down time and again; working in an industry that has no guarantees for steady income, and always concerned to ensure that their employees, cast and crew will have ongoing work. Yet every one of them displays incredible creative energy, a strong conviction that they have chosen the right path, that working for others would be a regression, that business ownership gives them control and freedom, allows them to build their organisations using Māori paradigms, and delivers emancipation.

The findings from the Survey and Case Studies taken together, suggest that Māori entrepreneurship in screen production is characterized by notions of self-determination and emancipation, which appears to emerge from the combination of strong identity, guidance and mentorship, and infusion of Māori values and beliefs. Whereas orthodox discussion of entrepreneurship focussed on the economic, individual, cognitive and social factors that underpin entrepreneurial intent, and the contribution of entrepreneurs to economy, Māori entrepreneurship in screen production is as much about strengthening Māori identity as it is about starting Māori businesses. This desire to strengthen Māori language, culture and identity is an important ingredient in the recipe for entrepreneurial endurance and success.

Political and Cultural Issues for Māori in Screen Production

The overview of Māori screen production helped to locate this study, as part of the ongoing struggle by many to foster the Māori screen industry, as part of a broader strategy to revitalise the Māori language and culture, as well as nurturing an industry that enables Māori to tell our stories, in our own ways. In other words a *Kaupapa Māori* screen industry is one that expresses all the characteristics of the *tikanga*, for, with and by Māori, and is one that finds form in the telling of Māori stories for Māori people.

The open-ended Survey responses provided useful insights into some of the issues that Māori practitioners felt strongly enough about to comment on. A sample of these responses outlined the issues which practitioners saw as challenges and opportunities. Some of those are re-stated here, as political and cultural issues of importance to these Māori in screen production.

Challenges

The challenges they identified focused on the difference between the mainstream and Māori industries, their concerns with broadcasters, funding agencies, and funding strategies. To reiterate some of the quotes from respondents:

- “I am a Māori who works predominantly in the mainstream and this can present challenges that are different to those of us who work in a more supportive mainly Māori environment”;
- “We need to close rank on mainstream media, as they are willing to only show our weakness not our strengths”;
- “The TVNZ politics”;
- “The constant battles with 'the powers that be'; the mediocrity of decision makers in the networks and funding agencies”;
- “People who, knowingly or otherwise, hinder the progress of Māori in film & TV”;
- “For Māori, the money. In mainstream the money is fine”;
- “Unpredictable income and constantly having to reinvent oneself as the industry changes”;
- “Constantly justifying being Māori, telling Māori stories”;

- “The mediocre attitude adopted by some Māori, settling for second rate programmes, thinking that the language is all important when really its craft, we should be aiming to have *Te Reo Māori* win mainstream awards”;
- “MTS (Māori Television Service) didn't happen through 'market forces' or the 'trickle down' effect. Our *kaumātua* fought for recognition of our *reo* which resulted in MTS. We will need to do the same to get more Māori feature films made. We cannot rely on government departments or on 'market forces' to decide on Māori films being made. We must all believe and then practice our inherent *tino rangatiratanga*, our choice to decide our own future as filmmakers”;

Taken together, the Challenges presented by these practitioners highlight the vulnerability of the Māori screen industry to macro- and micro-influences. At the macro-level, government and mainstream media influence the strategies and decisions about funding and broadcasting support for the Māori screen productions; at the micro-level, internal pressures and stresses hinder Māori advancement, whilst mediocrity and laissez-faire attitudes amongst Māori practitioners impede the development and progress of the industry. Interestingly, racism did not rate highly as a Challenge for respondents, in either the open-ended comments or the rating given to that question. It was inferred in one or two comments, but not stated overtly. Therefore, presumably, practitioners did not feel they were victims of racism, or if they experienced it, were not deeply perturbed by it.

Opportunities

This small sample of Opportunities highlighted by Survey respondents were chosen because of the explicit points they made, however, a number of other comments shared similar sentiments, thereby reinforcing the positive connotations of working in the screen industry for Māori practitioners:

- “*Whiria te taura here ki mua i muri* - plait the rope that links the past with the future”;
- “To bring the unique things of my world to a global society. To see that it is done right and with integrity”;
- “Being able to use *Te Reo* and *tikanga Māori* all day, every day and get paid for it!”

- “Artistic expression in *Te Reo* for our children and showing them they can do anything they dream”;
- “I fell into this industry by being in the right place at the right time, it is not a lifestyle to suit everyone, it demands immediate response and takes no excuses, it builds responsibility and makes you the owner of what you do”.

These comments underscore the sense that practitioners feel a vocation or calling for a career that allows them to make a difference and a contribution to the revitalisation of Māori language and culture, whilst also participating in an industry that nurtures their growth and development as individuals.

Similar sentiments were also expressed in the Case Studies. For example, a number of interviewees mirrored concerns about funding arrangements and funding bodies, the lack of cohesion or strategies to help independent production companies plan for the future and ensure ongoing work for their crews and companies, even when they have a proven track record of delivering high-quality programmes on comparatively low budgets. Other constraints related to the gruelling demands of the work, and the impositions on family life and other responsibilities.

The Case Studies also focussed on the positive aspects of owning production companies, in particular the freedom to choose their own work, projects and crews, and the sense that the work they are doing is making a positive contribution to the Māori world, and the revitalisation of Māori language and culture. The only tangible evidence for the contribution these productions make to Māori language and culture is from the ratings, which for Māori Television have been growing since it was launched in 2004, and for Māori programmes on TVNZ. Also, the financial and critical success of Māori films such as ‘*Boy*’, ‘*Whale Rider*’ and ‘*Once Were Warriors*’, the film and television awards garnered for Māori productions, and the high profile of events such as the *Wairoa* and *Hokianga* Māori Film Festivals suggest there is an audience for Māori story-telling, one that is not exclusively Māori. One could also assume that Māori-language programmes, particularly those made for children and youth, are further promoting the use and retention of *Te Reo*.

Reflections from an Insider

The evidence gathered from the Survey and interviews, concurs with my experience in the industry, having worked on both Māori and mainstream productions. When one is involved in a Māori production, whether as a writer, working on set, or acting, there is a feeling, spiritual and energising, that flows through the endeavour. Each day, one works in a community, a *whānau*, that is bound by the intimacy of shared knowledge, understanding, commitment and passion, which in both heady and heart-warming. These positive things may, at various times during the production, be undermined by the continual pressures, the low budgets, the ‘newbies’ stumbling their way through the complex maze of relationships, language and technology on set, and inevitably getting things wrong, the gruelling hours and working conditions, the emotional stressors and occasional outbreaks of ‘bitchy’ or ‘prima donna’ behaviour. It can seem intolerable, until one feels the breath of the ancestors, *mana atua*, on the back of one’s neck, a shared *kai*, making time for *karakia*, enjoying a drink with a guitar at the end of a long day, joyously singing the *waiata* you once heard your grand-parents sing, and you know that your heart, your soul, your *wairua*, is being replenished, you are invincible in your ‘Māori-ness’. Those are the moments that you treasure, and which make all the negative effects seem so inconsequential.

Māori screen production has grown out of political and social activism. It is an industry that was spawned by Māori protest. However, it is beholden to and constrained by governmental largesse, which can change at the behest of political whim. For example, the digital strategy created by the Labour Government in the mid 2000s, has not been extended by the incoming National Government in 2008, which jeopardises the digital channels, among them the *Te Reo* channel. But Māori screen production also replenishes and reinforces Māori culture, Māori creatives working together, against what sometimes feel like insurmountable odds, yet still delivering each year hundreds of hours of story-telling, in *Te Reo Māori*, or in English but with a Māori-centric heart, a *tika* representation of the notion ‘for, with and by Māori’ in screen production.

Māoritanga in Screen Production

As the data collection and analysis progressed, it became apparent that Māori knowledge, *Māoritanga*, was relevant in the analysis of the Case Studies. However, it is a form of *Māoritanga* that is not necessarily traditional, steeped in ancient knowledge, but one which is more relevant in a contemporary setting.

Marsden (cited in Royal, 2003) referred to *Māoritanga* as a thing of the heart rather than the head, which incorporates a philosophy, the sum of beliefs and assumptions upon which one may act, and comprising the views about the world that guides beliefs and actions. He founded his discussion on *whakapapa*, the genealogical links and connections between humankind and the cosmos, *i te kore, ki te pō, ki te ao mārama*. Thus, for Marsden, humankind has a role in the ordering of this universe, through the power of the word.

Mana is the authority, delegated by the gods to humans, to act on their behalf and in accordance with their revealed will, it is power in action, power to perform miraculous works, and the power of the spoken word. In its more specific forms, *mana* comprises *mana tangata*, *mana whenua* and *mana atua*, and it is from these that humans derive their power, the *mana*, to carry out their roles as human beings.

Shirres (1997) defined these terms as:

Mana Tangata: To be a person is not to stand alone, but to be one with one's people; 'Mana Tangata' can be used to describe all those people, living and dead, who stand beside, shape, inform and empower us. Each of the interviewees referred to the people who had inspired, encouraged and under-pinned their life choices, career pathways, and in many cases, even their desire to take control of their story-telling, careers and entrepreneurial endeavours.

Mana Whenua: *Papatuanuku*, the land, is mother and the source of nourishment and shelter for the people;

'*Mana Whenua*' can be used to describe all those places, sites of significance that nourish and shelter us. Again, each interviewee shared their experiences of places, birth-places, schools, communities, work-places that had been the site of experiences that motivated and encouraged them to achieve and progress in their chosen fields, and which ultimately resulted in their career and entrepreneurial pathways.

Mana Atua: Spiritual powers; are our immediate source of *mana*;

'*Mana Atua*' can be used to describe the power that infuses us with the purpose, passion to carry out our roles as human beings. Yet again, each interviewee recalled and referred to the purpose, vocation, passion that fuelled their vision and work, their careers and the organisations they created.

One other *mana* relates to the strident call from Māori in recent decades, *mana motuhake*, the desire for self-determination, sovereignty, and emancipation that has driven Māori to march, protest, sign petitions, and enter the political fray in unprecedented numbers since the 1970s. ‘*Mana Motuhake*’ can be used to describe the aspirations for control of Māori story-telling, and the drive to create organisations in which one can enact authentic identities and inwardly-derived values (O’Neill & Ucbasaran, 2010).

These concepts, taken together, provide a framework for analysing and understanding the connections between the key themes identified by the interviewees. Anderson (2011) referred to the importance of connections and relationships, a social ontology of relatedness, connecting people, places and events; identifying phenomena and their relationships to other phenomena, and providing explanatory links, as the role of ‘good theory’. It is on that basis, that these concepts will be used to shape the theory outlined below.

Emancipatory Māori Entrepreneurship in Screen Production

Theory is insightful when it surprises, when it allows us to see profoundly, imaginatively, unconventionally into phenomena we thought we understood. This study has gathered information that provided insight and allowed for speculation and hypothesis testing. The intellectual rigour has come out of the process of synthesising, reflecting, sharing with participants, colleagues, mentors, testing the sound, the taste, the viability of propositions that began to emerge.

The literature provided the foundations for shaping the research questions and design. The surveys and interviews contributed to a body of evidence that populated the ‘lists’ and ‘typologies’, key constructs, concepts and themes. The relationships between those concepts and themes have been further explored and analysed, some causation has been suggested, and an explanatory model has begun to emerge.

Consequently, the theory of emancipatory Māori entrepreneurship in screen production is founded on the following set of propositions - the components of the theory.

When one experiences and fosters:

Mana Tangata

People who have shaped, informed, empowered and encouraged the life choices, career pathways and entrepreneurial endeavours ***and***

Mana Whenua

Places that nourish and shelter, be they birth-places, schools, communities, work-places, sites that motivate and encourage achievement in chosen fields ***and***

Mana Atua

Purpose and power that infuses the passion, fuels the vision for story-telling, career and entrepreneurship ***and***

Mana Motuhake

Self-determination, sovereignty and emancipation for Māori is an important aspiration, taking control of Māori story-telling, the drive to create organisations in which one can enact authentic identities and inwardly-derived values ***then***

Emancipatory Māori Entrepreneurship

The environment for ‘emancipatory Māori entrepreneurship in screen production’ will flourish. Story-telling is the outward and visible sign of emancipatory Māori entrepreneurship in screen production, which is eventually reflected in the creation of production companies that are underpinned by the desire to take control of the story-telling process, to participate in the revitalisation of Māori language and culture, and the achievement of *tinu rangatiratanga* through creative enterprise.

Each of the ten participants is different, in terms of their education, family and *whānau* history, ancestry, age, gender, and sexual orientation. For some, it seemed highly unlikely that they would go into the screen industry, let alone specifically Māori screen production, but when reading their words and listening to their stories, similarities emerged. They all exuded a passion for making, sharing, and telling Māori stories, for social change and social justice through screen production, for making a difference, that was visible and tangible, an extraordinary confidence in, and commitment to their ‘Māori-ness’.

It was, while synthesising their stories, reviewing the data, a conversation came to mind that I had a few years ago with an old friend, Tainui Stephens, who talked about *wairua auaha*, which literally means ‘creative spirit’, a term he used to describe Māori in film and television, as a community, a body of work and a vision. That term resonated deeply for me. The notion of creative spirit, *Wairua Auaha*, has been adopted to describe the essence of the invincible Māori-ness of a whānau of extraordinary talent that has been driven by entrepreneurial endeavour.

Thus, the Model has taken shape, comprising the elements, people, places, passion and desire for emancipation that are the key components of the theory. These components form a ‘value-adding’ process in which one reinforces the other to engender and support the other components.

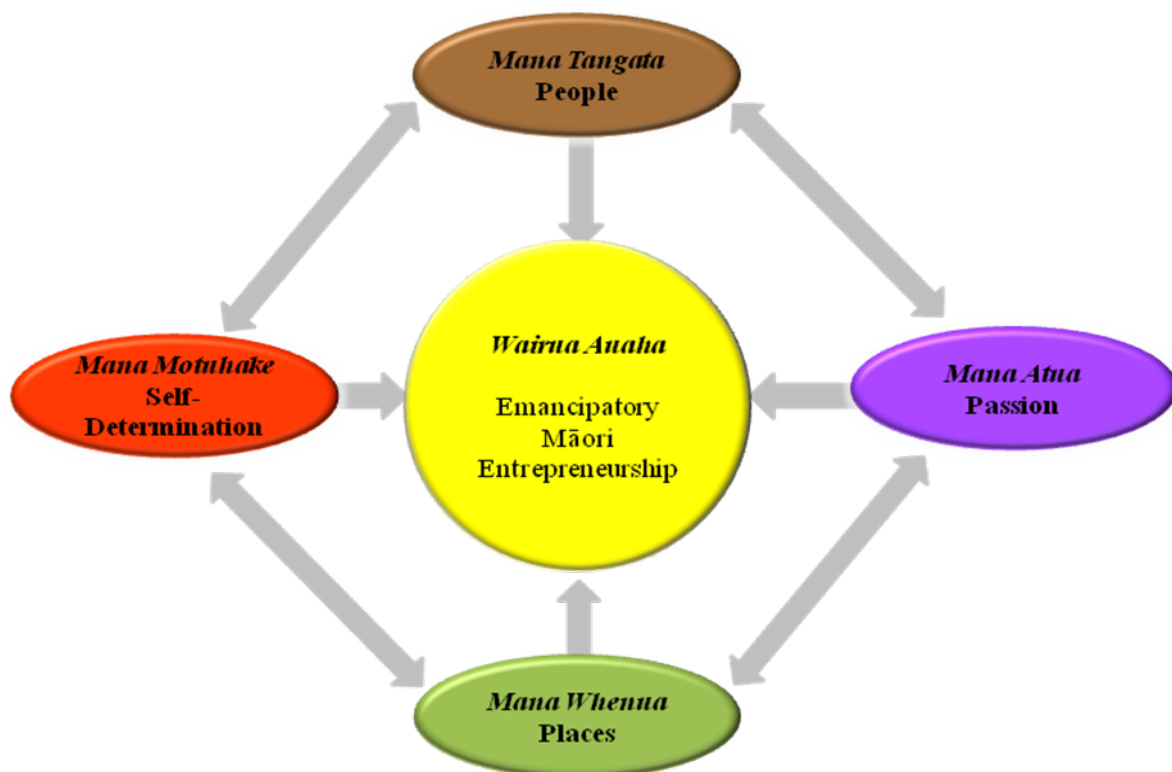


Table 5.1: ‘*Wairua Auaha*’, a model of emancipatory Māori entrepreneurship in screen production

In the early stages of theory generation, the given order in which these components might emerge needs to be further tested. However, the identity literature is clear that one's perceptions about oneself become confirmed in youth; therefore we can assume that experiencing a childhood and youth in which one's identity is positively affirmed, and one's self-belief is enhanced, would be an important first step in this process.

Further, we know from the interviewees that each participant experienced people, places and critical incidents that motivated and encouraged them to try new things, exploit opportunities and embrace challenges. Parents and grand-parents have nurtured them and inspired them with stories. Individuals like Jim Moriarty, June Mariu, Keri Kaa, Tainui Stephens, Merata Mita, and Don Selwyn have come into their lives at pivotal moments and opened doors, created opportunities and broadened horizons.

It may be that the opportunity to embark on an entrepreneurial enterprise, or the desire to take control of one's work and creativity, are the elements that fuse the other components into a single purpose, or it could be that the combination of components leads inexorably to the desire for control and freedom, which only entrepreneurship can satisfy. Only further research in this field can begin to answer those questions. However, this theory is an original contribution to the body of knowledge about the Māori screen industry, and Māori entrepreneurship. It is the sincere hope of the researcher that this study proves to be useful and meaningful for Māori in the academy and for producers and practitioners in Māori screen production.

Limitations

As previously noted, there are a number of limitations to this research. Both phases of the research, the Survey and Case Studies were based on a small samples, albeit reasonable proportions of the total population. The Survey yielded fifty-one responses from a total population that may be in excess of one thousand. Therefore, further quantitative research, with a larger database would need to be conducted to confirm or dispute these findings.

Also, there were ten interviews, representing half of the total number of Māori who owned production companies which produced a significant body of work during the period of the study (2009-2010). During that time, there were only five Māori who had produced full-length feature films based on Māori stories; Merata Mita passed away in 2010; Larry Parr

was recruited into a senior management role with Te Māngai Pāho; and the other three were heavily involved in productions and other associated business (Ainsley Gardiner, Cliff Curtis and Tainui Stephens), so gaining interviews with these Producers proved to be difficult. A number of other producers have taken up executive roles in other organisations, e.g. Paora Maxwell is now the General Manager of Māori Programmes at TVNZ. Therefore, their perspectives do not appear in this study, so further research could be done, to include many more voices, and not just those currently operating their own businesses. However, even with these limitations, this remains the most comprehensive study of Māori entrepreneurship in screen production to date.

Implications

The theory of emancipatory Māori entrepreneurship in screen production has potential implications for a wide range of organisations and entities. For example, TVNZ, as the State broadcaster, New Zealand on Air, and the New Zealand Film Commission, all share responsibility for investing in New Zealand screen production, and have a role in supporting the Māori screen industry. Māori Television, *Te Māngai Pāho* and *Te Puni Kōkiri*, the Ministry of Māori Development have a more specific role in nurturing Māori screen production. These organisations sit alongside Māori initiatives such as *Ngā Aho Whakaari* and *Te Paepae Ataata*, who have an avowed commitment to furthering the aspirations of the Māori screen industry, and for providing opportunities for Māori to tell uniquely Māori stories through screen production. Furthermore, a growing number of *Iwi*, as part of their post-settlement economic development programmes, are developing communications and media strategies that include a screen production component (e.g. *Kai Tahu* engaged Whetu Fala to produce programmes about their Iwi for Māori Television).

Therefore, this theory provides a framework for developing strategies that enable:

- Māori to train and develop their creative writing, story-telling, production and business skills, in ways that reinforce their Māori identity and self-efficacy;
- Māori entrepreneurs in screen production to setup organisations that reflect their cultural, social and business aspirations;
- Māori to network and support each other in the screen industry;
- Māori production companies to gain some certainty about long-term programming needs, consistency in decision-making about investment in funding.

These strategies hold the potential to whakamana te wairua auaha, to enhance and empower the creative entrepreneurial spirit.

Furthermore, the theory has implications for those involved in Māori media education, particularly at tertiary level where there is a proliferation of film-making, media and communications courses and programmes around the country that vie for Māori students, of which Te Ara Poutama is one such institution.

The challenge for those of us in education is to ensure that we deliver Kaupapa Māori theoretical foundations alongside the requisite technical skills, as well as nurturing self-belief and creativity, thereby ensuring that future generations are connected to, and revel in their identity as Māori, and as story-tellers. Further, the Model provides a theoretical construct against which ideas can be further tested. For example, how and when the ‘creative spirit of Māori entrepreneurship can be enhanced, and how we can *manaaki* future generations of Māori so that their *Wairua Auaha* is both ignited and strengthened.

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GLOSSARY

TE REO MĀORI

Aotearoa

Arohanui ki a koe e hoa
Aroha
Auaha
E hoa
E tipu, e rea

Haka
Hapū
He taonga i tawhiti
Hookio
Hori
Hui
Ihumānea
Iwi
Kaikārangā
Kaikōrero
Kaitiakitanga
Kanohi
Kārangā
Karakia
Kaua
Kaumātua
Kaupapa
Kia ora
Kitea
Kiwa
Kōauau
Kōhā

ENGLISH

North Island, now used as Māori name for New Zealand
Much love to you my friend
Love, empathy
Creative, innovative
Friend
Taken from a quote by *Apirana Ngata*, means ‘grow and flourish’
Vigorous group-dance
Kinship group, sub-tribe
Treasured gifts from the past
Extinct nocturnal bird
Derogatory term used to describe Māori
Meeting, gathering
To be clever, intuitive
Tribe, extended kinship group
One who calls
Speaker
Stewardship, guardianship
Face, as in face to face
Call, summon, welcome
Prayer, incantation
Do not
Elder
Agenda, plan
Be well
To be seen
Eponymous ancestor, across the Pacific
Flute, nose flute
Gift, reciprocity

<i>Kōhanga Reo</i>	Language nest, early childcare
<i>Kōrero</i>	Talk
<i>Kōreroki Ngā Kararehe</i>	Talk to the animals
<i>Kōtahitanga</i>	Unity, solidarity
<i>..maa</i>	...and others
<i>Māhaki</i>	Inoffensive, humble
<i>Mana</i>	Prestige, authority
<i>Manaaki</i>	Care for, hospitality
<i>Māoritanga</i>	Māori culture, practices and beliefs
<i>Marae</i>	Community centre, buildings and meeting spaces
<i>Matakū</i>	Be afraid
<i>Matariki</i>	Pleiades, begging of the Māori New Year in June
<i>Mātauranga</i>	Education, knowledge, wisdom
<i>Mātua</i>	Parent
<i>Mauri</i>	Life force
<i>Mīharo</i>	Wonderment, to admire
<i>Mihi</i>	Greeting
<i>Mokopuna</i>	Grandchild
<i>Nā Te Whatu Māori</i>	Through the eye (<i>Whatu</i>) of the Māori
<i>Ngā Aho Whakaari</i>	The strands of creativity
<i>Ngā kaiwhakahaere o tenei Tohu Mātauranga</i>	The supervisors of this degree (<i>Tohu Mātauranga</i>)
<i>Ngā mihi nui ki a kōrua</i>	Greetings to the two of you
<i>Ngā Pae o Te Māramatanga</i>	The platform for enlightenment
<i>Ngā Tamatoa</i>	The young warriors, an activist group since the 1970s
<i>Ngāti</i>	Prefix for a tribal group
<i>Ngā Wai o Horotiu Marae</i>	‘The waters of <i>Horotiu</i> ’, named by the people of the <i>Tainui Waka</i> , where the Marae now stands
<i>Oneroa-a-Tohe</i>	The long beach of <i>Tohe</i> , Māori name for Ninety Mile Beach
<i>Otara</i>	Suburb in South Auckland
<i>Paepae</i>	Orator’s bench, speakers from the tangata whenua

<i>Pākehā</i>	New Zealander of European descent
<i>Paki waitara</i>	Story, tale
<i>Pepeha</i>	Tribal saying, proverb
<i>Poroporoaki</i>	Farewell, eulogy
<i>Pōtiki</i>	Youngest child
<i>Pōwhiri</i>	Formal welcome ritual
<i>Pūkana</i>	A movement in <i>haka</i> performance
<i>Puna</i>	Spring, well
<i>Pūrakau</i>	Myth, legend
<i>Pūtea Whakaaro</i>	Literally means ‘a basket of thoughts’
<i>Rangatira</i>	Chief
<i>Rangatiratanga</i>	Chiefly
<i>Tā Paora</i>	Transliteration of Sir Paul Reeves
<i>Tā moko</i>	Facial tattoo
<i>Tainui</i>	Canoe, which brought the tribes that populate the central North Island, along the <i>Waikato</i> River and surrounds
<i>Takahia</i>	Be trampled on
<i>Taku pāpā, māmā</i>	My father, mother
<i>Taku whaiāipō</i>	My beloved
<i>Tamariki</i>	Child, children
<i>Tangata</i>	Person
<i>Tangata whenua</i>	Person from that place, people of the land
<i>Taonga</i>	Treasure, precious thing
<i>Taumata</i>	Summit, speaker’s bench
<i>Tauparapara</i>	Incantation to begin a speech
<i>Te Āo Māori</i>	The Māori World
<i>Te Ara Poutama</i>	The pathway of learning
<i>Te Ipukarea</i>	Significant features of tribal identity
<i>Te kete aronui</i>	Basket of knowledge of peace and the arts
<i>Te kete tuātea</i>	Basket of knowledge of war and the dark arts
<i>Te kete tuauri</i>	Basket of knowledge of ritual chants
<i>Te Māngai Pāho</i>	Representative of dissemination and transmission

<i>Te Manu Aute</i>	A kite, metaphor for a dream or aspiration
<i>Te Paepae Ataata</i>	Māori entity to sit alongside the NZ Film Commission for Māori film-making
<i>Te Reo</i>	Māori language
<i>Te Rerenga Wairua</i>	North Cape, jumping off place of the spirits
<i>Tika</i>	True, correct
<i>Tikanga</i>	Doing the right thing, rituals
<i>Tino rangatiratanga</i>	Self-determination, sovereignty
<i>Toa</i>	Strong, warrior
<i>Tōhunga</i>	Expert, skilled person
<i>Tūhoe</i>	Central North Island, inland tribe
<i>Tūmanako</i>	Hope, to wish for
<i>Tūpato</i>	Beware
<i>Tūtahi tonutanga</i>	Standing together, always
<i>Utu</i>	Pay back, revenge
<i>Wahine toa</i>	Woman, strong
<i>Waiariki</i>	Māori name for <i>Rotorua</i> region
<i>Waipapa Marae</i>	The University of Auckland Marae, names for the location, Waipapa
<i>Wairua</i>	Spirit
<i>Wairuatanga</i>	Spirituality
<i>Waka</i>	Canoe, tribes recite genealogy back to founding canoes
<i>Waka Huia</i>	Treasure box, canoe for <i>Huia</i> (now extinct bird) feather
<i>Whakapapa</i>	Genealogy
<i>Whakatauki</i>	Proverb, aphorism
<i>Whānau</i>	Family, kinship group
<i>Whanaungatanga</i>	Kinship
<i>Whare Pora</i>	House of weaving, weaving school
<i>Whare Tapere</i>	House of entertainment, theatre
<i>Whare Wānanga</i>	House of higher learning

These translations are drawn from personal knowledge and the Māori Dictionary at:

<http://www.Māoridictionary.co.nz/index.cfm>

ACRONYMS

MWWL

NAW

NZFA

NZFC

NZOA

SDGNZ

SPADA

TPA

TPK

TMA

TMP

TVNZ

WIFT

ORGANISATIONS

Māori Women's Welfare League

Ngā Aho Whakaari, Māori in screen production
incorporated

New Zealand Film Archives

New Zealand Film Commission

New Zealand on Air

Screen Director's Guild New Zealand

Screen Producers and Development Assoc.

Te Paepae Ataata

Te Puni Kōkiri: Ministry of Māori Development

Te Manu Aute

Te Māngai Pāho: Māori Broadcasting Funding
Agency

Television New Zealand

Women in Film & Television