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**Te Mata Ono**  
**The Six Faces of Māori Broadcasting**

**A thesis**  
**Submitted in fulfilment**  
**of the requirements for the Degree**  
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## **Abstract**

Māori have always been involved in media communication and from a traditional viewpoint karanga, whaikōrero, taonga pūoro, haka, waiata and mōteatea are all mediums used to share messages across a mass audience. Since the arrival of European settlers, we have seen Māori content disseminated through platforms such as newspaper, radio, and more recently via the medium of television. This particular study is concerned with the way that Māori are represented and information is shared via indigenous broadcaster, Māori Television. Using a theoretical model made up of six key components, this thesis asserts that Te Mata Ono could not only help to improve the production of Māori content but also reshape and modify the medium of television itself, to become more culturally appropriate. Ultimately, this model could guide Māori Television, outlining a Māori specific approach to broadcasting. This study is one part of a two-part study. Due to the limitations of a four-paper masters thesis, I will only be examining three elements of Te Mata Ono, which are Mata Māori, Mata ō-tua and Mata Pākehā. Another thesis that was conducted simultaneously by Te Aorere Pewhairangi explores the remaining three elements of the same model, Mata Iwi, Mata Ako and Mata Tikanga. Te Mata Ono could be applied to Māori Television, making a positive contribution to the future development of Māori broadcasting.

## **Ngā mihi**

This work is the result of the efforts of many. So I acknowledge the people who raised, supported and inspired me along the way. I am thankful and I offer my sincere gratitude to you all.

I acknowledge the pioneers who fought for the establishment of Māori language initiatives such as Māori Television long before I was born. It is because of their efforts in the face of adversity that have enabled me to have the career and the many opportunities I have had to date.

To Māori Television and the many kaimahi that contribute to the broadcasters ongoing success in its 15 years, without the many hands that have upheld the kaupapa of Whakaata Māori this study would not have been possible. In particular I'd like to thank Barbara Taiha Molyneux for giving me the chance to be a part of the Māori TV team, granting me my first full-time role in Māori media as an online reporter. I was heavily influenced by you. A special mention must also be given to confidant and rock, Wikitoria Day, your support was and is much appreciated. I'd also like to thank Eva Mahara for being patient with Te Aorere and I and allowing us to have the much needed space to complete this thesis. To the producer of Waka Huia, Mana Epiha, thank you for helping me to discover my passion for crafting documentaries. I am thankful for people like you who give young Māori a chance in an industry where ability is often validated by experience.

To the Ngārimu VC and 28th Māori Battalion Memorial Scholarship Fund, Te Aorere and I are indebted to you for the great support this scholarship has provided. It has been a privilege to be a recipient of this prestigious award knowing the caliber of past recipients and more so, the reason for its establishment, that is, the acknowledgement of the sacrifice made by the 28th Māori Battalion.

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contribution to the industry. Your credible backing gave us the confidence to see this study through.

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As an adult I have grown to recognise and appreciate sacrifices and decisions made by both of you for my benefit. Aroha nui to you both for making me and my education a high priority and reminding me about what I am capable of achieving.

Lastly, I'd like to thank Tini Molyneux and the late Puhi Rangiaho for inspiring me in my work. I have always seen you both as my strong, successful aunties however over the last few years and particularly throughout the duration of this study, I have become more aware of the immeasurable impact you have both made on Māori broadcasting. Aunty Tini, as a veteran journalist working in television for over 36 years, who is still working hard to this day, you are more than a role model, you are a recognised icon in the industry. And to my late Aunty Puhi, in recent years, I have come to appreciate your mahi as a trail blazing director and the weight of your commitment to te reo Māori. As I currently endeavour to follow a similar career path, I only wish that I had fully recognised your mahi earlier as I can't help but see that I have missed the opportunity to learn more from you. Regardless, I was constantly thinking of you as I wrote this thesis, so it's appropriate that I dedicate this body of work to you as an acknowledgement of the path you paved for Māori women like myself, in broadcasting and film.



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# Chapter 1

## Introduction: research questions and research methods

### 1.1 Introduction

This thesis contains the major literature concerning a six-part Māori media model known as Te Mata Ono. The model itself aims to act as a guideline for employees at Māori Television in particular, highlighting the six key areas that should be considered by each individual when producing Māori content. With a growing realisation that mainstream systems are not culturally appropriate for Māori, Te Mata Ono outlines a specifically Māori approach to broadcasting. This model was inspired in part by the work of renown Māori academic Sir Mason Durie, who developed ‘Te Whare Tapa Whā’, a comprehensive four part model of Māori health (Durie, 1994). Essentially, our models align as they both seek to incorporate and integrate a Māori, and by extension, an indigenous perspective into an industry that is largely informed by a mainstream western point of view. This thesis reaffirms the value of Māori knowledge and the worth of its contemporary application, especially within Māori-led organisations like Māori Television.

If we dissect the name Te Mata Ono, the word mata can be interpreted in a number of ways, but the possible definitions given for mata in the Williams dictionary is:

“1. (noun) face, countenance, edge, blade, eye, screen (computer), headland, mesh (of net)” (Williams, 1971).

It is important to understand that in the Māori language, with most words, there are layers of meaning. “Mata” doesn’t only mean the physical face of a person, it can also refer to the image a person portrays or represents (Williams, 1971). Māori media kaimahi<sup>1</sup> represent not only themselves but various other individuals and groups they are connected to. Each kaimahi, whether consciously or

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<sup>1</sup> Kaimahi means worker or employee.

unconsciously are promoting something bigger than themselves. Employees in the Māori broadcasting industry have many mata and can assume multiple roles. These roles can be condensed into six broad mata. Within the broad dimensions of the six-part model, we believe that each mata represents critical success factors that impact how effectively Māori broadcasters fulfil their unique roles.

Te Aorere Pewhairangi and I developed this model together and conducted our research simultaneously and collaboratively. We believe the approach of working together is not only practical but is also consistent with Kaupapa Māori theory and Māori epistemology. This model is broad and must be covered in depth, so we thought it was necessary for the work to be split between Te Aorere and myself. Furthermore, because of the binary nature of the Māori world view, Te Aorere and I conducted our study together, taking in to account te tamawahine (female) and te tamatāne (male) duality. For us, this fits the ethical ideals established by our tīpuna<sup>2</sup>. Māori philosophy highlights the belief that male and female elements compliment each other in accordance with the indigenous paradigm that balance is paramount.

As stated earlier, Māori media is underpinned by six mata:

1. Mata Māori – This mata looks at Māori Television’s inherent obligation to represent Māori as a whole, keeping in mind the legacy of Māori media pioneers. Mata Māori advocates a tikanga-based approach to broadcasting. It also explores the varying and at times conflicting roles of Māori Television.

2. Mata Pākehā – Pākehā here means non-Māori or foreign. Sir Apirana Ngata, along with many of our tīpuna, believed in the progression of Māori and the benefits some Pākehā tools have for Māori development. Mata Pākehā can be split into two core areas – ture Pākehā (laws) and hangarau Pākehā (technology). Therefore, the increasing use of online platforms and developing technologies by media outlets, as well as the need to adhere to broadcasting laws will be discussed under Mata Pākehā.

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<sup>2</sup> Ancestors.

3. Mata ̄-tua – This examines workplace culture and the role of te reo Māori and tikanga in everyday work practices. The role of matauranga Māori is also highlighted.

4. Mata Ako – Because of the current state of te reo Māori, Māori broadcasters should be exemplary in their delivery of te reo Māori. And so staff are expected to be not only role models of the language, but also teachers as well as learners, implied in the word ako (Williams, 1971). Therefore Mata Ako will explore the benefits of upskilling staff so the quality of the product delivered to viewers is enhanced.

5. Mata Iwi – Mata iwi recognises the Māori obligation to represent whānau<sup>3</sup>, hapū<sup>4</sup> and iwi<sup>5</sup>. This responsibility can be demonstrated in a number of ways. For example, through the use of images, language, dialect and the way stories or programmes are framed. No matter what area Māori work in, we are part of a wider collective. It is important to recognise that despite our similarities as Māori, our tribal differences should be maintained and acknowledged.

6. Mata Tikanga – Unlike most mainstream media, tikanga<sup>6</sup> should be paramount in relation to our actions and behaviour because they are informed by our cultural beliefs.

It is important to note that all six mata are equally significant. As we broaden and expand on each mata, we can start to see where in many instances, they overlap. This model is relevant to all kaimahi within the industry, from executives and management to reporters, producers, presenters, graphic designers, subtitlers through to editors. Although each worker has different responsibilities, Te Mata Ono highlights six key outcomes to be achieved. We believe kaimahi in Māori media can produce high-quality programming while also maintaining cultural integrity if all six mata are applied. Many issues arise simply because one or more mata are overlooked or neglected. Most Māori broadcasting staff know parts of Te

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<sup>3</sup> Family.

<sup>4</sup> Subtribe.

<sup>5</sup> Tribe.

<sup>6</sup> Customary system of values or cultural practices.

Mata Ono already and practice them intuitively, but we hope they will have a conscious understanding of Te Mata Ono and practice it in a deliberate manner.

The aim of this study is to provide an informed evidence-based approach to kaupapa and tikanga practices within the industry, providing direction and guidance for the Māori media workforce. Te Mata Ono could also be used as an educational resource at both tertiary level and secondary school. There is a need for more culturally specific training and resources that teach media from a uniquely Māori perspective. Te Mata Ono could be used as a means of educating those aspiring to enter the industry as well as a professional development tool for current kaimahi. However its use is not restricted to Māori Television as this Māori broadcasting model could help those in the mainstream media to understand how Māori operate and what our cultural concerns are regarding how we are portrayed onscreen (Henry & Wikaire, 2013). In this way, relationships between Māori and the wider screen industry would be strengthened (Henry & Wikaire, 2013).

## **1.2 Background**

I first started my career in Māori media just over four years ago, fresh out of university. I had just finished the last papers of a Bachelor of Arts degree in Māori and politics and was lucky enough to get a job at Māori Television. Little did I know I had been competing with Te Aorere Pewhairangi for the job and that three years later he and I would be living, working and conducting this study together. We started at Māori TV on the same day and at our whakatau<sup>7</sup> I distinctly remember looking around at all the familiar faces I had admired over the years and thinking I was in over my head. Looking back on my life and how I got to this point, it becomes clear to me how I came to be on this path.

Like most people, I have my mother to thank for each deliberate decision made around my education in particular. Although I was born in Brisbane, Australia, my mum made te reo Māori a priority, irrespective of our geographic location. This leads me to believe that she had always intended to bring me home. I grew

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<sup>7</sup> A whakatau is a welcoming ceremony.

up in the small rural Māori community of Ruatoki. This place has been the one constant in my life, a place with a refreshing sameness each time I return there. I went to Te Wharekura o Ruatoki for the most part of my primary and intermediate years. My mum always said, one thing I wouldn't get anywhere else was whanaungatanga<sup>8</sup>. I think that the most valuable thing I learned in Ruatoki, in and outside of the classroom, was my Tūhoetanga. As a result, I have an unwavering love for home and am proud to know who I am and where I'm from.

From a early age, I was eager to broaden my knowledge of the world, so I was sent to St Joseph's Māori Girls College in Napier. This was a world away from home for me and was my first exposure to life outside of the whārua<sup>9</sup>. I spent the majority of my high school years there and like all old girls, made lifelong friends. I lived alongside girls from all corners of Aotearoa, from Te Kao in the North, to the Chatham Islands, Ruatorea on the East Coast of the North Island, Dunedin in the South, and some from as far away as Australia. I learnt how diverse Māori are as a people and that although we have undeniable similarities, we also had strikingly different qualities. For example, before Hato Hohepa<sup>10</sup>, I had no idea that my Māori language dialect was any different to anyone else's. I hadn't heard of significant Māori events such as Te Hui Aranga<sup>11</sup>, the Koroneihana<sup>12</sup>, or gatherings for the Ratana<sup>13</sup> religion. And so, on reflection, I know now it was at this point in my life that I learnt of my Māoritanga.

I didn't have to look far for role models in Māori media, as I had a number of relative in the industry. Two aunties in particular, Tini Molyneux and Puhī Rangiaho were women I looked up to. As a young girl, I wasn't aware of their roles as pioneers in the industry, but rather I admired their personal qualities. Given they were strong willed, confident, assertive women with traits I didn't

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<sup>8</sup> A sense family connection.

<sup>9</sup> A valley. This word was used in reference to Ruatoki often referred to as te whārua o Ruatoki or Ruatoki Valley.

<sup>10</sup> A Māori girls catholic boarding school also known as St Josephs Māori Girls College.

<sup>11</sup> An annual Māori Catholic event held in celebration of Easter which includes cultural performances and sports competitions.

<sup>12</sup> An annual event held at Turangawaewae Marae celebrating the day when the current king or queen of the Kīngitanga movement ascended the throne.

<sup>13</sup> Rātana is a pan-tribal political movement and religion founded by Tahupōtiki Wiremu Rātana.

possess, I always thought I'd never be cut out for television. It wasn't until I was thrown in the deep end by my principal, the now Dame, Georgina Kingi that my preconceived notions about myself were challenged.

I think any of Miss Kingi's former students would agree she is a force of nature, someone you do not want to disappoint. So, when she asked that I participate in Ngā Manu Kōrero<sup>14</sup> in the Rawhiti Ihaka section<sup>15</sup>, I knew there was only one right answer. I remember crying to my parents after qualifying for the national competition, realizing how much more stress I'd have to endure. In spite of all that, with the strong support from my parents, Miss, and the school I surprisingly got through it. If it wasn't for Miss, I would have never excelled at Ngā Manu Kōrero both regionally and nationally. More importantly, I would never have known what I was capable of. The experience helped me gain some confidence and reinforced how important te reo Māori was and would continue to be in my life.

Fast-forward to what is now my fifth year at Māori Television and I have worked in a range of areas. I have been an online reporter and presenter, a translator and subtitler as well as a director. I am grateful for the invaluable experiences I've gained and have had the privilege of learning from some of the best people Māori media has to offer.

Whilst working in the industry, Te Aorere and I have noticed things and we have questions. Questions about proficiency, questions around ethics, language, protocols, processes and procedures. Perhaps most importantly, because of the varying expectations Māori Television has to reconcile, there have been times where I have questioned the role of the service. And so, after trying to seek the answers to these questions, at around 2am one morning, we developed a Māori media model named Te Mata Ono – The six faces of Māori broadcasting. This

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<sup>14</sup> Ngā Manu Kōrero is a national speech competition for secondary school oratory.

<sup>15</sup> The junior Māori section of the Ngā Manu Kōrero was named after the late Rawhiti Ihaka who was recognised for his contribution as a teacher at St Stephens School in particular and acknowledging his diction in te reo Māori and English.

model is theoretical and this masters is about creating a theoretical model that will be implemented at PhD level.

At around the same time, the opening ceremony for the new Māori Television premises was held on August 24, 2017. During the pōhiri, former Chairperson for the Māori Television board Te Waihoroi Shortland stated, “Kei te mōhio ngā mokopuna ki te whakahaere i a Whakaata Māori, engari kua tae ki te wā e hoki ai ia ki ōna pūtaka” (Shortland, 2017). Our interpretation of this kōrero<sup>16</sup> is that, while the new generation of Māori within broadcasting have the capacity to operate Māori Television, there is a need to remember why Māori broadcasting came to be in the first place. Only then can the organisation move forward taking into account the vision of those before us. This narrative helped inspire us to develop the model and what it might achieve.

It is important that we review the current state of Māori broadcasting and raise issues where need be. Not to undermine the progress and developments we have made, but rather to heighten awareness in terms of the diligent efforts required to achieve more (Mane, 2009).

“Kua tawhiti kē to haerenga mai, kia kore e haere tonu. He nui rawa o mahi, kia kore e mahi tonu.”

"You have come too far not to go further, you have done too much not to do more" -Sir Hemi Henare (1989)

### 1.3 Questions

Before I lay out some of the key questions I intend to answer in this study, I'd like to first make my intentions and approach clear. Our traditional pūrākau<sup>17</sup> help to create intergenerational consistency as they contain lessons and guideline that inform our moral behaviours (M. Jackson, 2010). One pūrākau in particular speaks of the Māori demi god Māui and how he had such heightened curiosity that he had to know whether death could be removed from the experience of humans

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<sup>16</sup> Used in reference to statement made in formal speech.

<sup>17</sup> A pūrākau is a story or ancient legend.

(M. Jackson, 2010). He didn't give much thought to his approach or the possible implications if he succeeded or failed. When looking at the story of Māui and Hine-nui-te-pō, it teaches me one thing. We must be ethical in the knowledge or mātauranga Māori that we seek and that I myself must know the intentions of my research before conducting it (M. Jackson 2010). Moana Jackson (2010, p.29) says, "If the quest for knowledge cannot be categorized as tika, as correct or as appropriate or as something which uplifts our people (as in the phrase whakatika[make right], then perhaps we need to consider seriously why we want to know."

I am conducting this study in the hope that the knowledge obtained will make an enduring contribution to the development of Māori media. This is an industry, which was built on protest, resistance, persistence and vision. I hope that this study will help to honour and contribute to this legacy. Academic discourse can be self-serving if it is not implemented or actioned in any way. Therefore, the main question I hope to answer in this thesis is:

- How can the Mata Ono model be applied to the Māori Television arena to ensure both quality and cultural integrity within the Māori Television broadcasting space?

Although this is the fundamental question my thesis seeks to address, it is broad and raises a number of sub-questions.

- What is Māori broadcasting?
- What is the history of Māori broadcasting?
- What is Mata Ono?
- What are my three elements of the model I will be looking at?
- How can this model be implemented to support the long-term development and growth of Maori Television?

There is a critical need to ensure that mātauranga Māori can continually be added to and constantly refined, redefined and repurposed. Mātauranga Māori is by

nature, dynamic, adaptive and evolving. I believe our research has the potential to transform the way things are through understanding.

#### **1.4 Chapter outline**

This chapter sets the foundation and discusses the purpose and approach of this work. It introduces the topic and gives a background of the overall study as well as the researcher. Here the key research questions are posed and an outline of the subsequent chapters is given.

Chapter two examines the history of Māori broadcasting. It is appropriate that the past is referenced as a starting point and solid foundation for this thesis. Whether we are looking at the present or to the future, to Māori, our history is always relevant as it helps define our current reality and guide us into the future. Michael King supported this view, making the point that current affairs are always the outcome of history, especially for Māori (King, 1985). Māori tend to look forward into the past (King, 1985). Despite the complex nature of our history and the many events that contributed to the establishment of Māori broadcasting, it would be impossible to describe in one chapter. I will be focusing on the history of two major mediums, radio and television. The historical position of Māori in radio and the fight to establish iwi radio will be examined. The relentless efforts made by pioneers to achieve a Māori presence within the mainstream media space, leading to the opening of Māori Television, will be subsequently discussed.

Chapter three covers the first of the three mata, Mata Māori. The roles and responsibilities Māori broadcasters have to Māori communities is the primary focus of this mata. I have chosen this sequence because historical events relating to Māori in chapter two, both informs and influences the roles and obligations Māori Television are expected to fulfil.

Chapter four covers the second mata. Mata ō-tua looks at workplace culture and its compatibility with te reo Māori me ngā tikanga Māori<sup>18</sup>. I will refer to a number of scenarios and examples relating to this mata, which will reinforce the

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<sup>18</sup> The Māori language and cultural practices.

importance of Mata ̄-tua in workplace culture. This chapter will be divided in to three core areas; Te kawa ̄-tua, ngā tikanga ̄-tua and te reo ̄-tua. Māori media is looked at as an avenue for reo revitalisation, therefore Māori Television has a responsibility to promote the Māori language and culture on and off screen.

In chapter five I will look at Mata Pākehā. This chapter has two core elements. As mentioned in the introduction, this mata looks at hangarau Pākehā or foreign technologies as well as ture Pākehā or broadcasting standards. Today, technology is undoubtedly important within media, as all aspects of technology are developing rapidly in this modern age. The current reality in most industries is that there is a need to keep up with technology in order to remain relevant. I will introduce this chapter by stating examples which demonstrate the keen interest Māori have always had in acquiring new knowledge or tools to advance the Māori way of life. Furthermore, I will discuss the current measures being taken by Māori Television to move forward technologically and look at how culturally appropriate online platforms are. Lastly, Mata Pākehā addresses some of the broadcasting laws Māori Television must adhere to, the bodies charged with policing these standards, as well as the developing laws around the publication of online content.

Chapter six will pinpoint how each of the research questions were answered in this thesis. Given the collaborative nature of this research, I will conclude by outlining the findings of my three mata while also summarising the three elements covered by Te Aorere. In this chapter, I will give a portrayal of Te Mata Ono in its entirety, acknowledge developments throughout the progression of this study, while also reassessing and reasserting its purpose.

## **1.5 Conclusion**

This chapter has introduced the topic of study and the overall purpose of this thesis. I opened with a brief overview of the Te Mata Ono Māori media model, summarising each of its six components. After introducing the kaupapa of this study, I looked at some of the various factors and events that help to illustrate who I am. ‘Tua’ means to be beyond something, and kiri is skin (Mead, 2003). According to Hirini Moko Mead, “Tuakiri probably refers to the elements away

from the body that help define the identity and personality of a person” (Mead, 2003, p.273). That identity for me, is the land and community I belong to, the iwi, hapū and whānau that I am a part of, and the experiences that have helped make me the person I am. All of these things are relevant in identifying how I came to write this thesis on Māori media.

The third component of this chapter established the principle question I will look to answer through this study. In order to investigate the broad question further, I also list a number of subquestions. These questions provide guidance and ensure the overall kaupapa<sup>19</sup> of Te Mata Ono is covered in depth. Lastly, I established the framework upon which this entire work is structured, briefly outlining the purpose of each chapter.

According to Moana Jackson (2010), a Māori perspective dictates that time is a process of never-ending beginnings. There is a constant connection between past events and our current reality (M. Jackson 2010). Each and every one of us is not only a mokopuna to our predecessors but also a tīpuna to our descendants. We have an obligation to honour the legacy of our tīpuna, while also protecting the future of our mokopuna. Bearing these words in mind, it is appropriate to reflect on the connection between past, present and future in preparation for the historical focus contained in the next chapter.

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<sup>19</sup> Topic or subject.

## Chapter 2

### History

#### 2.1 Introduction

Broadcasting isn't a foreign concept for Māori. Māori are natural communicators and our well-established traditions which were developed as a means of sharing messages and information, support this. The most well known examples are seen at the heart of our cultural processions, our marae<sup>20</sup>. Whaikōrero is a traditional form of oratory which takes place within our own broadcasting space, known as the marae ātea<sup>21</sup>. Waiata<sup>22</sup>, haka<sup>23</sup> and waiata koroua<sup>24</sup> are not only poetic art forms that complement the whaikōrero<sup>25</sup> and supports what the speaker has said, but they are also a way of retaining and imparting knowledge. Carvings within a wharepuni<sup>26</sup> are decorative adornments that are the Māori way of publishing ancient knowledge, histories and other cultural information. However, our Māori worldview has been harder to integrate into western forms of media, with the Māori perspective not only misunderstood, but largely dismissed. This led to Māori asserting their own presence in the industry over time, which led to the need for Māori programming, for Māori, by Māori.

It is important that I briefly contextualise the need for Māori broadcasting through its history. Māori have faced a number of challenges in both the structural and cultural arenas and these issues remain a point of contention (Pihama, 1996). Each of these areas is interconnected and therefore an analysis of broadcasting is more complex than merely deconstructing the images that we are presented with on the screen (Pihama, 1996). These complexities require interrogation that position

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<sup>20</sup> Ceremonial courtyard in front of a traditional meeting house. Marae is often used in reference to the courtyard as well as the complex of buildings surrounding it.

<sup>21</sup> Open space/area in front of meeting house.

<sup>22</sup> A waiata is a song.

<sup>23</sup> Traditional rhythmic posture dance.

<sup>24</sup> Traditional Māori lament, also referred to as a mōteatea.

<sup>25</sup> A formal speech or Māori oratory.

<sup>26</sup> Carved meeting house.

Māori people and our representation within the context to which we are located (Pihama, 1996).

The only way to understand the impact and significance of Māori broadcasting is by understanding the long history of Indigenous struggle in Aotearoa (Smith, 2016). Te Tiriti o Waitangi has been the mobilising force for Māori who have been at the forefront of media activism in New Zealand (Smith, 2016). I must acknowledge that this master's thesis restricts my capacity to give an in-depth analysis of our full history. In the section that follows, I will focus on the key events that led to the establishment of Māori broadcasting.

## **2.2 History of Māori Broadcasting**

There are many examples, traversing all mediums of western media, which portray Māori in an inaccurate historical light. Many of these images are embedded in the subconscious of New Zealanders, influencing and informing their attitude towards Māori (Spoonley & Hirsh, 1990).

Māori have experienced more than 200 years of racism disguised as news and entertainment (Stuff, 2018). One well-known example of this was seen in a painting by Charles Frederick Goldie titled, "The Arrival of Māori in New Zealand" (Burger, 2018). Our oral history speaks of our ancestors and their great voyaging traditions with tohunga who navigated by the stars. But a century ago, Pākehā found this difficult to comprehend (Burger, 2018). This resulted in the image that they found more feasible, the idea that Māori were out fishing or travelling from place to place when they were caught in a great storm and swept far south, where they staggered ashore at Aotearoa, emaciated (Burger, 2018). Therefore, Goldie's painting of Māori arriving here in Aotearoa portrayed Māori as desperate flotsam floating ashore, gaunt and starving rather than as the accomplished, experienced maritime explorers we know them to be (Burger, 2018).

Something about that image stuck in the popular imagination so that in 1940 when New Zealand celebrated the nation's centennial, the post office published a stamp

called the arrival of Māori with similar imagery of Māori crawling ashore (Burger, 2018).

Media must take some responsibility for the state of contemporary race relations. Their failure to convey accurately and fairly the circumstances and issues of race relations have exacerbated communal tension (Maharey, 1990). The media's power to 'create' facts and confirm values makes them a significant factor in influencing public opinion (Maharey, 1990). The print, audio and audio-visual media determine how we understand other groups in our society and will reinforce or contradict the views held by one person or another (Maharey, 1990). "So the media supply us with information about ourselves and our community. For very many people, they are the only source of information and become a substitute for direct experience" (Spoonley & Hirsh, 1990, p.9).

It is important here to note that there are limitations to the influence media can have. "People are not passive, and while the media reinforce prejudice, they seldom create it. And if the media are racist, then it will be because the wider society is racist" (Walker, 1990, p.31). To a varying degree, the media will reflect and appeal to commonly held views and norms.

Research shows that Māori have historically been misrepresented, misunderstood and silenced within the mediascape. Māori broadcasting emerged from the need for Māori stories to be told from a Māori perspective. All of the pioneers of Māori media faced adversity in the fight to gain a voice for their people. Amongst the protest and relentless barriers, many would have thought it impossible to achieve what we have today. Moana Jackson says our determination to challenge current realities is inherited from our ancestors. "What Māui did in all of his adventures, even though he failed with Hinenuitepō, what Tāwhaki did in climbing to the heavens, was to challenge the dominant reality, to seek a different reality" (M. Jackson, 2010, p.30). Pioneers of Māori broadcasting and film are the contemporary embodiment of our ancestors as they met challenges, barriers and hardship with resistance and resilience.

Although Māori began to advocate for Māori Television in the early 1980s, the fight for Māori to have a strong presence within broadcasting started as long ago as 90 years (Matamua, 2014). Many credit Te Upoko-o-te-ika as the starting point for Māori broadcasting. The launching of the first Māori radio station in 1987 did signal the start of Māori owned and directed Māori language broadcasting, but there is much to be said about those trailblazers who paved the way for such a milestone to occur (Matamua, 2014).

In 1927, Hare Hongi became the first Māori to break into the radio industry, a mere 6 years after the radio was first introduced to New Zealand. He delivered a programme that focused on the correct pronunciation of Māori words, the first-ever programme focused on te reo Māori (Day, 1994). Four Māori broadcasters were appointed in 1935, stationed at four of New Zealand's main cities (Te Ua, 2008). Uramo Paora (Lou Paul) at Auckland's 1ZB, Te Ari Pitama in Christchurch at 3ZB, Airini Grenell at 4ZB in Dunedin and Kingi Tahiwī at Wellington's 2ZB (Day, 2004). These individuals must be acknowledged. Even though the amount of reo Māori or Māori focused content was limited, they represented Māori and played a significant role in the development of Māori broadcasting.

Amongst others, the aforementioned Kingi Tahiwī is a notable pioneer. He was a multi-talented performer, musician and composer (Matamua 2014). In 1940 as the nation was tuned in to the national broadcast of the Waitangi celebrations, Tahiwī made a statement which foresaw the future direction of Māori broadcasting (Matamua 2014).

It is well that we should remember the Treaty of Waitangi, and remind ourselves how the goodwill of two people can keep alive the spirit of a working arrangement which could, with the slightest misapprehension on either side, suffer the fate of so many treaties (Waaka, 2010).

Tahiwī made this prophecy in a time when there was a blatant disregard for Māori in the radio industry. In this era radio was the most influential communication medium and Māori saw the potential it had to play a pivotal role in the protection and promotion of the Māori language and culture (Matamua, 2014). A Māori

programme section called Te Reo o te Māori was finally launched by NZ Broadcasting Corporation in 1964. John Fowler and Wiremu Kerekere spent more than 30 years collecting recordings of waiata Māori (Matamua, 2014).

By 1973, there had been an increase in reo Māori content in radio, however that did not excuse the fact that ultimately time allocated to Māori content was minimal. Dr Ranginui Walker highlights the limited and scattered nature of Māori programming of the time. “A Māori news bulletin was heard only on Sunday evenings. There was a Māori half-hour on Wednesday evenings, a quarter-hour of Māori music on Friday, and twenty-minute current affairs programmes by Selwyn Muru on Saturday mornings” (Walker, 1990, p. 269).

To put things into perspective, more than 45 years had passed since the first Māori voice was heard on the radio, but less than a mere hour and a half of Māori content went to air each week (Walker, 1990). As for television in the 1970s, there wasn't a single Māori programme on television (Matamua 2014). With mainstream outlets failing Māori, it is no wonder that a decade later Māori raised the idea of Māori owned and directed broadcasting.

There were no television programmes made especially for the Māori population. The Māori language was almost never heard on the airwaves and the whole spectrum of social and political issues important to Māori people were largely ignored both by radio and TV (Fox, 2001, p.261).

Despite Māori being under-represented, from the 1950s onwards, Māori programmes had aired on the radio. Māori didn't, however, establish any sort of presence on television until 1980 with the launch of the show Koha (Poihipi, 2007). Ray Waru established the Māori Production Unit at TVNZ which featured the show, New Zealand's first regular Māori programme (Smith, 2016). Koha was 30 minutes long and featured recognised figures in Māori broadcasting such as Merata Mita, Derek Fox, Tainui Stephens and Wena Harawira (Smith, 2016). Unfortunately, Koha had limitations given that it's brief was to appeal to a general audience. “In other words, it was a Pākehā window to Māoridom, not a Māori programme” (Fox, 1990, p.105).

The spearhead of Māori language and Māori perspective television in the country was Te Karere. In 1982 Bruce Crossan, the man in charge of news and current affairs acknowledged there was a need for Māori news during Māori language week (Fox, 1990). Derek Fox was a reporter for current affairs show 'Close Up' and was the only Māori journalist at the time, so he was assigned the task of producing a two-minute segment in Māori (Smith, 2016).

My brief as a reporter/producer/presenter was to pursue the news of the day, write spoken headlines in Māori and present that live on TV Two just before six in the evening, following an English language bulletin. No facilities were provided for the task, which was made more difficult by the fact that it was presented from a one-camera studio with the English language newscaster, John Hayden, reading his material while I sat on the floor awaiting my turn. Once he had finished, I had 10 seconds to get up, slide into the still-warm seat, compose myself and then present (Fox, 1990, p.103).

Fox accepted the task but didn't follow the brief. He opted instead to do Māori news rather than just news headlines in Māori. He collected material of interest to Māori viewers with the help of Whai Ngata and Purewa Biddle (Fox, 1990). They did so unselfishly without payment. Each bulletin was a challenge, as they struggled for facilities to gather, edit and transmit film stories for Māori news. Despite the two-minute restriction, they would push to take up the slack elsewhere in the schedule (Fox, 1990).

Fox recalls the moment he realised he needed to secure a more permanent bulletin for Māori news. "Later it struck me that even in 1982 the bulletin for the hearing impaired was half an hour long, an allocation the tangata whenua have yet to achieve" (Fox, 1990, p.103).

As far as producers and television executives were concerned, the following week it was business as usual, they had done their part to acknowledge Māori language week and that was that. But this was an issue that would prove harder to shake. In

the months that followed, pressure began to build from Māori who wanted regular Māori news. Rightfully so, as Māori were also shareholders in the public television system. Moreover, non-Māori were also asking questions about the establishment of a permanent Māori news programme. Fox was offside with his bosses when he felt an obligation to respond to these questions in newspaper interviews.

Regardless of the hurdles, and despite the minimal support from Television New Zealand, Te Karere was established in February 1983 (Fox, 1990). This was undoubtedly an important milestone, however, albeit on a minimal scale. Te Karere was a mere four minutes long and was being broadcast on TV2 meant the broadcast had limited reach with rural areas and Māori speaking populations initially missing out (Fox, 1990).

Despite the difficulties that ensued and the subsequent negative environment at TVNZ, it inspired their persistence.

So, the nasty remarks from camera crews who referred to it as a ‘coon round’. The grumpy reporters who resented our work with the nasty camera crews, and the complaints of viewers who took offence at having 5-minutes of their TV time taken over by ‘Māoris’, provided even more incentive for Te Karere to endure (Harawira, as cited in Smith, 2016).

Many Māori journalists recall the prejudices they faced and while they might seem like small matters individually, they are collectively indicative of the place of Māori in the system. While things were progressing for Te Karere, niggly impediments continued to plague more rapid developments. However, it was in the third year of production that Te Karere became a 10-minute broadcast and it wasn't until 23 years later in 2009 that the show was extended to the 30-minute bulletin we know today (Te Karere, 2018). As I write in the year 2018, Te Karere has celebrated 35 years since its inception and to mark the occasion, a new studio was revealed, allowing Māori stories to be told in 3D in an augmented reality (Te Karere, 2018).

Koha and Te Karere were signs of significant progress for Māori, but Māori within the industry at the time spoke of the toxic environment at TVNZ. According to Debra Reweti,

I can recall a respected Pākehā news reporter spinning on his heels angry that he had to wait for a Te Karere item to be edited, saying loud and clear, “F\_\_kin jungle bunnies” – the general attitude was that Māori programmes were of high nuisance value and minimal importance (Middleton, 2010, p.152).

Māori continued to struggle for recognition in both television and radio, so Māori sought legal action. In 1985 one of the most significant claims for Māoridom was filed by Huirangi Waikerepuru and Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i te Reo Māori Incorporated Society with the Waitangi Tribunal. This claim was in regards to the Māori language, the first claim involving something intangible (Matamua, 2014). The claim was made under article two of the Treaty of Waitangi, outlining that the Māori language comes under the broad definition of the word “taonga” (Smith, 2016).

This claim set out to make the Māori language legally recognised as an official language of Aotearoa (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986). It also asked for the establishment of Māori broadcasting stations and a Māori Language Commission (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986). In 1986 the Report of the Waitangi Tribunal on the te reo Māori claim was released and ultimately supported the claim (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986). The Tribunal saw the vital role broadcasting had in the revitalization of the Māori language and recommended the implementation of new policies and dedicated funding (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986).

By 1987, many became frustrated at how little had come from the multiple reports and consultations thus far. Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau turned to establish the first Māori radio station, Te Ūpoko-o-te-Ika (Matamua 2014). The Māori Language Act was another huge milestone for Māori in 1987, which meant legal recognition of the Māori language as an official language of New Zealand and the establishment of

the Māori Language Commission, Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986).

Television programme Waka Huia first aired in the same year. The iconic show is now recognised as one of the longest-running Māori television programmes and celebrated its 30th year of production in 2017. This period also saw the release of the first Māori feature film by Barry Barclay titled “Ngāti” (Hokowhitu & Devadas, 2013). Merata Mita also made her mark the following year in 1988 as the first Māori woman to produce a Māori feature film called “Mauri” (Hokowhitu & Devadas, 2013).

In 1989 the Broadcasting Act came into effect, launching New Zealand on Air, the new broadcasting commission. New Zealand on Air was required to set aside at least six per cent of Public Broadcasting Fee for Māori content to promote the language and culture (Broadcasting Act, 1989). However, the act was amended in 1993, resulting in the establishment of an independent Māori broadcasting body known as Te Māngai Pāho (Broadcasting Amendment Act, 1993).

Te Māngai Pāho emerged after twenty years of endless reports, hui, debates, policy amendments and legal action. Māori had fought hard for equality in the broadcasting industry. The scope of Te Māngai Pāho’s role included allocating funding for Māori programming on both radio and television (Te Māngai Pāho 1994). At the time of its inception, the amount of television programming with content relevant to Māori was less than 1% of the total broadcast time (Fox, 2001).

Fox painted a bleak picture regarding the state of Māori broadcasting at the time.

After nearly 30 years of television in New Zealand, less than 1 percent of television time is in the Māori language. After 60 years of radio in this country, and despite 50 publicly owned radio stations broadcasting tens of thousands of hours of programmes across a range of frequencies each week, only about an hour of it is in Māori (Fox, 1990).

It was clear that Te Mangai Paho could not single-handedly reclaim Māori self-determination (Matamua 2014). The first autonomous Māori radio station emerged because Māori audiences were overlooked by mainstream stations. Significant progress was made between 1993 and 2000 when a total of 21 Māori radio stations were established (Matamua, 2014). The blatant disregard for Māori was even greater within the television industry.

According to Kingi Ihaka,

Māori control is also an important feature of Māori broadcasting. No longer is it appropriate, if ever it was, to rely on Pākehā benevolence for the inclusion of a Māori dimension in public broadcasting (Ministry of Commerce, 1991, p. 15).

Ihaka believed that Māori broadcasting should mean nothing less than broadcasting for Māori by Māori (Ministry of Commerce, 1991). He and other pioneers of Māori broadcasting prophesied the inevitable need for an independent Māori voice.

One notable effort made by Māori in an attempt to enter the broadcasting industry was seen in 1985 when the New Zealand Government invited applications for a third television channel (Smith 2016). The New Zealand Māori Council made a pitch under Aotearoa Broadcasting System Ltd (Smith 2016).

The New Zealand Māori Council often challenged the Broadcasting Corporation of New Zealand (BCNZ) board about the “poor returns to its Māori shareholders” (Fox, 1990b, p.128). According to Fox, the hearing for the third channel was held in a monocultural fashion. The Broadcasting Tribunal who was the body charged with the distribution of warrants was ordered by the Minister of Broadcasting to investigate strategies around the introduction of private television to New Zealand (Fox, 1990b). It came as no surprise to Fox that they sought and recommended models from the British rather than sourcing the necessary information within Aotearoa (Fox, 1990b).

The lengthy hearing process saw contenders submit their applications. Each applicant was given the chance to share their vision and opponents invited to challenge their aspirations (Fox, 1990b).

While other contenders talked about revenue projections, whether their opponents' figures were realistic and whether each had sufficient plant of people to make the stations work, ABS sought to debate the philosophy of what was happening (Fox, 1990b, p.130).

Te Kōmiti Whakatinana, or the steering committee contended for the station with regard to Māori rights and the need for Māori to have a proportionate share of the broadcasting system, based on the partnership implicit in the Treaty of Waitangi (Fox, 1990b). Fox expanded on their case saying,

We pointed out that there are already two Pākehā television stations in this country: TV One and TV Two (now Channel 2). Between them, they have the opportunity to transmit the best available programmes to satisfy Pākehā needs. They make no attempt to satisfy Māori needs and perhaps they shouldn't have to. However, before another Pākehā television station is licensed, a Māori station should be set up (Fox, 1990b, p.130)

Unfortunately, ABS lost its bid for the third channel warrants, despite having the financial underpinnings to make it work for a time. According to academic scholar, Leonie Pihama, BCNZ and the government decided against the ABS bid at a crucial stage in the process and the failure to secure the third channel warrant constituted a lost opportunity for the development of a Māori television channel (Pihama 1996).

A decade later, a bold effort was made to establish the pilot Māori television initiative known as Aotearoa Television Network (ATN). Maurice Williamson, the then Minister of Communications under the National government, hosted a range of hui which lead to the Māori Broadcasting: Principles for the Future report in 1991 (Smith 2016). ATN was launched in 1996, but the milestone was short-lived with the network having a brief stint of 13 weeks within the Auckland

region (Smith 2016). Whilst the creation of ATN after decades of lobbying for a separate Māori TV channel was an important step forward, the trial was characterised by sufficient planning and a paucity of government funding, both of which led to the channel's collapse in 1997 (Dunleavy & Joyce, 2011, p.177).

Some have suggested that Aotearoa Television Network was set up to fail with insufficient resources and impossible time restraints (Smith, 2016). The closure of the network opened up Māori broadcasting to criticism, with the industry being framed as a waste of taxpayers money and the financial responsibilities of Māori organisations being brought into question (Bell & Guyan, 1997).

Despite the many hurdles in establishing a Māori television network, the minimal progress made by Māori within mainstream broadcasting was not enough to satisfy the desire Māori had for self-determination.

The TV One Programmes Marae and Te Karere are contained within the mainstream house...Both programmes attempt to portray values, language and issues related to the Māori house. Within the mainstream house, they occupy a 'room', but the 'house' is not Māori. They are still a minority within the whole industry and have to conform to the policies and practices of the mainstream house (Te Kawa a Māui Media Research Team, 2005, p.23).

Aspirations of having a television service were realised in March 2004 under the Māori Television Service Act (Māori Television Service Act, 2003). The launch of Whakaata Māori gave hope to the possibility of Māori control over Māori content. Given the origin of the industry, Māori broadcastings is rooted in its responsibilities to contribute to language and cultural revitalisation, helping to give equitable representation for Māori and shoring up a sense of self and collective identity (Smith, 2016).

### **2.3 Development of Māori TV**

The opening of Māori Television in March 2004 signalled a turning of the tide, screening Māori content daily. It was the result of protest and grass-roots political

action aimed at uplifting te reo Māori and the Māori worldview that had been systemically eroded by the ongoing impact of colonisation. The ongoing struggle by Māori against the Crown, hostile mainstream media as well as a general cynicism toward the legitimacy of initiatives involving Māori, led to this day (Abel, 2013a).

The legislation that enabled the establishment of Māori Television states the expectation to promote the Māori language and culture by producing and broadcasting content that, “informs, educates and entertains a broad viewing audience” (Māori Television, 2012, p.4). Māori Television is now a part of the World Indigenous Television Broadcasters Network, adding to a global movement which aims to give voice to the indigenous perspective, historically marginalised by various means (Smith, 2016). One thing that sets Māori Television apart from some other Indigenous networks is its appeal to non-Māori (Abel, 2013a). This can be accredited to the fact that Māori Television found its niche programming, attracting many New Zealanders who recognised the broadcaster for its public-service content (Abel, 2013a). Māori Television quickly developed a reputation, offering reo Māori content, Māori news and current affairs, lifestyle television, full day coverage of events of Māori and national interest, as well as art films and documentaries (Smith, 2016).

Five years on from the formal opening of Whakaata Māori, the service had quelled much of the public scepticism towards its existence, with an average of just over half a million viewers per month, 80% of which were non-Māori (Findlay, 2009). Another appealing aspect to the station at the time was its open studio approach for shows such as *Homai Te Pakipaki* and *Code*. Māori Television became known for its more grounded and open format, developing stronger relationships with viewers.

At the time of the service’s fifth birthday, *Mana Magazine* identified Māori Television’s most popular content. At the top of the list was coverage of ANZAC Day and Waitangi Day (Findlay, 2009). Māori Television launched its in depth coverage of ANZAC Day in 2006, reaching 215,000 viewers (Findlay, 2009). This number increased each year, with a 320,000 strong audience in 2008

(Findlay, 2009). Free to air broadcasts of boxing specials and various codes such as league, rugby and basketball attracted large audiences. Hyundai CODE was one of Māori Television's most recognised shows, responsible for the "Mean Māori Mean" mantra and reaching 200,000 viewers in 2008 (Findlay, 2009). And then there was the homegrown entertainment show Homai Te Pakipaki. In reflecting on the success of the station during its first five years, the then CEO Jim Mather explained why he thought the programme was so popular. "There's nothing flash about the format of the show; it's giving people an opportunity to have a go and there are no judgemental panels of experts – it's up to the viewer to decide who wins" (Findlay, 2009, p.17). The show would broadcast live with an in-studio audience. Subsequently, there would be a queue of people lining up outside the station every Friday night. This brief review of Māori Television after five short years of existence is indicative of its success.

In 2008 Te Reo channel was launched, which boasts a "full service of 100 per cent Māori language programming" (Māori Television, 2017b). Māori Television has contributed to the normalisation of Māori content on a national scale (Smith, 2013).

In 2014, new CEO Paora Maxwell announced a restructure as well as a planned move for Māori Television to new premises. This proposal was confirmed in 2016. On August 24 2017, Māori Television moved its headquarters from Newmarket to East Tamaki.

The station has since gone through significant changes. All of the spearhead shows have been cancelled and at present the only programmes produced in house are news and current affairs. All general programming is produced by external production companies, except for some older series that continue to be aired. The studio is now much smaller and doesn't have the capacity to accommodate the live studio audiences Māori Television was once renowned for.

In spite of the unrest caused by both restructuring and periodic changes to management, there have been many positive developments at the station. An online presence has been solidified with the use of social media platforms. The

Māori Television website has also increased the accessibility of programme content to viewers. In August 2017 the broadcaster launched its high definition transmission as a part of the multi-platform strategy (Māori Television, 2017b).

Currently, Māori broadcasting is in a state of flux. With the Māori broadcasting space under review and another restructure taking place at Māori Television under a new CEO, there is uncertainty as to what the possible changes could look like. There is nevertheless a level of optimism at the prospect of potentially innovative developments. The next section of this chapter will outline the present situation at Māori Television.

#### **2.4 Current state of Māori Television**

As I write this, there have been rapid changes in recent months for Māori Television. In October 2018 it was announced that the Ministry of Māori Development (Te Puni Kōkiri) will be facilitating a review on publicly funded Māori broadcasting. Minister of Māori Development, Nanaia Mahuta set the review in motion. According to Mahuta, the purpose of the review known as the Māori Media Sector Shift is to ensure that Māori broadcasting is “future-proofed and fit-for-purpose in the digital age” (Mahuta, 2018). Included in the assessment are Te Whakaruruhau o Ngā Reo Irirangi Māori (who oversee iwi radio stations), Te Māngai Pāho and Māori Television.

There is no denying that developing technologies have changed the face of broadcasting. The last review of Māori broadcasting was 20 years ago in 1998, long before the establishment of Māori Television (Mahuta, 2018). Moreover, that review, which was conducted by the Ministry of Commerce, focused solely on the state of iwi radio broadcasting (Mahuta, 2018). Mahuta says that the time has come to take a closer look at Māori broadcasting with an eye to the future, so that Māori broadcasting entities and organisations are responsive to the digital shift taking place at present (Mahuta, 2018).

Soon after in November 2018, Māori Television announced another restructure. The changes would mean that news and current affairs programmes Te Kāea, Kawekōrero, Native Affairs and Rereātea would be discontinued. Kawekōrero

aired for the last time on December 7. Soon after, the last Native Affairs show went to air on December 11 after 12 years of delivering current affairs from a Māori perspective. Bilingual midday news bulletin Rereātea broadcasted its final episode via livestream on the Māori Television website on December 14. Māori Television's long-running daily news bulletin Te Kāea aired for the last time in February 2019.

These radical changes signal the biggest shift within Māori Television in its 15 year history in an effort to become a modern digital-first media organisation. Māori Television's Deputy Chief Executive at the time, Shane Taurima said that the changes are a necessary part of the realignment of the way news and current affairs will be delivered (Ngā Aho Whakaari, 2018).

In a statement, Taurima clarified the new direction of Māori Television.

“The four news and current affairs programmes will be replaced in February by just one brand. The new strategy is based on a Māori Media Hub that delivers news as it happens across our online platforms and television. An evening news broadcast will still be shown” (Ngā Aho Whakaari, 2018).

Essentially the move will be a complete overhaul of the way Māori Television operates. Taurima says the changes are centred around, “what our audience wants, where they are and how they want it” (Ngā Aho Whakaari, 2018). Soon after the announcement of the proposed changes, on November 28 2019, the then CEO Keith Ikin resigned, signalling a change in leadership. Shane Taurima, who was previously Ikin's deputy, stepped in as the new CEO. Taurima wasted no time in releasing a new strategic framework for Māori Television on January 21 2019, outlining the outcomes the service wants to achieve over the next three years. The outcomes framework is an important tool for kaimahi, recognising the specific targets they need to focus on. Ultimately this framework will act as a reference point for employees in relation to how their work will contribute to Māori Television's goal of inspiring the revitalisation of te reo Māori and tikanga Māori.

## **2.5 Conclusion**

This chapter has given a brief overview into the rich and sometimes chequered history of Māori broadcasting. This history has resulted in the establishment of a world leading indigenous broadcaster. Our past helps shape who we are and contextualises the present while illuminating our pathway into the future. Māori Television is the complex outcome of resistance, protest, conflict, oppression and no shortage of resilience. Looking back on the legacy of Māori broadcasting, it becomes clear that Māori Television is more than just a television broadcaster.

The long-awaited opening of Māori Television marked a significant milestone for Māori. According to Walker (2004, p.402), the launch of the service was as “a cultural celebration of triumph over adversary, a dawning of a new age of Māori modernity in the twentieth century”. The history of broadcasting dictates expectations inherited by the station. The many roles Māori Television are expected to consolidate will be explored in depth in the ‘mata’ that follows.

## **Chapter 3**

### **Mata Māori**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

With the historical foundation of Māori broadcasting laid out in the previous chapter, I will now discuss Mata Māori. This is the first of three Te Mata Ono core components that I will be focusing on. In defining the name of this mata, I will look at the complexities of Māori identity, including the tribal versus urban debate. I will also analyse the historical and current roles of Māori Television influenced by legislation and other variables. In discussing the purpose of Māori Television, reference to culturally appropriate practices will also be explored. This is necessary if the service is to fulfil its responsibilities in accordance with tikanga Māori.

#### **3.2 What is Mata Māori?**

Prior to looking at the inner workings of this mata, how it is applied and what it embodies, it is important to define its name. As mentioned in the introductory chapter, there are layers of meaning to the word mata. In this instance, it can be interpreted to mean face, surface or screen. The word Māori has many meanings that are dependent on the context. Māori can mean natural and normal, but it is commonly used today in reference to the indigenous people of Aotearoa, New Zealand (Williams, 1971).

There is much debate around the term Māori. Well-known Ngāi Tūhoe elder, the late John Rangihau stressed the importance of tribal identity and said the term Māori was a word used to classify our people on an ethnic basis. “I have a faint suspicion that Maoritanga is a term coined by the Pakeha to bring tribes together. Because if you cannot divide and rule, then for tribal people all you can do is unite them and rule” (J. Rangihau, 1992, p.190).

Here he frames the term Māori as a means to unite and conquer. Rangihau argues that Māori were traditionally defined in terms of tribalism rather than as one

people. And there are so many different aspects of every tribal person. Each tribe has its own history. And it's not a history that can be shared among others. "How can I share with the history of Ngāti Porou, of Te Arawa, of Waikato? Because I am not of those people. I am a Tūhoe person and all I can share is Tūhoe history." (J. Rangihau, 1992, p.190).

The term Māori is problematic for Rangihau as he is a person with a strong sense of tribal identity where a pan-tribal perspective has less value. However, the question of identity amongst our people is not clear-cut. Whilst Rangihau identifies the maintenance of tribal roots as the focal point of his cultural identity, and although this rings true for many Māori, we are not homogenous.

Attempts have been made through the census to record iwi statistics which have shown a large pool of Māori who have not identified an iwi (Smith, 2015). It should be noted that statistical attempts to define Māori are fraught with problems, so it would be dangerous to jump to any sort of conclusion (Smith, 2015). Dr Linda Tuhiwai Smith speaks of the complexities of Māori identity, asserting her strong sense of affiliation to multiple iwi. "Personally I objected to being asked to nominate a primary iwi as I take seriously my rights to claim bilineal descent" (Smith, 2015, p.49). In brief, there is no single measure of Māori identity and by no means am I looking to reach a general consensus. There is simply a need to address different interpretations of our cultural identity to acknowledge our diversity as people.

Although some researchers will see the development of a distinctly Māori identity as detrimental to a tribal one, asserting our Māoritanga is seen by many as a way of overcoming division and conflict. The Tino Rangatiratanga flag is a symbolic embodiment of this. The name describes what the flag aims to express, and that is self-determination. The fact that it is often referred to as the Māori flag, this remains contentious (Morris, 2010). Nevertheless, many associate the Tino Rangatiratanga flag with notable Māori protests that resulted in pivotal advancements for our people including Treaty claims, te reo Māori and Māori broadcasting.

After lengthy debate, on December 14 2009, Cabinet accepted Pita Sharples' recommendation that the tino rangatiratanga flag should be flown as the national Māori flag on Waitangi Day on the Auckland Harbour some government buildings (Morris, 2010). Sharples had previously stressed to the importance of the New Zealand flag flying alongside the Tino Rangatiratanga flag in recognising the Crown-Māori relationship (Sharples, 2009). "Putting the Tino Rangatiratanga flag up alongside the New Zealand flag shows a willingness by New Zealand to recognise the bicultural nature of our foundation" (Sharples, 2009).

The Tino Rangatiratanga flag doesn't aim to promote division, but rather rejects assimilation and asserts our indigenous heritage (Morris, 2010). Additionally, some Māori argue that acknowledging Māoritanga is a form of tribal pigeon-holing, while others would see it in a wider sense as a way of uniting and differentiating us as tangata whenua from our Treaty partners (Morris, 2010).

With the few examples outlined above, it is clear there are no normative criteria to being Māori, or what it means to be Māori. However, Mata Māori doesn't look at the complexities of Māori identity alone. Mata Māori looks at our obligation to recognise our cultural identity and the inherent responsibilities it presents.

My feeling of identity and commitment to Maori things is a result of history and traditions, and the fact that I grew up in a Maori community. In this community, there was always a sense of the value of land and the emotional ties Maori have to it. As a result of these things I am strongly of the feeling that I am totally a New Zealander and cannot be regarded as anything else (J. Rangihau, 1992, p.183).

Rangihau believes that whakapapa, history, his upbringing, and his connection to his community shaped his identity, motivating his commitment to the wider Māori population (J.Rangihau, 1992). Māori do not act as individuals. As Māori we are consciously aware that we are a part of a collective. Our social structures such as hapū, iwi and whānau are the embodiment of our cultural collectivity. The whānau and the practice of whanaungatanga is an integral part of Māori identity and culture. The cultural values, customs and practices, which organise around the

whānau and ‘collective responsibility’, are a necessary part of Māori survival and educational achievement (Pihama et al., 2002, p.38).

This sense of collective responsibility is something we are born with. For some, their story as a person starts on the day they are born. For me, however, as a Tūhoe Māori woman, my story started long before, as I am the culmination of all that has come before me and the manifestation of over a thousand years of whakapapa (Tapiata, 2018). I am accountable because by whakapapa I am all that has ever been (Tapiata, 2018). I am energy, thought and potential manifested into a physical expression. I am the summation of everything the generation before me experienced, survived and triumphed against (Tapiata, 2018). I am those whom I descend from and they live on through me. “Accountability to my whakapapa is my birthright because it is the very reason I exist right now. Therefore, to even consider that my journey of self-awareness and understanding who I am starts with me is naive, irresponsible and at the very least, disrespectful (Tapiata, 2018, pp. 23-24)”.

Similarly, the Māori broadcasting space is the summation of everything the generation before experienced, survived and triumphed against and so it too is accountable to its whakapapa, as is the history that resulted in its existence. This view is supported in the well-known saying, “Ehara taku toa i te toa takitahi, he toa takitini”, my achievements are not the result of (my) individual efforts alone (Mead & Grove, 2001, p.24). In summary, I have examined some of the considerations relating to tribal and pan-tribal perspectives. It is evident that this is a complex matter that is a part of an ongoing discussion. I also raise the argument concerning collective interests in a cultural context as it aligns with the inherent purpose of Māori Television and its responsibility to represent Māori. Mata Māori seeks to take into account these dualities and ultimately incorporate this information into the Māori broadcasting landscape.

### **3.3 Role of Māori Broadcasting**

In this chapter I will discuss some of the varying and at times conflicting roles of Māori broadcasting with a focus on Māori Television. It would be impossible to explore every role Māori Television has in a single chapter, however, I will

endeavour to outline some of the more prominent expectations identified by some notable commentators. Māori Television has a complex range of responsibilities due to a number of expectations which can be difficult to reconcile. The expectations of Māori audiences vary because Māori differ, in terms of levels of cultural awareness, age, location and proficiency in te reo Māori. There is also a large non-Māori audience, some of whom look to Māori Television as a public service provider and a window to the Māori world (Abel, 2013a). Additionally, there are a number of requirements outlined in the service's enabling legislation (Māori Television Service Act, 2003). It can be difficult for Māori Television to cater to the various expectations of its audiences, with the perception of what qualifies as good quality, appropriate Māori content differing from viewer to viewer.

Barry Barclay foresaw the need for a prominent Māori presence in broadcasting and an independent Māori voice more than 20 years before the establishment of Māori Television. Barclay (1990, p.7) believed that “every culture has a right and a responsibility to present its own culture to its own people. That responsibility is so fundamental it cannot be left in the hands of outsiders, nor be usurped by them.” For Māori Television, its roles are not only influenced by viewers but by the contributions of pioneer broadcasters who paved the way for its establishment. The words and actions of trailblazers like Barclay encapsulates their hopes for Māori broadcasting into the future.

Whilst Māori Television is a pivotal development, giving Māori the opportunity to represent themselves, the images disseminated to the public by the indigenous broadcaster must be selected with care. In the modern age, people throughout Aotearoa and the world live fragmented and divided lives, often within narrow boundaries, a series of private spheres within society (Maharey, 1990). This forces people to rely heavily on media for knowledge about other pockets of their wider community (Maharey, 1990). Media has the power to influence the masses as it is responsible for selecting and providing social knowledge that helps audiences to gain a picture of the overall society (Maharey, 1990).

### **3.4 Role as an Inclusive National Broadcaster**

Nine years after the inception of Māori Television, audience ratings went up from 200,000 in its first year, to 1.7 million in 2012 (Abel 2013a). Statistics show that approximately 77% of this audience were non-Māori (Abel 2013a). This group was attracted to Māori Television's international documentaries, free to air sports coverage, art films, its perceived public service nature, local entertainment programming and its inclusiveness (Abel 2013a). Pākehā audiences now think of Māori Television as a station that tells New Zealand stories and reflects New Zealand values (Abel 2013a).

However, many see this large and growing demographic for the indigenous broadcaster as negative, the result of deviating from the original focus of the service. Anecdotal evidence suggests many Māori bemoan the fact that three decades of protest and litigation for broadcasting rights has resulted in an often Pākehā-centric focus on the part of Māori Television (Abel, 2013a). However, some researchers believe this helps the service to make a significant contribution to the decolonisation of the dominant culture, a precondition to greater equity for Māori (Abel, 2013a). "In settler nations where the Indigenous peoples are a minority, decolonisation of the coloniser is a precondition for decolonisation of the colonised" (Abel, 2013a, p.112).

Furthermore, in any multicultural and fragmented society, the media is instrumental in informing the public about other groups (Abel, 2013b). New Zealand mainstream media do not serve Māori as well as it could. The mainstream does little to foster an understanding amongst Pākehā of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, its ramifications, our colonial past and its ongoing impact on Māori (Abel 2013b). Māori Television has an obligation to fill this gap.

Others contend that a focus on Māori Television's non-Māori audience would be to the detriment of its Māori audience. "To reconcile the varying expectations of respective and potential audiences is a typical challenge faced by all television broadcasters. But Māori Television's situation is unique. It cannot be encouraged to dilute its Māoriness by deferring to the Pākehā mainstream" (Te Kāhui o te Māhutonga, 2009, p.15-16). The previously mentioned inclusive approach, in

which Māori Television seeks to accommodate the majority, is labelled by Māori filmmaker Barry Barclay as “talking out” (Barclay, 1990). Barclay shares a counter perspective, stating that the role of Māori broadcasters should be to speak to its own people first, to be “talking in” (Barclay, 1990). Barclay was an advocate for Māori to have the opportunity to have their own voice and the resources to do so.

I say that we should be talking to our own people first, and that talk should be conducted in the spirit of the marae, a spirit that can generate a climate which is welcoming to all, precisely because it has been created from a confidence in being Maori and in conducting oneself as one does on a marae (Barclay, 1990, p.76).

The majority culture may see the ‘talking in’ approach, as a form of separatism or a deliberate attempt to exclude non-Māori from the Māori cultural narrative. However, despite these reservations, Barclay argues that ‘talking in’ does not deny non-Māori participation. He states, “...it might be helpful for us to think of our work as a different sort of marae – an invisible one looking inward but open to all” (Barclay, 1990, p.76). A contentious issue over the years has been the debate around the need to produce shows that are considered commercially viable and appeal to a large viewing audience. Barclay acknowledges the fact that his ‘talking in’ approach will never be acknowledged by all, “because there will always be some who only like going into those houses with which they are familiar” (Barclay, 1990, p.80).

However, Barclay rejects the assertion that Māori programmes are “minority programming” and insists that Māori programming will be of interest not only to Māori but also to wider society and in time, the rest of the world (Barclay, 1990).

I am not talking about minority programmes directed at a minority. I am talking about a minority being confident enough to talk in its own voice about whatever it chooses and, as it does so, having a feeling that the talk will be of interest to others who wish to drop in (Barclay, 1990, p.78).

### **3.5 Deconstructing and Reconstructing our Image**

Māori Television and Māori news media, have the role of acting as an image guard for Māori (Pihama, 1996). Mainstream media have portrayed Māori negatively in the past and present and denied Māori access to the resources necessary to take control of our own image (Pihama, 1996). Research has consistently shown over many decades that news about Māori is often overlooked, but when it is considered, there is a focus on violence, crime and the portrayal of Māori as a threat to the nation (Abel, 2013b).

Māori legal scholar Moana Jackson (2009) discusses this further in his analysis of the supposed existence of a Māori warrior gene. He says that while many would believe it to be a scientific fact, the warrior gene amongst indigenous peoples is a myth based on the history of a scientific and cultural lie (M. Jackson, 2009). Yet somehow it has stuck in the popular imagination, contributing to negative representations of Māori.

The warrior gene suggests there are certain races of people who were born to fight, to be violent and to kill. It was described most graphically I think by one of the first English writers about our country who'd never actually visited here, but in 1830 wrote that the land is inhabited by a savage, bloody, warrior race where vengeance and war is the precious lifeblood of an ancestor bequeathed from savage father to savage son (M. Jackson, 2009, 4:28).

Jackson then questions this portrayal of Māori as inherently violent people that dates back hundreds of years and offers what he sees as a more accurate depiction of Māori historically.

Where did that image come from? Where did the novelist Alan Duff get the idea of naming his novel *Once Were Warriors*? When a clear and actually objective analysis of our society would have shown that the book could more properly have been called *Once Were Gardeners*, *Once Were Poets*, *Once Were Singers* and if you're from Kahungunu, *Once and Always Were Lovers* (M. Jackson, 2009, 5:13).

Jackson believes that the idea of the warrior gene is accepted by many as provable truth when it is actually a reaffirmation of old and bitter prejudices (M. Jackson, 2009). This idea of Māori as an aggressive warrior race has infiltrated the Māori image. As a result, mainstream media has reflected the opinion held by the majority, entertaining the view that Māori are violent people. In a presentation, Jackson listed the names of a number of child abuse victims he knew of, asking that his audience indicate whether they were familiar with the names he called out.

The first three sets of names, which nearly all of you knew, were the names of Māori children killed by their caregivers. The second set of names I gave you, which hardly any of you knew, were Pākehā children killed by their caregivers (M. Jackson, 2009, 0:55).

The fact that nearly everyone had heard of the Māori cases through the media is telling. It reaffirms that Māori are disproportionately shown in a negative light.

According to media commentator Gary Wilson, “Journalists often argue that their job is simply to hold a mirror up to society so the public can see what is really going on” (Fox, 1988). However journalistic neutrality is a myth. Whether it be journalists, writers, directors or even producers, they all play their part in the selection, validation and legitimation of knowledge (Pihama, 1996). Whether subconscious or deliberate, they determine which information is affirmed or rejected (Pihama, 1996). The news media are constantly shaping society by deciding what is valid and what isn’t, by influencing the views of an audience (Pihama, 1996).

There have been a number of gatekeeping mechanisms that have prevented Māori from constructing programmes that move beyond dominant definitions of who we are (Pihama, 1996). Within the moving image industry, the majority culture has dictated who defines audience, what is determined as quality programming and who controls funding (Pihama, 1996). For any group, like Māori, that are numerically in the minority, low audience numbers are a common issue which is

utilised as a justification to deny timeslots (Pihama, 1996). Denial to provide things such as timeslots and funding is then justified through technical and structural mechanisms (Pihama, 1996). The colonial ideologies and power relations that are at play within the decision-making processes are then hidden behind technocratic and structural rationale (Pihama, 1996). With the establishment of Māori Television, we now have the capacity to challenge the ways mainstream media present Māori to the rest of the world.

Former Māori broadcaster, Derek Fox (1988) alludes to this responsibility for Māori broadcasters to deconstruct and reconstruct the Māori image.

There is a strong need for Māori working in radio, television and print journalism to promote a Māori perspective. The Pākehā mass media have already proven that they are unable and unwilling to fairly reflect the Māori position accurately.

Patricia Grace identified that media can construct negative images, maintain dominant group beliefs about Māori and deny Māori people the chance to truly see ourselves (Grace, 1985). This is the power of broadcasting. However, these same characteristics that media have, gives Māori Television the potential to provide positive, self-affirming messages about Māori and the Māori world, deconstructing negative stereotypes (Grace, 1985). It is of the utmost importance that Māori are able to make the distinction between the way we are seen and the way we see ourselves (Mita, 1993).

The images and information selected, constructed and disseminated by the media are also said to contribute to policy making. Mainstream media tends to make a negative contribution to legislation in relation to Māori and Treaty issues (Abel, 2013b). Public broadcasters have consistently shown that they are unwilling to portray Māori fairly and have subsequently encouraged New Zealanders to see Māori as “threatening the social order and burdening our society” (Abel, 2013b). Before policies surrounding Māori can be actioned, the government needs the support of a large number of the non-Māori population (Abel, 2013b). Therefore,

mainstream media are partly responsible for fostering negative representations of Māori and discouraging support for such legislation (Abel, 2013b).

Māori Television then has a part to play in countering mainstream news media. By providing content that educates non-Māori on things such as the historical and social context behind the Treaty issues, Māori Television can have political influence. The service has the potential to expose the public to alternative perspectives, thereby increasing support for better public policies to redress the wrongs of colonisation (Abel, 2013b).

### **3.6 Māori vs Mainstream News**

Communication methods are based within a culture. The role of news media, the news selection processes, how stories are framed and writing styles can vary between cultures (Stuart, 2002). Established mainstream news media styles are grounded in western culture. What is problematic is that Māori approaches to narrative styles and definitions of news differ considerably (Stuart, 2002). An example of how the two conflicting approaches clash is seen in the extensive coverage of the 2007 Tūhoe terror raids (Abel, 2008). News scholars argue that mainstream stories are told in a way that sets up one party as “us” and the other as “them” (Abel, 2008). This was seen in the ONE and 3 News coverage which alienated Tame Iti as an activist, and categorising Māori locals and New Zealanders as “us” (Abel, 2008).

In stark contrast, Te Kāea and Te Karere put the story within its historical context, acknowledging the continuation of state action directed against Tūhoe (Abel, 2008). On the other hand, the state and police were characterised as ‘them’ and Tūhoe were referred to as ‘us’.

Derek Fox says(2007, p.9),

The police action on October 15 put fear into the hearts of many New Zealanders by raising the spectre of terrorism. It put fear into the hearts of the elderly and young people of Ruatoki and Tāneatua, because again they saw the force of the State unleashed upon them as it has been within living history.

Fox highlights two differing narratives. New Zealanders fear of terrorism and the Tūhoe fear of armed forces (Fox, 2007). The coverage of the event demonstrated the importance of having Māori media to broadcast a Māori perspective. A dependency on mainstream media alone could mean the absence of history, context, Māori views.

The main purpose of Māori broadcasting is not to change Pākehā attitudes but rather reflect Māori ones, and not to counter the presence of Pākehā-orientated messages but to repair the damage caused by the absence of Māori-oriented ones (Ministry of Commerce, 1991, p. 15).

At a symposium convened by the Broadcasting Standards Authority in 2006, Tawini Rangihau spoke on behalf of Māori Television, contributing to a discussion on journalistic laws, which dictate that reports must be fair, balanced and accurate (T. Rangihau, 2006). While it is expected that journalists produce stories that are not slanted and tell all sides of a story, Rangihau believes that the role of Māori journalism is to give Māori the opportunity to tell their side (T. Rangihau, 2006).

Increasingly where we find ourselves as a news provider, is that more and more Māori will come to us to seek fairness and some right of reply to stories that have been told by mainstream broadcasters, where they don't feel that they have been represented fairly, they don't feel they've been represented accurately. So they come knocking on our door to give their view. Now, they don't demand balance, but they do expect fairness and impartiality (T. Rangihau, 2006, p.53).

Rangihau (2006) states that Māori Television should not present a popular, generalised, overarching Māori view. There is no single Māori point of view, therefore a range of perspectives should be presented on any given matter.

One recent complaint I received – not in writing, but a comment passed by a prominent elder from the East Coast who said, 'Increasingly mainstream

media thinks there is one opinion to fit all Māori. That it is enough and sufficient to go to one Māori person to get a point of view'. Increasingly, Māori begin to debate among themselves this question, and whether they agree or disagree with the popular view. But what happens is, the debate is not reported, and the reasons for the debate (T. Rangihau, 2006, p.53).

Rangihau (2006) believes there is an expectation by Māori audiences that Māori Television represents the widest collection of views possible. She goes on to suggest that because Māori news stories have such a strong focus on a Māori perspective, they may seem imbalanced (T. Rangihau, 2006). However, she argues that Māori journalism helps to balance national news coverage as a whole, speaking to point of views that are neglected by the mainstream (T. Rangihau, 2006). A prominent elder had also shared a similar view with Rangihau, insisting that Māori Television share positive Māori news stories.

His view is that you watch mainstream news, and invariably there are very few positive stories about Māori communities, and so they look to us to balance that out. To tell the positive stories which are not reaching the national news (T. Rangihau, 2006, p.54)

She goes on to acknowledge that while a Māori approach can defy well-established western constructs in journalism, being a new movement, Māori broadcasting will have to break new ground and rework well-established rules (T. Rangihau, 2006).

As we move forward and develop as a television news agency in a language, which is not the dominant language of our country, we are increasingly going to have to push some boundaries and develop some ethics, journalism ethics, in Māori. There are some stories currently told in Māori which actually come very close to the lines of unfairness, of inaccuracy, are almost libellous and scandalous (T. Rangihau, 2006, p.54).

At the same symposium, former broadcaster Willie Jackson spoke about some of the imbalance he had seen on his own urban station situated in South Auckland, Radio Waatea.

Dover Samuels said on Radio Waatea ‘over his dead body’ would he move aside for Hone Harawira in the last election; and Titewhai Harawira said on her show in response, ‘What a brilliant idea, why don’t you do us all a favour and die so that my son Hone can get in’. Syd Jackson said before the election, ‘John Tamihere, you are a sellout and Pita Sharples is going to smash you’; and Titewhai again: ‘Helen is nothing but a racist and Don Brash may as well join the Ku Klux Klan’(W. Jackson, 2006, p.94).

Jackson acknowledged that these are not examples of balanced journalism but although he said he did not condone it, he understood the reasoning behind it, stating that mainstream radio had misrepresented Māori stories for many years.

Time and time again a Māori perspective has come out the wrong way. Why? Because they don’t have Māori reporters on staff, or they have Pākehā reporters who don’t give a stuff, and it has just infuriated so many of our people for so many years. And then the iwi network appeared and it was an opportunity to get utu (W. Jackson, 2006, p.94).

Here Jackson says that Māori broadcasting is an opportunity for “utu” or some form of redress in terms of providing a platform for the expression of a number of Māori perspectives (W. Jackson, 2006). He also insists that this opportunity is not only long overdue but entitles the Māori viewpoint to be expressed without mainstream restrictions (W. Jackson, 2006).

Rangihau stated that Māori have different views to non-Māori on what constitutes a balanced approach to journalism because of long-standing cultural principles seen in our traditions. Before television and radio, our broadcasting space was the marae.

Our view of balance is we had the right of redress. However long it took to get that right of redress, whether we spoke into the long wee, wee hours of the morning, that debate carried on until all points of view had been expressed. Now what is missing in media, in all forms of media, is the ability to be able to translate that into a public arena. Because the Māori view of balance is, 'I have my right of redress at any time'. Whether the comment was made ten years ago, or yesterday, I have my right of redress. Now, when you have a culture that believes that that is ingrained in our way of life and our world view, then think about the frustration that some of us feel when there is no Māori world view expressed in media, and this is not just Pākehā media, this is all forms of media (T.Rangihau, 2006, p.103).

A Māori perspective dictates that at times Māori journalists have an obligation to consider journalistic principles as well as their own cultural principles. As per the views discussed above, Māori broadcasters are expected to represent Māori accurately and create a fair and balanced mediascape by ensuring the Māori worldview is expressed.

### **3.7 Language Revitalisation**

The roots of Māori Television lie in the fight to revitalise the Māori language and culture that has been damaged by Crown negligence and active suppression (Smith, 2016). Much has been done to resist the decline of te reo Māori, but the status of the language remains in a state of disruption (Smith, 2016). Māori broadcasting is considered a Māori language initiative and like all language initiatives, the quality and quantity of reo is of the utmost importance. Māori broadcasters are expected to be exemplary in their delivery of te reo. Māori Television is often subject to scrutiny because it has a responsibility to broadcast the language into the homes of the nation (Mane, 2009). The same pressure applies to its precursor, radio. In 1996, Sir Timoti Karetu spoke about iwi radio, stating that Māori language use was “variable in terms of quality and quantity” (Mane, 2009, p.2).

Most elders that were involved in establishing iwi radio have passed on and there is a constant struggle to replace them with proficient native or fluent speakers of Māori (Mane, 2009). Māori Television faces similar challenges. Language teacher and advocate Ngawai Herewini recommended broadcasters actively seek fluent speakers as advisors to ensure the quality of reo is correct. She believes that once learnt incorrect language use is heard repeatedly by an audience of potential language learners, it can be almost impossible to correct (Mane, 2009). We are currently reaping the benefits of well-established reo initiatives such as Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa and Wharekura, with broadcasters gravitating to the by-products of these institutions (Mane, 2009). But there is the common assumption that all graduates are automatically fluent (Mane, 2009).

Ensuring the correct use of language and the presence of good linguistic models are fundamental to the success of Māori broadcasting. In raising this issue, the aim is to heighten awareness regarding the hard work needed to achieve high levels of language fluency and not to denigrate Māori broadcasting in any way (Mane, 2009).

Because of the current state of te reo Māori, Māori Television has an obligation to demonstrate exceptional and correct reo Māori. Those onscreen are looked to as teachers and therefore should be required to upskill where necessary. This role will be discussed in more depth by Te Aorere in Mata Ako.

To reconcile the varying expectations of audiences is a typical challenge faced by all television broadcasters. But Māori Television's situation is unique. It must not dilute its Māoriness by deferring to the Pākehā mainstream (Te Kāhui o te Māhutonga, 2009, p.15-16).

It is clear that Māori Television are expected to juggle many roles, some of which have not been addressed in this brief overview of Mata Māori. Māori Television struggle with the need to fulfil varying expectations and obligations. There is a perception that pan-tribal, pan-Māori views must be reflected. Māori do not embrace a single world view in this modern world. There is a struggle to produce content that caters for the full spectrum of Māori perspectives. Hunting Aotearoa

producer Piripi Curtis believes there is more that can be done to better reflect and engage with Māori communities.

I have always thought that relevance is important. Relevance and accessibility are a big challenge for [Māori Television]. Are they accessible to Māori people? Do [Māori] people actually ‘own’ Māori Television? I don’t think so. I think the Māori Television model is based upon a strict Pākehā model. They should be investing in regional offices, in getting out there and having a presence among the communities. Because that’s really how Māori culture works, it’s reflected in the communities (Smith, 2016).

Rose Pere also highlights the importance of expressing our unique qualities steeped within our tribal identities. “An Oversimplification of the diversity of Māori institutions not only produces errors inherent in averages but disregards the vivacity of the Māori people themselves” (Pere, 1988).

Although challenging, it is essential that Māori Television take these concerns into account as they look ahead. They are important and valid grievances but they are not new. The obligation to represent your iwi and the need to maintain our unique qualities will be discussed further by Te Aorere in his analysis of Mata Iwi.

### **3.8 The role of tikanga**

The previous section discussed, in brief, some of the key roles of Māori broadcasting. In the follow section I will look at what practices could be adopted in order to fulfil these roles in accordance with tikanga. How do indigenous people use the camera once they come to have some control over it? Perhaps it is on our own shoulders to rework the well-established rules – adopting here, modifying there – so that the way of creating images slowly becomes a little more comfortable for our culture (Barclay, 1990, p.7).

Barclay refers to his camera as a friend, something he takes along with him to humble settlements and prestigious locations with pride. However one must

consider what behaviours are socially acceptable, what mannerisms are expected and what approach is most suitable in a given context.

Yet which of us is not anxious walking with a friend into a new world? Will your friend be relaxed in strange company? Perhaps some unwitting breach of manners will spoil the occasion? The Maori world has its own ways of talking and listening, its own humour, its own process of censure and support (Barclary, 1990, p.9).

This extended metaphor of comparing a camera to a close friend highlights that there are ways of doing things, customs and protocols to consider, social mores that bind us together and set us apart. The question is, “How can we take that maverick yet fond friend of ours – the camera – into the Maori community and be confident it will act with dignity?” (Barclay, 1990, p.9).

One method Barclay speaks about is the importance of including a “tapestry of people” when filming documentaries (Barclay, 1990). This means a range of voices must be heard in regard to a particular matter. He explains that there are cultural procedures to abide by to ensure their views are obtained in the most appropriate way. He contextualised this with a hypothetical documentary on pollution in a long-settled bay, explaining a way of conducting interviews that he believes aligns with Māori social etiquette.

Barclay says that although in any case, a researcher would have lined up articulate scientists for the scientific side, he would insist that, “We are going to film the kuia (women elders) first and we are going to spend a whole day doing it” (Barclay, 1990, p.10). At this point he knows that his crew will be anxious at the prospect of wasting time better spent on the proper filming, assuming that the interview with a kuia would be lucky to make the final edit anyway (Barclay, 1990). However he would go one further, interviewing local young men who are fishermen in the bay as well as kids from the school, and only then would he interview the scientists (Barclay, 1990). Barclay concludes that whilst some would see this approach as unconventional and counterproductive, for Māori this is the natural way of doing things.

The young people will not talk before the old people have been given the opportunity to have their say. Nobody will talk in any depth if they see the outside expert wheeled in early on in the piece (Barclay, 1990, p.10).

It should be understood that kaumātua<sup>27</sup> are the first port of call for Māori and are held in high regard. Kaumātua are often the decision makers and nurturers. They provide cultural and spiritual guidance as well as leadership. Kaumātua act as guardians of traditional knowledge and Māori customs (Mead, 2003). Their wealth of first-hand experience means they have greater familiarity with all things Māori making them the most qualified to impart knowledge (Mead, 2003). If a director gains the respect of an elder, other members of the community will be more willing to disclose what they know.

Te Urewera was a documentary directed by Barclay for TVNZ as a part of a series on national parks. It was apparent that he followed his own advice. He included a tapestry of people, not only interviewing respected elders and distinguished academics with tribal connections to Te Urewera, but also boisterous hunters who joked about dodging rangers (Barclay, 1987). However, Barclay explained that he had to change things in order to prioritise spending time with Tūhoe kaumātua. He instinctively prioritised getting the most prestigious elders to co-operate because at the time, particularly in Tūhoe, kaumātua had rarely agreed to have their voices or faces recorded (Barclay, 1990). Rather than spending two weeks in preproduction and five weeks shooting the documentary, he opted for six weeks pre-production, guaranteeing that he would only need three weeks to shoot (Barclay, 1990). The six week period gave him enough time to build a relationship with the elders and get their commitment. “Having got that commitment, I felt we would then have the whole community behind us and would be able to shoot the programme very efficiently” (Barclay, 1990, p.11).

Barclay was right, only needing 12 days to shoot, two days less than he had planned. With no extra cost, they had managed to film things that had almost

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<sup>27</sup> Kaumātua is a term used in reference to elders.

never been filmed amongst Tūhoe before (Barclay, 1990). Perhaps it was a combination of the time spent with the locals and the fact that the interviewer was Tawini Rangihau, someone who was from the area and no doubt already had connections to the talent. But the knowledge documented to this day is invaluable. Kuia spoke of plants used for fertility and menstruation (Barclay, 1987). Elders spoke of protocols around the kereru, how abundant it had once been and traditions surrounding the preparation and consumption of the bird (Barclay, 1987). Ultimately, operating in a more respectful and Māori friendly way adds value to the end product. “In plain financial terms, respect for the traditional approach can at times bring real benefits to a production” (Barclay, 1990, p.10).

Barclay made these observations more than 28 years ago however if I look at my own experiences as a director for Waka Huia, in particular, his advice is still relevant. When he says there are benefits to “respecting a traditional approach” he is referring to abiding by tikanga Māori (Barclay, 1990). Mead gives a definition of the term tikanga.

Tikanga at one level is conceptual and represents a set of ideas, beliefs and practices. At another level it represents practice. Tikanga can be translated as custom (which applies especially to the practice of tikanga) or it might be referred to as a customary concept (which focuses on a set of ideas) (Mead, 2003, p.22).

In short, tikanga encompasses our beliefs and the way we practice them. If I look at my own experiences as a director, I can draw on many examples of tikanga and tikanga practices that have guided me in my work.

The pōhiri or whakatau is a tikanga which can be defined as a formal or ceremonial welcome (Mead, 2003). For Māori, relationships between people are guided and managed by certain tikanga (Mead, 2003). Whakatau and pōhiri are procedures for meeting strangers and visitors (Mead, 2003). In all of my work related encounters, I have received some sort of welcome. If I take the last three kaumātua I interviewed for Waka Huia, I received a full pōhiri by the family of one esteemed kuia, a whakatau by another koroua who, being the leader of his

marae, had no trouble formally greeting my crew and I on his own and lastly a kuia conducted a karakia or prayer in a small stream behind her house as a means of welcoming me to her home for the first time. The way in which I was welcomed varied, however, the objective was the same. It was an opportunity to acknowledge each other in a culturally appropriate way. This tikanga laid the foundation to further develop our relationship.

An example of a customary concept would be manaakitanga. According to Mead (2003, p.29), “All tikanga are underpinned by the high value placed upon manaakitanga – nurturing relationships, looking after people, and being very careful about how others are treated”. Manaakitanga is even more paramount when it comes to kaumātua. You must be mindful of your approach at all times. I believe that there must be trust between an interviewer and an interviewee for things to run smoothly and to avoid any sort of uncertainty or discomfort. Meeting prior to an interview “kanohi ki te kanohi” or “face to face” is a customary concept that stems from manaakitanga and can help to foster trust. In organising an interview some would argue that a simple email or phone call would suffice. I tend to disagree. I had once organised an interview with a kuia through her whānau. Thinking I was meeting her to simply set a shoot date when we met in person I was surprised to find that she showed a great deal of reluctance. Prior to our meeting, I had had discussions with her grandchildren who assured that she would agree but I was met with an uneasy elder before I’d had the chance to explain the somewhat taxing three-day shoot. It was at that moment that I put her mind at ease, reassuring her that by no means would she be pressured to do it. If I had not met her face to face, one could imagine the potential scenarios that would have ensued. Aside from a face to face meeting being a respectful gesture, it has logistical and practical benefits. Not meeting prior to a shoot can lead to uncertainty, miscommunication, hostility and anxiety at both ends. Something as simple as meeting a kaumātua without a camera or crew, bearing food and talking over a cup of tea is the epitome of manaakitanga. This meeting creates dialogue, giving you the chance to properly inform and prepare the elder, reassuring them of your intentions and putting their mind at ease. In turn, the encounter will be easier, having had the chance to interact with the kaumātua and thus giving you a

better idea of how direct the shoot. This sets the scene for future encounters with the kaumātua.

A common technique used when interviewing a person is sitting an individual under lights in front of one or two close cameras. This is a method that we could look to rework in the Māori broadcasting space. This technique of filming is disconcerting for anyone, let alone those who have never been interviewed before. One elder I interviewed was nervous in a setting similar to that described despite being a pioneer of Māori broadcasting himself. So what kind of adjustments could be made to put our talent at ease? Barclay had his own suggestions. “So why not film that person amongst the family? Why not have the kids sitting in, and the grannie?” (Barclay, 1990, p. 11). It could create complications for the crew. With more focus points to mark up, arranging lighting could be more difficult as well. However, in some circumstances, the extra work is warranted. Barclay was once employed to introduce a BBC crew to a Māori community in their quest to make a documentary on the situation for Māori of that time (Barclay, 1990). Barclay had hoped this to be an opportunity to have Māori issues recognised internationally. Ngoi Pewhairangi, who he described as one of the most inspirational leaders of her generation, had asked to be interviewed with two or three of her friends by her side (Barclay, 1990). The producer denied her request because he believed it to be unnecessary (Barclay, 1990). As far as he was concerned, she was the sole spokesperson. Much to Barclay's surprise, Ngoi still agreed to be interviewed.

...when I asked her later why she had gone ahead with it, she simply assured me that the old people knew when they were being ripped off and how to act in response. The BBC got token, shallow words. Ngoi pulled the wool over their eyes (Barclay, 1990, p.12)

Barclay had said it was difficult for him to explain to his producer what had happened as a result of his decision not to allow her to be filmed in a group (Barclay, 1990). There is a well-known Māori proverb which states:

“Ko te kai a te rangatira he kōrero. Ko tā te ware, he muhu kai.”

“The food of leaders is talk. The commoner merely gobbles up food.”

For me, this whakatauki best describes what had happened in the BBC production. Ngoi Pewhairangi, being a person of great stature, had a wealth of knowledge (Barclay, 1990). However once the producer had failed to show her respect, indicating he had a limited understanding of how te ao Māori<sup>28</sup> operates, she reciprocated his actions with shallow words of no significant value. Having someone share their knowledge and deepest thoughts is a privilege. For someone to consciously withhold kōrero is the greatest form of belittlement.

I've had my own encounters with elders asking to be filmed amongst whānau. One kuia had asked that her daughters and eldest granddaughter sit in on her full interview. The interview was being set up in a whare nikau, a small house made of nikau palm leaves, which was similar to the whare nikau she had been raised in. With limited space in the small poorly lit dwelling, fitting four family members as well as myself, my cameraman, the sound operator and our equipment was no easy feat. However, I agreed without question, understanding the dynamics at play. Barclay suggests that being filmed in groups can be comforting for the person being interviewed but in the case of this kuia and her whānau, the bigger picture was the preservation and imparting of the knowledge she possessed.

If you are born on a marae, there are certain qualities about you that are recognised by elders. They don't actually teach you. They select you and place you in a situation where you absorb knowledge (Pewhairangi, 1992, p.10).

This kaumātua had selected some of her descendants and had placed them at her feet where they would be positioned to absorb the knowledge she hoped they would retain. Who was I to deny her of that rightful opportunity? Finishing the interview hours later, we all went into the wharekai for a cup of tea. Her daughter then explained that despite her mother being a public figure, she had never seen her mother share such intimate details with a film production.

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<sup>28</sup> The Māori world.

While television is a visual medium, the most important element for Māori is usually the verbal content. Once the kōrero has been obtained, the words can shape the images that follow. Māori traditionally used oral traditions to retain knowledge.

Ignorant of any form of script and cut off from knowledge of other cultures, Māori depended entirely on memory, and mnemonic devices and oral tradition to preserve and communicate all prized lore (and the passing of this to their descendants)(Rewi, 2010, p.24).

When interviewing someone, journalists can be quick to adopt more Pākehā ways of communicating which Barclay (1990, p.14) says is “based on thrusting yourself forward, of butting in to keep the conversation sparking, or going one better”. We should avoid conforming to a mainstream journalistic approach and remember Māori are essentially, listeners.

To be any sort of Maori, you have to be a listener. You do not interrupt a person who is talking, no matter how humble that person may be -the rules about that are quite firm when formal talk is in progress. But a similar spirit is maintained even at informal occasions, such as a meal among relations, or chatting over a beer at the hotel (Barclay, 1990, p.14).

Barclay points out that a Pākehā approach is alien to Māori ways of exchanging thoughts because although it makes for vigorous linear debate, Māori debate tends to be more cyclic. A Māori proverb states “He mana tō te kupu” which means words have power, importance, depth and authority. In that respect, we are encouraged to respect not only the spokesperson but also the integrity of their words. A journalist could go into an interview with a preconceived idea of what will be said, sticking to a strict question line with the intention of getting a straightforward, concise answers. Nothing can be explored in depth in a stifling environment. The best kōrero won't be unearthed by restricting the course of a conversation. Often the best material is found when a person feels comfortable

enough to go away from the planned question line and discuss things that your research couldn't have foreseen.

The few examples discussed in this chapter show that broadcasting practices can be modified to incorporate Māori values. While broadcasting, in general, is based within western ideologies, we must not assume that the industry is rigid and static, incapable of change. While it is important that we broadcast in te reo Māori and that we fulfil our various roles as Māori broadcasters, it is important that we see out these duties in accordance with tikanga. Prioritising the approval of kaumātua, making time for traditional practices, meeting people face to face and being really patient while listening to people encapsulates manaakitanga.

Let's liken the way broadcasters look after people to how one would manaaki guests on the marae. Certain marae are known far and wide for their hospitality. For this reason, people are quick to visit that very marae any opportunity they get. Good hosts balance several roles while also being mindful of the value placed upon manaakitanga (Mead, 2003). If the responsibility of providing manaakitanga is not met, criticism of that event can be remembered for years afterwards. The stigma sticks and it may focus totally on the inadequacy of manaakitanga rather than on the main event itself (Mead, 2003). It wouldn't matter how presentable the wharekai is, or how delicious the spread is if people were made to feel unwelcome. Similarly, it wouldn't matter how many awards a documentary received if people became aware of an altercation, a disrespectful encounter or an oversight of basic tikanga that happened behind the scenes. Māori Television could be in one sense a marae that looks to serve a manuhiri, that is, the audience. Māori broadcasters should look to consider the need to produce Māori programming while also being conscious of the manner in which that content is produced. Maybe then the whānau of Māori Television could be proud of the fact that people from around the country are eager to come to their marae and share their stories.

### 3.9 Conclusion

It is by knowing who we are and where we come from that we develop a commitment to contribute to te ao Māori and support kaupapa Māori<sup>29</sup>. It is this commitment to being Māori that influences the nature of our participation in the wider Māori broadcasting network. “An acknowledgement of our past symbols an intent for the present and encapsulates our collective hopes, dreams and desires for the future” (Bristowe, 2016, 15:06).

Mata Māori asserts the obligation of Māori broadcasters to represent Māori without reservation, as an acknowledgement of those who fought for its establishment. The outcomes we aim to achieve must be referenced in an authentic Māori way, guided by tikanga.

A whakatauaiki by reknown Ngāti Porou leader, Sir Apirana Ngata states:

“E tipu, e rea, mō ngā rā o tōu ao; ko tō ringa ki ngā rākau ā te Pākehā, hei ora mō tō tinana, ko tō ngākau ki ngā taonga a ō tīpuna Māori hei tikitiki mō tō māhunga, ā ko tō wairua ki te Atua, nāna nei ngā mea katoa.

Grow and branch forth for the days of your world;  
Your hand to the tools of the Pākehā for the welfare of your body,  
Your heart to the treasures of your ancestors as adornments for your head,  
Your spirit with God, who made all things” (Mead & Grove, 2001, p.48).

The underlying principles outlined in this whakatauaiki are the foundation of Mata Māori. While Māori broadcasting has developed by Pākehā or foreign tools, it is of paramount importance that we remain steadfast to the treasures and philosophies of our Māori ancestors.

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<sup>29</sup> Māori initiatives.

## **Chapter 4**

### **Mata ō-tua**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

Mata ō-tua is unique in comparison to other components of the Mata Ono model. While the other five mata concentrate primarily on factors that contribute to the production of Māori content, Mata ō-tua is concerned with what is happening off screen within the workplace. This chapter discusses the functional purpose te reo Māori, tikanga Māori and ancestral knowledge have within Māori Television. Research shows that indigenous workers are more likely to be loyal to the service and have superior performance if they are satisfied with the way their cultural beliefs are valued in the workplace (Haar & Brougham, 2011). This chapter explored this theory in relation to Māori Television, discussing potential workplace practices, guidelines and methods that align specifically with Māori perspectives.

#### **4.2 What is Mata ō-tua?**

This mata discusses workplace culture and the place of te reo Māori and tikanga Māori as they relate to Māori broadcasters. The word “tua” means beyond, so quite literally Mata ō-tua refers to your face beyond the screen (Williams, 1971). Mata ō-tua is not concerned with what employees do away from work but is specific to the workplace. Mata ō-tua is about how employees could conduct themselves behind the scenes, at the office, amongst themselves and with others, in and outside the industry.

Mata ō-tua has been divided into three core parts. The first is Te Kawa ō-tua. A kawa in traditional terms is commonly understood as a protocol usually associated with marae. However, this section will look at adapting the concept of kawa to the context of Māori broadcasting. Rather than a protocol that guides proceedings on a marae, Te Kawa ō-tua looks at our kawa or overall vision that guides the way workers operate within the workspace.

The second is Ngā Tikanga ō-tua. Tikanga is often understood as customary practices (Mead 2003). It will be discussed how tikanga could be applied within the organisation in a traditional sense. However, tikanga in this case also refers to practices that can be implemented to support the kawa or ultimate goal (Bristowe, 2016) . This will be expanded on in more depth in the chapters that follow. It should be understood that both kawa and tikanga will be examined in terms of how they are understood traditionally as well as in a contemporary context. Therefore kawa and tikanga play an integral part of formal processes such as the welcoming of guests, however, Mata ō-tua also highlights the value and relevance of Māori knowledge in today's world and to Māori organisations.

The third and final part of this mata is Te Reo ō-tua. This looks at the place of te reo Māori within Māori broadcasting organisations. According to Sir Hemi Henare, “Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Māori” (cited Waitangi Tribunal, 1986, p.43). The Māori language is the essence of Māori culture. The survival of our language is the very reason Māori fought for access to media technologies (Smith 2016). Māori Televisions enabling legislation states that the principal function of the station is to

...contribute to the protection and promotion of te reo Māori me ngā tikanga Māori through the provision, in te reo Māori and English, of a high-quality, cost-effective television service that informs, educates and entertains viewers, and enriches New Zealand’s society, culture and heritage (Māori Television, 2017, p.6).

It makes sense then that Māori Television work towards an organisational culture that supports the protection and promotion of te reo Māori and tikanga Māori.

### **4.3 Te Kawa ō-tua**

This section will be divided into two key parts. Firstly I will look at kawa in a traditional sense, exploring the relevance of well-established marae-based kawa within Māori Television. The second will look at kawa conceptually. I will explore the idea of Māori Television having its own type of kawa as a broadcaster which could guide the way the station operates. Williams (1957, p.110, p.354)

offers several traditional explanations for the term kawa which include ‘perform ceremony of kawa’, ‘strike with a branch’ or simply to ‘open a new house’. These meanings refer to a ceremony held at dawn called “tā i te kawa”, that is, “to strike (the carved posts) with a branch of leaves (kawakawa, for example) or with a tokotoko (staff). It is also called kawanga whare” (Mead, 2003, p.70). The word kawa is also associated with karakia (ritual chants) and ceremonies that remove the tapu from a canoe and other events (Moorfield, 2011). Today kawa is usually regarded as marae protocol, a set of procedures that follow in some sort of order (Mead 2003).

One can draw a clear connection between tā i te kawa, which removes the tapū of a whare, and the kawa of the marae. The kawa of a marae guides proceedings such as pōhiri, where tangata whenua remove the tapu of their manuhiri (visitors). Before manuhiri have been welcomed on to a marae they are referred to as waewae tapu, which literally translates to sacred feet (Moorfield, 2011). Mead (2003, p.118) reinforces this view, stating, “The actual steps in performing a pōhiri can be viewed as the gradual reduction of tapu...”.

Both practices of kawa have been demonstrated at Māori Television. The service was initially located in Newmarket (Central Auckland) before the broadcaster moved to a new location in East Tāmaki in 2017. The opening of a location meant that the tapu must be lifted from the building and the surrounding premises. Tohunga lead hundreds of people at the dawn ceremony as they blessed the building, reciting appropriate karakia. The relocation of Māori Television meant the need to perform the “tā i te kawa” ceremony, acknowledging the change in tribal territory. Previously Māori Television was within Ngāti Whatua boundaries. The move to East Tāmaki bought the station under Waikato-Tainui influence. Although the building and broadcaster itself caters to all Māori, the land it occupies is part of Waikato-Tainui, so all formal proceedings must align with iwi kawa and marae protocols.

On an episode of Māori Television series Whaikōrero, the kawa of Tainui is explained.

“Ki ngā marae horapa i a Waikato Tainui ko te tau utuutu te kawa. Ka pōwhiritia te manuwhiri, ka noho ratou ki tētahi taha o te marae ātea. Ā ka noho te hau kainga ki tērā atu taha e titiro hāngai ana ki te manuwhiri. Nō te hau kainga te kaikōrero tuatahi, katahi ka tū atu ka tū mai. Ka whakatakotohia te koha. Mā te hau kainga te kōrero whakamutunga” (Pihama & Wigby-Ngatai, 2018).

On Waikato-Tainui marae, the kawa is called “tau utuutu” (Pihama & Wigby-Ngatai, 2018). When visitors are welcomed, they sit on one side of the marae ātea, an open area situated in front of the meeting house (Pihama & Wigby-Ngatai, 2018). The local people or hau kāinga sit directly across from their visitors. A speaker from the hau kāinga side speaks first. Following on from the first speaker, a speaker from the manuhiri side stands then a hau kāinga speaker and alternate accordingly (Pihama & Wigby-Ngatai, 2018). The last speaker of the manuhiri will give a koha and the haukāinga have the last say (Pihama & Wigby-Ngatai, 2018). It is important that Māori Television abides by the kawa of Tainui. Therefore any pōhiri within the organisation would adhere to the tau utuutu kawa as explained above, while located at East Tāmaki.

If I look at kawa as a concept, its function must be understood. In basic terms, marae and hapū would be lost without a kawa. The kawa is “the major term that deals with the knowledge base and tikanga Māori is the practice of that knowledge” (Mead, 2003, p8). Without kawa, we may be unsure as to how tikanga are practised and indeed why they are practised i.e. the actual purpose of a particular tikanga. Take for example a recent encounter at my marae where my hapū, for the first time, conducted a full tangihanga for someone who would then be cremated. It was something that had never been done before and so it created a lot of uncertainty. Usually, our kawa dictates that on the day of the nehu or burial, karakia are conducted before the tūpāpaku is taken to the urupā where more karakia take place followed by a burial. People then make their way to the wharekai, eating food as a means of bringing about a state of noa (Mead 2003). However in the case of the cremation, with no burial the tūpāpaku remained in the wharemate, awaiting the arrival of a hearse that would take the tūpāpaku to be cremated. This meant the karakia were finished much earlier than usual, which

lead some within the hapū to believe it was then time for kai. Following on from the karakia, people were called to the wharekai, however, most felt uncomfortable eating while the tūpāpaku was still on the marae. Some opted to stay with the tūpāpaku until the hearse arrived. Others hung around before leaving to eat elsewhere in order to lift the tapu. Despite the confusion, a hapū hui was held, the matter was addressed and the hapū deliberated how cremations could be dealt with in the future. It was decided that kai would not take place until the tūpāpaku had left the marae. The matter was resolved quite simply because although tikanga were slightly altered, the change was within the confines of their kawa. If there was no clear kawa, the hapū would have been consumed by a frenzy of endless possibilities, never reaching a general consensus. Therefore if we unpack the ideologies behind the term kawa, it is a type of “guiding philosophy” (Bristowe 2016). Bristowe (2016) defines kawa as a communal goal, a dream, a vision you aspire to achieve. Māori media, from television networks to production companies need a kawa. It is important that as a Māori broadcaster, all Māori Television employees are aware of the organisation’s collective aim. Tikanga are therefore the practices that support the guiding philosophy. Tikanga are collective beliefs and values that inform attitudes and behaviours and ensure endeavours are undertaken in an ethical and moral way. Bristowe (2016, 9:27) states “we all understand how much easier it is to accomplish a goal when the people you work beside believe in the same things, valued the same things”. This insight by Bristowe asserts the relevance of indigenous knowledge in contemporary settings. Some might assume that because indigenous knowledge derives from a different time and space that its relevance has diminished over time.

It is true that marae-based tikanga are ancient traditional practices, handed down from generation to generation. In comparison, Māori broadcasting, and in particular, Māori Television is fairly recent. It comes as no surprise then that, as a cultural organisation, Māori Television has had to face a steep learning curve (Smith, 2016). Integrating Māori belief systems into an industry that is dominated by a western worldview can be challenging to navigate. But the concept of kawa is not restricted to the marae, it reaches far beyond formal cultural ceremonies. Māori Television could look at having its own kawa ō-tua or guiding philosophy beyond the screen within the workspace.

In light of the Māori media review set in motion by Minister of Māori Development Nanaia Mahuta, online publication E-tangata published a series of articles written by experienced Māori in media, sharing their perspective of what is and isn't working within the industry. Te Karere Executive Producer, Arana Taumata argued:

Te Karere might be winning certain battles, but I'm not sure that we're winning the war. That war is the shared objective in Māori broadcasting to revitalise te reo Māori and affirm the Māori perspective. We need well-trained troops, adequate supplies, and a clear and comprehensive strategy to win through. But I believe we're lacking in these three critical areas (Taumata, 2018).

Here Taumata states that a comprehensive strategy is needed to achieve the shared objective in Māori broadcasting, that is to revitalise te reo Māori and affirm the Māori perspective. In other words, we need to establish our kawa as an industry and deliberate the appropriate tikanga we can implement to support our collaborative goal. Te Wānanga o Raukawa at Ōtaki, for instance, is a Māori tertiary institution that has its own "kawa of learning", that is practices of learning which everyone should accept as binding (Mead, 2003). The overall aim of the kawa is not to impede the students, but to lead students towards success (Mead, 2003). "One of the practices is focussed upon good health and there is an agreement to ban smoking on campus. Another agreement looks at encouraging the mind to be alert so that drugs and alcohol are banned from the learning environment" (Mead, 2003, p.313). Similarly, Māori Television could look to have a "kawa of broadcasting" with tikanga in the workplace that everyone should accept as obligatory for the benefit of the organisation.

Te Urewera, the ancestral homeland of Ngāi Tūhoe, has a management plan called Te Kawa o Te Urewera. Te Kawa o Te Urewera focuses not on rules and regulations, but on traditions, beliefs and relationships (Kruger, 2017). Traditions have formed to give effect to the beliefs of those who have inhabited Te Urewera for centuries (Kruger, 2017). So rather than having strict rules, these traditions

and beliefs reveal the judgement markers that help us deliberate the nature of our progress (Kruger, 2017). Through these traditions, we keep real the values and virtues that inspire wise and beneficial decision making, aid in reconciling disputes, distinguish proper goals and outcomes and ultimately maintain the vigour and permanency of Tūhoetanga (Kruger, 2017). Our traditions and beliefs are a guide, not a codebook, they are about the preservation of respect and duty. These customs are plainly the practice of what we preach (Kruger, 2017). Our traditions and beliefs could mould a kawa for Māori Television that would act as a guide, and provide Māori broadcasting with a purpose which some have said it is lacking (Kruger, 2017).

In an interview, Tūhoe chief negotiator Tamati Kruger spoke about overseas models that the Crown recommended the iwi consider when looking at how to manage Te Urewera.

During our negotiations, the Crown put up Uluṛu as a joint governance model for us to consider. So I sent some Tūhoe there, and the local people told us: “Do not do it this way.” Then the Crown suggested the Nunavut model. So I sent some other Tūhoe there, and those people said the same thing: “Don’t do it this way.” When the Crown ran out of models, it was our turn to speak. And out of that came Te Kawa (Warne, 2018).

The interviewer recalled something Kruger had said in regards to kaitiakitanga or guardianship of the land. In a presentation, Kruger had said that once Pākehā start thinking like Tūhoe – recognising the mauri in nature, coming to a relationship with the earth instead of ownership of the earth – that down that way, glory awaits (Warne, 2018). When Tūhoe were looking at ways of rethinking and ultimately fulfilling their inherent duty as kaitiaki and tangata whenua, they found the answers, not within foreign models, but rather within Māori philosophies. Te Kawa o Te Urewera is centred around the long-held Māori belief that nature has its own mauri or life force.

Kruger (1997) believes that the first principle of Māori philosophy is that there is but one universal spirit.

Everything is connected. If you are spiritually connected to everything, then that dictates and determines your attitude and your behaviour towards everything. It would then be offensive to take off 50,00 hectares of rimu bush because according to this philosophy those are not just trees, you are connected by whakapapa to those trees. You would find within the Māori whakapapa that they would be your tuakana.

For Māori, there is an understanding that Papatūānuku predates us and we are of her creation which means we are born with responsibilities, not power and rights. In comparison, Pākehā philosophies dictate that nature exists to serve mankind.

But in the Pākehā philosophy about the creation of the universe, I think, just simplistically, the creation story in Christianity confirms the fact that Adam and Eve were put in a master role over nature. That nature existed to serve them. So in the Christian story, it places Adam and Even in a tuakana relationship to the rest of nature (Kruger, 1997).

Through these examples, it becomes clear why a management plan for Te Urewera, centred around a contrasting belief system, would be incompatible with the intrinsic principles of the Tūhoe people. So, once the Tūhoe settlement had been reached with the Crown, legislation was created which enshrined Te Urewera as a legal person, which meant Te Urewera was owned by no one, Te Urewera owned itself (Warne, 2018). This signalled a shift in the relationship between humanity and nature (Warne, 2018). To resolve the dispute of ownership, they found a profound alternative, not from extensive research or frameworks that had been tried and tested internationally, but within their traditional Māori knowledge. Since the publication of Te Kawa o Te Urewera, Tūhoe and New Zealand have had an overwhelming response nationally and internationally, being praised as innovative for reinforcing knowledge that predates mankind (Warne, 2018). Layers of wisdom and metaphors are woven into our stories and our history. Our ancestors have equipped us with the Māori intellectual traditions that we need to guide us. There are historic and current day examples of colonial attempts to suppress, control and discredit mātauranga Māori.

The 1907 Tohunga Suppression Act provides an example of colonial attempts to suppress and control Mātauranga Māori. To define what was considered to be valid knowledge. Maori people were denied access to any knowledge that was perceived as a threat by colonising power and a process of knowledge selection grew. Such a process was central to the desire of colonial settlers to hasten the assimilation process (Pihama, 1996,p.4).

A key assumption of assimilation policies was the notion of the existence of a hierarchy of knowledge, within which the knowledge of the coloniser is superior (Pihama, 1996). This notion of mātauranga Māori lacking validity stems from our colonial past and there is a need to restore and reaffirm the value of our knowledge.

A pioneer of Māori broadcasting, Merata Mita was known for advocating the need to decolonise the screen industry and indigenise our image (Pihama, 1996). An integral part of decolonising the screen is decolonising the way we operate. We can do this by regaining confidence in our own knowledge. Bristowe (2016, 0:25) states, “Indigenous knowledge has value. Indigenous knowledge has worth. Most importantly, indigenous knowledge can provide answers and offer solutions to contemporary problems.”

Having a kawa or guiding philosophy for organisations like Māori Television would help to incorporate Māori values into how we operate, outline the strategic focus and most importantly identify our roles as individual employees and as an Indigenous broadcaster. As I write this thesis, Māori Television is undergoing a restructure under the leadership of CEO Shane Taurima. On January 21 2019, Taurima rolled out the Outcomes Framework for 2019 – 2021. In a presentation, it became clear to myself and all kaimahi that this strategic framework was the kawa of Māori Television. Taurima started by acknowledging that there has been uncertainty within the broadcaster as to what the overall purpose of Whakaata Māori was.

We need to be clear about what it is that we actually do and how we contribute to revitalising our reo me ngā tikanga. So a few months ago when I first joined Whakaata Māori I often heard, “I don’t know really what we do. Well, I know that we make programmes or I know that we put the news to air every night but I don’t really know in the bigger scheme of things how that is making a difference”. Because e hoa mā that is why we are all here. Yes for te reo, yes mō ngā tikanga Māori, but we need to understand what is the difference that we are here to make for our people out there (Taurima, 2019).

Taurima points out that had he asked what the kawa or purpose of Māori Television was when he came on board four or five months prior, he would have been met by blank expressions (Taurima, 2019). This is problematic because, without a clear and defiant vision, you are lost from the beginning (Bristowe, 2016). He went on to say that it was his hope that the new strategy would help to first identify if Māori Television was making a difference and secondly how Māori Television is making a difference, which all come down to the decisions kaimahi make every day (Taurima, 2019). He acknowledged that a CEO makes different decisions to the decisions made by a commissioner or a reporter and so on, but regardless everyone has a role to play in the outcomes the station looks to achieve (Taurima, 2019). The framework aims to guide the way in which decisions are made every day. During the presentation, the statement made by Taurima that really pinpointed the kawa for Māori Television was the following.

This framework acknowledges that we are here ko te reo me ngā tikanga Māori te take. So let there be absolutely no confusion, no grey area, no nothing of that kind to suggest otherwise. But we are absolutely here to play a role in the revitalisation of te reo Māori me ngā tikanga Māori (Taurima, 2019).

This is the vision that collectivises us. This is the goal that unifies us. Kawa is where deep thinking must take place, for this philosophy will lead and guide every aspect of practice and endeavour that follows (Bristowe, 2016). With a clear and definitive collective goal, with a kawa, Māori Television can now set in motion

the practices that can support the outcomes Māori Television look to achieve in the future.

#### **4.4 Ngā Tikanga ō-tua**

The previous section explored kawa and the concept of a guiding philosophy to collectivise Māori broadcasting with a common purpose in mind. This next section looks at tikanga which in this instance can be described as the practices which support the guiding philosophy (Bristowe, 2016). One of the most in-depth insights into tikanga is seen in *Tikanga Māori* by Hirini Moko Mead. He states that tikanga is:

...the set of beliefs associated with practices and procedures to be followed in conducting the affairs of a group or an individual. These procedures are established by precedents through time, are held to be ritually correct, are validated by more than one generation and are always subject to what a group or individual is able to do (Mead 2003 p.12).

At the core of tikanga is the practice of collective beliefs and values which are vitally important because they inform attitude and behaviour. Tikanga ensures that actions are undertaken in an ethical and moral way (Bristowe 2016). In a contemporary context, it is easier to accomplish a goal when the people you work with believe the same things, value the same things, aspire towards the same things (Bristowe 2016). Even though kaimahi at Māori Television come from different backgrounds and tribal affiliations, as Māori we share a cultural familiarity, making it possible to engage both skills and talents in a collaborative way (Bristowe 2016). However the role of tikanga in Māori broadcasting is complex as marae-based tikanga are connected to established histories, media-based tikanga practices are a fairly new and are a developing phenomenon led by figures such as Barry Barclay, Merata Mita, Don Selwyn, and Whai Ngata (Smith, 2016).

If we look to define tikanga further, it derives from the root word tika, which means right, just, fair or correct (Ellis 2016). The concept of tika, or being correct, is a base principle that applies to all tikanga (Mead 2003). So the practice of a

particular tikanga needs to be correct and right. According to Mead (2003, p.25-26), in making a judgement about correctness, another principle should be considered and that is the concept of “pono”. By focussing on pono a judgement may thus be made on whether the practice of a particular tikanga is true to the principles of Māoritanga or is an example of something borrowed from somewhere else (Mead, 2003). The notion of pono is important today as more and more innovations are being introduced into tikanga (Mead, 2003).

Tikanga governs behaviour and provides the templates and frameworks to guide our actions. But one must ensure that practices are correct and that they are true to Māori values. Therefore, in the case of Māori Television, in identifying what practices or tikanga could be implemented to support our guiding philosophy, we must also consider whether our practices are appropriate and consistent with Māori principles.

One well-publicised case where tikanga was questioned was seen in the 2013 Native Affairs coverage of an issue involving Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust (TKRNT). Two stories, in particular, were broadcasted by the Māori current affairs programme, the first titled “A Question of Trust” aired on September 9, the second “Feathering the Nest” aired on October 14 (Smith, 2016). Both stories looked at the financial dealings of Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust and its financial arm, Te Pātaka Ōhanga (Smith, 2016). This generated conflict in te ao Māori, raising questions around culturally appropriate practices in media, and whether Māori media could uphold cultural values while remaining objective in a journalistic way (Smith, 2016).

Both stories investigated the concerns of 51 kōhanga reo members from Mataatua and Tauranga Moana rohe over issues relating to the financial structure of the organisation, lifetime membership practices, and personal loans to staff and board members to the value of \$10,000 (Smith, 2016, p.145). The stories lead to two investigations, both of which found no wrongdoing (Smith, 2016). One inquiry was by Ernst & Young on behalf of The Ministry of Education regarding Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust’s management of funding, and an inquiry by the Serious Fraud Office in TPO. “Feathering the Nest” was acknowledged

internationally as an example of good Indigenous journalism (Smith, 2016). The stories got people talking and received traction on the radio, on television and multiple online platforms (Smith, 2016).

However, despite the accolades, the media event raised questions about what counts as tikanga-led news media practices when dealing with Māori organisations and leaders. If we think about the TKRNT media event historically, we would consider how the broader media environment had depicted Māori negatively in the past (Smith, 2016). Given the historical backdrop, some argued that the Native Affairs coverage of the TKRNT media event “risked feeding into a long-standing stereotype of Māori organisations as financially mismanaged entities run by cultural elite” (Smith 2016 p.147). Former Māori Party co-leader Tariana Turia made a comment, which reinforced the importance of thinking historically about the role media has played in perpetuating negative stereotypes of Māori.

She said people in Māori institutions like Māori Television and kōhanga reo should be driven by kaupapa and tikanga. That is not the case in terms of Māori Television. For many of us who fought to get Māori Television, our firm belief was we wanted something that promoted mauri ora, the things that were important for us as people, to paint the side of a picture so you wouldn't get the impression that 90 per cent of our people were mad, bad or sad, which is how we are portrayed by the rest of media (Smith, 2016, p. 146).

Turia says that she had “lost heart with Māori Television” because she believed that they had not played their role in presenting images and stories from te ao Māori that balance out negative non-Māori media depictions (Smith, 2016). She asserted the TKRNT media coverage by Māori Television was not reflective of a kaupapa and tikanga driven approach. In a radio interview with former general manager of Māori Television news and current affairs Julian Wilcox, Radio Waatea host Dale Husband also deliberates what a Māori approach to Māori matters might be.

If we look in to our Māori heart and we act as Māori people, often some of what mainstream media will throw across the networks should really be discussed behind closed doors, rather than splashed across the media, and I just wonder whether we've becoming whistle-blowers on our own bearing in mind there've been plenty of organisations prior to the development of Māori, and there are many who are concerned that perhaps we're just allowing ourselves to drift down that path (Husband, 2013).

Husband goes on to reflect on whether the Kōhanga Reo coverage was driven by ratings, questioning whether the damage it had caused was justified (Husband, 2013).

...a kuia who's given a great deal to the revival of our Māori language is held in high esteem – it is in the ratings that her name has been besmirched for an amount of money that many would consider paltry. You can't deny, can you Jules, that the name of the Kōhanga Reo has been dragged through the media mud this past week and that the reputation and the mana of an esteemed kuia has been besmirched by the coverage, yet still no charges and yet still no proof of guilt (Husband, 2013).

Wilcox drew on orthodox journalistic practices and values to defend the Native Affairs stories. He believed that they acted in the best interests of whānau and communities at a grassroots level.

People have said a lot this week that we're only talking about \$10,000 – well let me use the words of some of the Kōhanga Reo whānau: \$10,000 means a van for a kōhanga, it means being able to feed kids for a long, long time actually within the kōhanga. What's at issue isn't the amount of money – what's at issue is the fact that the Kōhanga Reo movement, i.e. the kōhanga reo centres, have a strict set of rules that they must adhere to and abide by, and yet others within the movement do not? (Husband, 2013).

Viewing the TKRNT media event through a programming lens throws light on the challenges faced by Māori news media practitioners to find a balance between the norms of news journalism and tikanga (Hanusch, 2013). Orthodox news media conventions give reporters independence and freedom to mediate between the public and the state to report on issues (Smith, 2016). Some would question how one can treat TKRNT any differently from other news stories.

Former CEO for Māori Television Jim Mather was interviewed by Radio New Zealand host Chris Laidlaw in 2010. He believed that editorial independence is important when it comes to news and current affairs as it strengthens the credibility of Māori Television as a broadcaster.

For us, it's a critical part of the credibility of Māori Television to have an editorially independent voice on news and current affairs – to hold our own leaders and other leaders to account in relation to what's occurring in the Māori domain particularly. One could really argue that without news and current affairs, and the credibility that that provides to the organisation, and the capacity to deliver the Māori perspective and our voice on issues, we would be an entertainment channel with a strong Māori influence (Smith, 2016, p.151).

If we are deliberating whether Māori Television approached the matter of TKRNT in an appropriate manner, we could draw on traditional knowledge embodied on the original Māori broadcasting space, our marae. Pioneer of Māori broadcasting, Barry Barclay was renowned for developing filming techniques that were more compatible with Māori tikanga and values. He made the connection between broadcasting and the marae, as he believed that Māori broadcasting was like a communications marae, “a different sort of marae - an invisible one, looking inward but open to all” (Barclay, 1990, p.76). Barclay stakes out his theoretical position where a marae need not “abandon or compromise its key values so that another culture might better understand the Indigenous culture” (Barclay, 1990, p.148). Therefore, the invisible marae is a way of balancing the media's public nature with Indigenous responsibilities and values, while maintaining cultural integrity (Hokowhitu & Devadas, 2013).

In considering this theory further in terms of how Māori matters can be covered in a Māori way, a proverb comes to mind which states, “Me marae puehu e kīia ai te marae, he marae” (Rewi, 2010, pp.44-45). A marae is not a fully certified marae until it has had dust upon it stirred. In other words, confrontation is expected to take place on the marae (Rewi, 2010, pp.44-45). So it could then be argued, that if broadcasters like Māori Television were to follow the marae model, a place where the Māori culture is celebrated to the fullest extent, where the language is spoken and where tikanga Māori has a pride of place, then what better environment is there to voice our concerns than the contemporary broadcasting space of Māori Television itself?

In the past it was not uncommon to ‘raise the dust’ on the marae with vigorous body language. When feelings ran high, arguments were occasionally settled by bruising physical contact, hence the courtyard in front of the ancestral house was also known as ‘the marae of Tūmatauenga’, the god of war” (Walker, 1996, pp.122-123).

If we look at the origins of whaikōrero and the nature of traditional oratory, the exchange of harsh and damaging words was not uncommon.

When there are tension and conflict between groups, the marae is as but a bear-pit as Parliament...So when government ministers go to marae, as they did at Waitangi, they can expect a rough time, to be called to account by the people. Theatrical gestures, the prancing haka, baring buttocks, spitting on the ground, stomping on a flag, are ritual gestures of defiance against the power of government (Walker, 1996, pp.122-123).

While the marae can be host to confronting matters, a principle that underpins most tikanga is the concept of “ea” (Mead 2003). The notion of ea indicates the successful closing of a sequence of events, the restoration of relationships or the securing of peaceful interrelationships (Mead 2003). The principle of ea can be observed at the conclusion of a pōhiri. The pōhiri is regarded as a tapu event, hence it can be formal and tense. The steps in performing a pōhiri can be observed

as the gradual reduction of tapu, moving towards a state of balance known as noa (Mead 2003). This balanced state is a space in which human relationships are normalised so that people can meet informally (Mead 2003). A pōhiri ends with a hongiri or touching of noses between tangata whenua and manuhiri, practices that “reduces the level of tapu to state of noa, thereby restoring the balance and so reaching a deserved state of ea” (Mead 2003 p.31). So, it should be understood that debatable matters are voiced on the marae atea freely with the intention of ultimately restoring balance and maintaining relationships (Mead 2003).

Therefore, when reporting on Māori matters, our tikanga are not opposed to addressing controversial issues, they simply indicate there is a need to pay careful attention to the way stories are told. One must determine whether, as Māori news provider, reports are guided by “tika”? Once all has been said and done within the broadcasting space, could you then comfortably engage in a hongiri with those involved? Are you confident you’d be invited to the wharekai to eat together once a particular story has been aired? If we are guided by tikanga Māori, we should look to maintain peaceful interrelationships between Māori Television and Māori organisations such as TKRNT. For this reason, in 2017 a group of five kaimahi under the leadership of former CEO Keith Ikin flew to Wellington to restore the relationship between Whakaata Māori and TKRNT. Māori Television was welcomed in accordance with tikanga Māori and longstanding grievances were addressed in whaikōrero, giving both sides ample opportunity for redress and closure. A discussion then took place to navigate a way forward so that the Māori language initiatives and advocates for te reo Māori and tikanga Māori may work together again. Following on from robust discussions, kaimahi of Whakaata Māori were invited to enjoy a hākari arranged by TKRNT to celebrate the Christmas season. This event aligns with Mead’s (2003) aforementioned insight into the importance of the concepts of “noa and ea” in restoring relationships through the final act of whakanoa, eating together to reduce the tapu on visitors. Concluding the hui in this way despite long-held tension was the epitome of manaakitanga. Mead (2003, p.345) states that the aim of manaakitanga and being hospitable is putting differences aside and “nurturing relationships and as far as possible respecting the mana of other people no matter what...”

The place of tikanga within Māori media practices will probably be debated for a number of years to come. With marae-based tikanga, relationships between people, places and history determine what practices are appropriate (Smith, 2016). However, according to Smith (2016), in a mediated public sphere, the protocols, linkages and lines of authority that set tikanga becomes blurred and more questionable.

Māori Television was also scrutinised publicly when the case of TKRNT media event was taken to the Te Matatini stage. As is the case with all kapa haka stages, exploring controversial issues is common. And so Te Matatini has always been a space for political and cultural expression, sparking debate and raising topical issues. In 2014, Waikato based kapa haka group Te Iti Kahurangi took to the stage and challenged the Kōhanga Reo stories aired by Māori Television. In response, Māori Television decided to pull down the haka from its online platforms. This course of action resulted in an outcry across social media, forcing the station to reconsider and republish the haka days later. In highlighting tikanga, the principle of manaakitanga is of paramount importance. According to Mead (2003, p.345), “Manaakitanga focuses on positive human behaviour and encourages people to rise above their personal attitudes and feelings towards others and towards issues they believe in”. Perhaps the principle of manaakitanga could have been observed in the case of the Te Iti Kahurangi haka. In addition, the airing of a grievance and voicing disagreement with a kaupapa on the part of the group was actually in line with tikanga and the true purpose of the haka. Therefore Māori Television according to many, overstepped the mark regarding this issue.

In an interview on Te Kāea, the then CEO Paora Maxwell told anchor Piripi Taylor his reasoning behind pulling the item off the Māori Television website was,

When I first heard the words of the haka, to me it belittled and discredited the entire efforts of Māori Television. When I listened to what they were saying, I had to consider as the CEO how it reflected on all our programmes. That was the reason (Māori Television, 2015a).

Some were of the view that the measures taken by Māori Television were harsh and did not acknowledge the cultural belief that haka is a traditional form of expression that should be respected. It is important to note here that, throughout history, and even in the present day, haka and songs are written about a range of events and people. No matter the topic, Māori don't shy away from confronting subject matter.

A well-known example is seen in the Ngāti Porou haka, "Poropeihana". In October 2010, former leader of the Māori Party, Te Ururoa Flavell, spoke about the Poropeihana haka at Ngā Wai o Horotiu Marae.

The haka Poropeihana, was used to send a powerful signal to Āpirana Ngata who made the controversial decision to finance the payback of the mortgages on the East Coast dairy farms through a two-year prohibition on alcohol. Supposedly the money that was not spent in the pubs could go to pay the mortgages on the dairy herds (Scoop – Independent News, 2010).

Despite composing a haka directed at Apirana Ngata and opposing his actions, Ngāti Porou to this day have an unwavering respect for Ngata who is not only one of the great Māori leaders of the past but also one of their own. In the final analysis, the management of Māori Television could have handled things differently.

“Te mūrau ā te tini, te wenerau a te mano”

“The dread of the multitudes, the envy of thousand” (Ngata & Jones, 2012, p. 282).

Both leaders and organisations in Māoridom can expect to be scrutinised and challenged.

#### **4.5 Te Reo ō-tua**

This section discusses the place of te reo Māori in the workplace. While it is clear that Māori Television lists language revitalisation as one of its key priorities, there must also be clarity regarding the role of the language operationally. There is

often a strong focus on audience-led strategies for Māori Television, and rightfully so as there is no point in producing quality Māori content if there is no one viewing or accessing material. That aside, te reo ō-tua suggests that in order for the organisation to contribute meaningfully to the revitalisation of the language, there must also be a focus on te reo internally amongst Māori Television employees. Māori broadcasting is but one component of a much larger movement of Māori language revitalisation, therefore there is a need to examine the impact Māori Television is making in this space. It must be remembered that without the Māori language then Māori radio, Māori Television and arguably, Māori as a distinct, identifiable cultural entity would not exist.

In an interview in 2013, former CEO Jim Mather said that Māori Television employees are more than workers, they are people a part of a crusade, advocates and champions of te reo Māori and tikanga. He firmly believed that the majority of those working at Māori Television saw it as more than a job, they saw it first as a privilege (Smith, 2016). An early ambition by the indigenous national broadcaster, outlined in the Māori Television Statement of Intent in 2005, was to provide training for staff members to upskill their proficiency in te reo Māori and ultimately normalise the use of the language in the workplace (Smith, 2016).

Multiple reo strategies have been developed during Māori Television's 15 years in operation. The idea of language zones in the Whakaata Māori building has been raised (Smith, 2016). Te Wiki o Te Reo Māori has been celebrated with interactive reo related games and challenges for employees. More recently at the end of September 2017, the first-ever kura reo for Māori Television was held for staff at all levels over the course of two days. Staff members were tested and put into groups accordingly. The general feedback from staff members was positive, elated at the opportunity to learn from the likes of reo revitalisation pioneer Kaa Williams, and recognised reo advocates such as Mataia Keepa, Leon Blake and Pania Papa. It is clear that there have been internal efforts to upskill employees. Unfortunately, despite these attempts, the vision of making te reo Māori the day-to-day language has not yet been realised. Cathy Dewes believes that ambitions around having a more effective reo strategy are constrained by a lack of funding.

I think Māori Television is hugely limited by its funding resources. I think the idea is to have the whole of Māori Television, and in time, speaking Māori, and by that, I mean I assume if a person is speaking Māori they have an understanding of tikanga Māori and te ao Māori which non-speakers don't have (Smith, 2016, p.52).

Hone Edwards, who is now the producer of current affairs show Kawe Kōrero, identifies himself as a fluent reo speaker and comments on the difficulties faced by others like himself, in the workplace over the years.

Those of us who are fluent do speak te reo to each other, but you hesitate to speak to others because they don't have the language – they don't want to speak Māori. They just want to be here, to do the job, and go home (Smith, 2016, p.53).

He goes on to express his bewilderment at the lack of reo Māori spoken within Māori Television. “The thing that fascinates me about Māori Television is that given the clarity of the brand, I hardly hear the language being spoken, and I find that fascinating (Smith, 2016, p.53).”

Reo within the workplace was thrown into the media spotlight when two kaimahi, longstanding receptionists at Māori Television, were fired for their lack of fluency in te reo Māori. They had greeted and welcomed manuhiri at Māori Television's Newmarket premises for years. Radio New Zealand spoke to a close friend of theirs who said they weren't given the opportunity to learn te reo Māori at school (RNZ, 2015a). The unnamed friend said that one of the receptionists had also made an effort to attend classes offered by Māori Television to improve her fluency (RNZ, 2015a). According to reports, the decision was a part of a restructure within the organisation. In an interview with Stuff, Māori Television's then Communications Manager Lana Simmons-Donaldson said, because the role of receptionist is one of the most public-facing roles, changes had to be made to ensure that Māori Television's receptionists are fluent in both English and Māori (Stuff, 2015). Māori Television CEO at the time, Paora Maxwell, said the realignment of the company strategy was undertaken “to support its vision for

Māori language to be valued, embraced and spoken by all New Zealanders" (RNZ, 2015b). He told Radio New Zealand that all employees have the opportunity to advance their proficiency in Māori. He went on to say that Māori Television had "set itself the aspirational goal of having a bilingual workforce by 2020" (RNZ, 2015b).

The move generated headlines and scrutiny ensued. A spokesperson for Māori Affairs and Treaty of Waitangi Issues Pita Paraone addressed the matter (Scoop, 2015). He said that while it was an admirable goal to have a bilingual workplace, he believed that the decision to fire the receptionists compromised their rights as New Zealanders to be treated equally, despite their level of fluency in the language (Scoop, 2015). "To be fired for not speaking te reo fluently when no other staff face the same language requirements is unequal treatment and a clear abuse of the principles of the Treaty" (Scoop, 2015). The service was questioned by Stuff as to whether they were acting in accordance with core Māori values and tikanga Māori, giving reference to the 'uara' or guiding values developed and set out by the Kaunihera Kaumātua (Smith, 2016). These uara were laid out to guide Māori Television, offering a more culturally appropriate way to operate. Stuff (2015) challenged the station stating that "The network also identifies 'Kia aroha - being respectful and empathetic', as a core value" suggesting that the move to let go of the long-term receptionists was contrary to the foundational values Māori Television should be guided by. A Māori MP at the time, Marama Fox, pointed out that the receptionists were elders and alluded to the fact that within Māori society, elders should be respected and recognised for their life experiences (Higgins, R. & Meredith, 2011a).

These are kuia who have been part of a generation of New Zealanders and Māori who had their language stolen from them so they've been unfairly prejudiced against, something that has happened to all Māori. It seems a really harsh measure for kuia and, in this case, receptionists who have been there for a long time" (RNZ, 2015a).

A Labour MP, Peeni Henare, questioned how consistent Māori Television was in enforcing te reo fluency across the board. "It's being a hypocrite when not all

senior management are matatau ki te reo and not all the staff members are fluent in Te Reo Māori. I think it's shocking" (RNZ, 2015a). The effect of the redundancy rippled through the station. The unsettling news reportedly resulted in a hui between more than 100 employees at the station's reception area. A karakia was held and "chief executives and other senior staff members attended and listened to what was being said by staff" (RNZ, 2015b).

These events and others reinforce the importance of Mata ō-tua. If Māori Television as an organisation is clear about the role language, tikanga and cultural values play in the day to day workings of the service, the impact of public scrutiny on morale would be less damaging. However, the public nature of the media industry means criticism is something that cannot be avoided completely. As mentioned in the previous chapter, current CEO Shane Taurima presented the new Māori Television strategy. The Outcomes Framework for 2019 – 2021 sets out outcomes that Māori Television aims to achieve. The strategic framework is headed with the following:

“Whakaawetia te whakaoranga o te reo Māori me ngā tikanga Māori”  
“Inspiring the revitalisation of te reo Māori and tikanga Māori” (Māori Television, 2019, p.1)

This outcomes framework looks to pinpoint and acknowledge the role Māori Television plays within the wider national strategy to revitalise the Māori language. In 2016 The Māori Language act was updated to what is now known as Te Ture mō te Reo Māori 2016 (the Māori Language Act, 2016), creating a new way of approaching language revitalisation. In short, the Act established a partnership between the Crown and iwi and Māori, who are represented by Te Mātāwai (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2018). This strategy uses the analogy of a whareniui or meeting house which is called Te Whare o te Reo Mauri Ora, or the house of a thriving language (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2018). One maihi or bargeboard is called Te Maihi Māori. This side of the house, with the guidance of Te Mātāwai, “focuses on homes, communities and the nurturing of Māori children as first language speakers of te reo Māori” (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2018). The other side of the house has a bargeboard named Te Maihi Karauna, which encompasses entities that are under

the Crown, including Māori Television (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2018). “The Crown focuses on creating a New Zealand society where te reo Māori is valued, learned and used by developing policies and services that support language revitalization” (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2018).



This is the first time the Crown and Māori have entered into an active, planned partnership for revitalisation. Together they are working towards a shared vision, *kia mauriora te reo* (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2018). So, looking at Te Whare o te Reo Mauri Ora, it is important that each organization within the Crown's wider Māori language strategy know their role in Te Maihi Karauna. Each entity is required to develop an outcomes framework so that efforts aren't duplicated and the specific role of organisations, such as Māori Television, are acknowledged (Taurima, 2019).

Māori Television was in fact, the first of Te Maihi Karauna to present their outcomes framework to staff and the public. The key four outcomes that Māori Television aims to contribute towards are:

- Mana Tuakiri - More people value te reo me ngā tikanga Māori as part of our national identity.
- Mana Rangatahi - More young people are excited about te reo Māori me ngā tikanga Māori.
- Mana Reo - More people are engaging with high quality broadcast and online content in te reo Māori.
- Mana Māori – Māori Television inspires the revitalisation of te reo Māori me ngā tikanga Māori (Māori Television, 2019).

Mana Rangatahi will be explored in more depth in chapter 5 in terms of the importance of online platforms and the challenges developing technologies present in attempting to attract and engage Māori and general audiences (Māori Television, 2019). I will, however, expand further on the remaining three outcomes that focus on te reo Māori.

Mana Tuakiri seeks national recognition that the Māori language is an official language of our country and is a taonga that should be promoted and protected as a foundational part of our unique national identity (Māori Television, 2019). According to the outcomes framework, this will be achieved by supporting specific Māori events that showcase the value and promote awareness of te ao Māori e.g. Māori Sports Awards, Ngā Tohu Reo Māori, Te Matatini, Māori Music awards and so on (Māori Television, 2019). Another method suggested in the strategy is to promote the language through content that is led by influential reo champions such as renown TV and radio personalities (Māori Television, 2019).

Mana Reo is about getting more people in general engaged in the content that Māori Television is producing (Māori Television, 2019). Taurima highlights the competitive and testing nature of the current dispersed and wide-reaching mediascape.

What we know is, with the digital era, we have so many options at our fingertips. We're no longer competing with Newshub or TVNZ or RNZ, the media agencies that have been around for such a long time. We're competing now against multi-billion dollar giants. What were you

watching yesterday? Netflix? What were you on? Facebook? Instagram? It's those media giants that we are now having to compete with. Competing for what? For the eyes and ears of our people (Taurima, 2019).

Taurima believes it is Māori Television's role to find its niche rather than try to beat media giants at their own game.

So what we have to do is identify what our point of difference is here at Whakaata Māori to better engage with our audience so that our people are using, are viewing, are accessing the content we are producing. Because we could just sit here in this beautiful building in East Tāmaki and make all the wonderful programmes that we possibly can, but if no one is watching them, if no one is tuning in and if no one is accessing them, kāre he take (Taurima, 2019).

The last outcome which aligns most with te reo ō-tua is Mana Māori. Mana Māori is an outcome that is more specific to Māori Television workers.

We need to be inspiring the inspirers. So everyone sitting here, you are the inspirers. If we are not inspired ourselves about the work that we do and the content that we produce or the role that we play at Māori Television, how then do you expect those who are watching our content to be inspired? So the fourth outcome is actually about us, ngā kaimahi o Whakaata Māori, making Māori Television a great place to work in. A place that actually inspires all of us to want to be here every day (Taurima, 2019).

Taurima (2019) asserts that he wants all kaimahi to be passionate about their mahi, to be proud of their mahi, to take pride in what is produced and to be inspired to do things better each day. Māori Television's outcomes framework suggests that in order to be leaders in the language revitalisation space, the organisation needs to create a culture of excellence that reflects a work environment that is creative, forward-looking and adaptive to where te reo Māori is naturally spoken (Taurima, 2019). This will be achieved by providing support

for all staff to learn, enhance and practice te reo Māori and tikanga Māori regardless of their competency level (Māori Television, 2019). Actions that will be taken within the next three years include the development of a language plan for the organisation and enabling staff to use and learn te reo and practice tikanga Māori in their everyday work (Māori Television, 2019).

We want Whakaata Māori to be a place where people are talking te reo, where people are using te reo, where we practice our tikanga, not as a chore or as a duty, but actually because it's something that we're really passionate about and proud of (Taurima 2019).

The consensus is that once the vision of Māori Television's new strategic outlook is achieved that the language will be shared and used daily, that the language will be used appropriately and correctly on and off screen, embodying the words of Sir Timoti Karetu:

“Ko te reo kia tika, ko te reo kia rere, ko te reo kia Māori” – Sir Timoti Karetu.

So ideally, the language should flow organically, occur naturally and be normalized.

#### **4.6 Conclusion**

Mata ̄-tua was separated into three interrelated sections; Te Kawa ̄-tua, Ngā Tikanga ̄-tua and Te Reo ̄-tua. Although I have discussed kawa and tikanga in isolation, they operate in unison and the intangible bond that connects them both is te reo Māori. Language is fundamental to the identity of an individual and a wider collective identity. Human perceptions about themselves and the world in which they exist are mostly transmitted through language. It is the medium through which ideals, beliefs, understanding, values and norms are communicated in their most authentic form (Porter & Samovar, 1991). In essence, the way people are and how they understand themselves is woven into the verbalisation of their thoughts in their mother tongue.

In summary, Māori Television's kawa ̄-tua or collective goal is to inspire the

revitalisation of te reo Māori and tikanga Māori (Māori Television 2018). Tikanga ō-tua discusses practices and approaches that support the broadcasters vision and the achievement of it. Lastly, te reo ō- tua re-emphasises the necessity to speak te reo Māori at every opportunity, supported by the kaumātua perspective, the Māori language is the receptacle that holds the wairua in place, “Ko te reo Māori te kaipupuri o te wairua Māori” (Sir Hemi Henare). Reo icon, Timoti Karetu, echoes Henare’s sentiments going on to say,

For me, language is central to my mana [prestige, power, authority]. Without it could I still claim to be Maori? I do not think so for it is the language which has given me what mana I have and it is the only thing which differentiates me from anyone else (Karetu, 1990, p.19).

I have acknowledged some of the guiding philosophies, which contribute to what Māori believe and practice. These perspectives would contribute positively to Māori Television’s workplace culture. Now more than ever, Māori are realising that the systems put in place by mainstream forces are inappropriate. These are the same systems that have caused economic poverty, global inequality and environmental degradation and exploitation (Bristowe, 2016). Mātauranga Māori and western ideologies are founded upon different principles. Māori principles favour connection, relationships, manaakitanga and whanaungatanga rather than individualism. These same principles favour protection and revitalisation rather than the self-centered nature of exploitation. Bristowe (2016) states that “Globally people are realizing that the answers to these problems cannot be found in the same knowledge that created them and this is where indigenous knowledge has value.” Mātauranga Māori is a taonga and we mustn’t question the worth of its contemporary application.

## Chapter 5

### Mata Pākehā

#### 5.1 Introduction

“E tipu e rea mō ngā rā o tōu ao; ko tō ringa ki ngā rākau a te Pākehā hei ora mō tō tinana.

Grow and branch forth for the days of your world;

Your hand to the tools of the Pākehā for the welfare of your body.”(Mead & Grove, 2001, p.48).

Sir Apirana Ngata was a firm believer in the benefits of Pākehā tools for the development and advancement of his people. This outlook is the foundation of Māori media. From early encounters between foreigners and Māori, our ancestors were not afraid to explore how new technologies could provide more innovative and efficient ways of doing things. Master navigator and traditional waka builder Sir Hekenukumai Busby (2013) says that he is often accused of cheating for using less traditional methods to build waka. Despite this, he points out that a job that used to take six months is completed in six to seven days with the help of developing technologies (Busby, 2013). He asserts that like his ancestors, he is using the best possible tools he has access to (Busby, 2013). For instance, Sir Apirana Ngata did the best he could for his time, but that is not to say that the work he did would suffice or even be appropriate in this day and age. However, we must understand he did not advise that Māori do exactly as he did, he said “e tipu e rea mō ngā rā o tou ao”, excel within the world you reside in. Utilise what is available to you now. Do not look to achieve what has been done in the past, look to push boundaries and go further, taking in to account what is, not what was. Our ancestors did the best they could in their time, our tīpuna would expect us to do more. Mata Pākehā looks at the place of modern technology in achieving the best outcomes that we can for our people.

## 5.2 What is Mata Pākehā?

Mata Pākehā was developed on the basis that some foreign technological advancements can aid the progression of Māori and in particular Māori broadcasting. Before outlining the two components of Mata Pākehā, I will look at the varying definitions of ‘Pākehā’, a term that has altered in its use and meaning over time. The Williams Māori dictionary (1971) offers the following range of definitions for the word Pākehā:

**Pākehā. 1. n.** A person of predominantly European descent.

2. a. *Foreign. Kai pakeha*, an imported variety of **kumara**.

**pakepakehā, pākehakeha. 1. n.** Imaginary beings resembling men, with fair skins.

Although it is commonly used today, the exact origin of the word Pākehā is debatable. Originally ‘Pākehā’ was used in reference to European settlers in New Zealand. Before the arrival of Europeans, Māori had no name for themselves as an ethnic group, they were a tribal people (Walker, 1990). Therefore terms like Pākehā and Māori were used to differentiate the “usual or ordinary” Māori people with the “different” European settlers (Williams, 1971). Pākehā can be defined as a person in New Zealand of predominantly European Ancestry (Ausubel, 1965). The *English – Maori: Maori – English Dictionary* (Biggs, 1990) defines Pakeha as "white (person)". Today Pākehā is a term that is commonly used more generally, encompassing all non-Māori people. The meaning “a foreigner” given by Williams (1971) is a more suitable definition in relation to Mata Pākehā. The technology utilized in broadcasting cannot be afforded to Europeans or any one race, however, technologies were seen as foreign or new when first introduced to Aotearoa.

Therefore Mata Pākehā looks at the nature of media as a Pākehā developed entity. The following chapters will look at how Māori broadcasting can utilize developing Pākehā tools to advance within the industry. It also looks at *tire* Pākehā, or laws, that broadcasters are expected to adhere to in order to operate successfully. This mata will be separated into two parts, the first being Hangarau

Pākehā (developing technologies) followed by Ture Pākehā (Broadcasting Standards).

### **5.3 Hangarau Pākehā**

The growth of technology has resulted in a pressing need for Māori Television to keep up in a rapidly changing mediascape. With a variety of devices, platforms and online services, people now more than ever have a wide range of avenues to view, access and consume media content. In Māori Television's Statement of Intent 2017- 2020, the station acknowledges a decline in viewers for traditional linear television (Māori Television, 2017b). Statistics from the first half of 2017 have highlighted that there had been fewer viewers and shorter viewing times for the station compared to previous years. With new technologies and an increase in connected screen devices, a wider choice has meant a more fragmented market. An added concern for Māori Television is the dominant age groups within the Māori population (Māori Television, 2017b).

The decrease in traditional television viewing is even greater for the Māori population in which over half are younger than 25 years of age (2013 Census). This is reflected across the Māori Television Service as more of its consumers go online with a 16% growth in the number of Māori Television website users (Māori Television, 2017b, p.10). Statistics show that consumers are gravitating towards digital subscription services because of its accessibility. Close to a quarter of all New Zealanders subscribe to providers such as Netflix. At present, the diverse media landscape is a competitive environment. Māori Television is faced with many challenges in an effort to keep respective audiences engaged and increase its presence within the developing digital realm of the industry.

Although technologies can be seen as a threat to traditional forms of broadcasting, it has, in fact, advanced Māori Television's outreach, therefore increasing the station's capacity to achieve its goals as an Indigenous broadcaster (Māori Television, 2017b). In their 2017-2020 report, Māori Television also points out some of the measures they have taken to fulfil their strategic goals to stay relevant in the technological age. Technology has opened up opportunities for Māori Television to broadcast content on multiple platforms.

The broadcaster has two channels, Māori Television and Te Reo Channel. Māori Television is bilingual with content “for all New Zealanders including Māori language speakers of all fluency levels” (Māori Television, 2017b, p.15). Te Reo, however, is a channel that was established to broadcast “informative, educative and entertaining content exclusively in te reo Māori” (Māori Television, 2017b). The establishment of a channel that is 100% in te reo Māori was a huge milestone. However, it should be noted here that since 2016 the station has aired bilingual current affairs show, Kawe Kōrero, on both channels despite its English language content.

The move of the Māori Television offices to East Tāmaki Rd in late 2017 signalled the start of a technological upgrade. The broadcaster can now boast its capability to broadcast in High Definition (HD). “This will give our viewers a crisper and sharper picture on par with other major New Zealand broadcasters” (Māori Television, 2017b, p.15). Māori Television also has a bilingual website with on-demand programmes and an extensive news section with news articles and videos. In addition, in 2017, Māori Television formed a partnership with Fairfax Media that will feature Māori news stories on the Stuff website (Māori Television, 2017b, p.15). Former Chief Executive Paora Maxwell announced that the agreement would enable a wider, more diverse audience to access stories from a Māori perspective, giving insight to the Māori world. “Stuff reaches more than two million New Zealanders every month. This is great exposure for our news and current affairs” (Māori Television, 2017a).

The station’s online application is also available free of charge from the Apple iTunes store and the Google Play store. Māori Television has also established a presence on social media, utilising platforms such as Facebook, Snapchat, Instagram and Twitter (Māori Television, 2017b). The service now has the technical means to produce podcasts. Audio podcasts are available for shows such as Kawe Kōrero and Māori language learning series Ōpaki (Māori Television, 2017b).

A huge digital development in the station's technical capabilities is Live Streaming. Both Te Kāea and Native Affairs have streamed live to the Māori Television website. For close to three years the midday bilingual news bulletin “Rereātea” was broadcast exclusively online. Touch Rugby, World Shearing Championships and ANZAC day commemorations are some of the major events that have been made available for viewing via Live Stream (Māori Television, 2017b). However, Live Streaming, in particular, has created dialogue, questioning whether it is appropriate in some Māori settings, such as kapa haka competitions and tangihanga.

Te Matatini is one of the biggest events for Māori, with Māori Television coverage attracting an influx of viewers, both on screen and online. The online space can be problematic as some rōpū request their items not be plastered across social media. Tangihanga, in particular, is a sensitive subject for media in general. With the public and accessible nature of Live Streaming, many believe it is not suitable to live stream such a tapu process. On the other hand, it could be argued that it is an invaluable tool for whānau who live abroad and are unable to attend. In March 2016 Māori Television live streamed the tangihanga of the late Dr Ranginui Walker over three days (Māori Television, 2016). Maxwell said, “The broadcast is to honour a man who has contributed much to the Māori renaissance of te reo Māori and the understanding of Māori issues by wider Aotearoa New Zealand” (Māori Television, 2016).

Increased use of the internet and social networking sites by Māori has provided alternative contemporary methods of connecting with marae, hapū and iwi. “Data findings showed that the virtual form of whanaungatanga (that which remained rooted in the underlying principles of face-to-face whanaungatanga) enable Māori to (re)connect to existing and new family members, friends, marae (main gathering places), hapū (sub-tribes) and iwi (tribes) in less formal ways” (O’Carroll, 2013, p.230). Māori Television has developed digital services alongside its traditional linear offerings. Their focus on keeping up with multiple platforms is an effort to deliver to the needs and demands of New Zealanders.

While multiple platforms can increase the accessibility of content, the digital space is competitive and demanding. Gone are the days when New Zealanders waited for the scheduled 6pm news bulletin. With apps and social media platforms, the news is made available instantaneously. Consumers aren't willing to wait for the latest episodes to air on television, families aren't restricted to the Sunday night movie chosen and aired by broadcasters. Therefore, Māori Television must continue to invest in these areas if they intend to stay relevant.

In the previous chapter covering Mata ō-tua, I laid out the aims Māori Television are looking to achieve as a part of its Outcomes Framework (2019 – 2021). One outcome, in particular, has a focus on rangatahi. The framework states that, with a growing population of youth, rangatahi are pivotal to growing and sustaining te reo Māori in the future. Māori Television aspires to have more young people excited about te reo Māori and tikanga Māori through vibrant, exciting and accessible content, thereby contributing to the stations broader language revitalisation goals (Māori Television, 2019). In a company presentation, current Māori Television CEO Shane Taurima (2019) said, “What we know right now is that there aren't enough rangatahi Māori tuning in or accessing the content that we are producing. So we need to do something about that.” Some of the methods Māori Television are looking to use to improve youth engagement are, supporting kaupapa rangatahi that showcase their success and engaging with them to define their needs (Māori Television, 2019). Distributing content on a range of platforms to enable access to content when rangatahi want it, is also important.

Over 30% of the New Zealand population and more importantly, 54% of the Maori population is under the age of 25 (Māori Television, 2019). Quite simply put, the outcomes framework for Māori Television is targeting youth because they need to. “Targeting the younger generation and inspiring them to engage in te reo Māori through vibrant, exciting and accessible content is necessary to achieve the broader language revitalisation goals” (Māori Television, 2019, p.27).

This outcomes framework is part of a restructure at Whakaata Māori. Some of the most radical changes in Māori Television's 14 years are being made, signalling a major shift for the broadcaster in response to the threat global social media and

new technology poses for traditional media organisations (Ngā Aho Whakaari, 2018). A realignment in the way it delivers news and current affairs is part of the stations plan to become a modern “digital-first” media organisation (Ngā Aho Whakaari, 2018). On November 22, 2018, it was announced that Kawekōrero, current affairs show Native Affairs and midday online news show Rereātea would end at the end of 2018, with long-running news programme Te Kāea ending in February 2019. In a statement, Taurima said, “The four news and current affairs programmes will be replaced in February by just one brand. The new strategy is based on a Māori Media Hub that delivers news as it happens across our online platforms and television. An evening news broadcast will still be shown” (Ngā Aho Whakaari, 2018). In essence, Māori Television would produce content across multiple platforms and not for specific shows, telling stories in the most suitable and instant way. “This is about providing Māori news anywhere, anytime, on any device” (Ngā Aho Whakaari, 2018). The changes involve a full overhaul of the way Māori Television deliver content, with reporters being trained to become “multimedia journalists” (Ngā Aho Whakaari, 2018).

There is some contention around Māori and our deep-seated aversion to the commodification of their knowledge (Walker, 1996). The dissemination of knowledge is a matter of ritual and responsibility for Māori, which is understandable when considering the origins of mātauranga Māori and the lengths Tanenuiarangi went through to obtain the baskets of knowledge (Kamira, 2003). Concerns have been expressed that online platforms could adversely impact the retention and dissemination of cultural knowledge. Some have likened the potential fallout to the effects of colonisation itself. Despite the well-documented damage caused, colonisation did not totally destroy our culture. If we are to look at the dominant medium, which until recently was the written word, in many cases it has been responsible for the preservation of cultural knowledge (Kamira, 2003). The same could be possible for information technologies in the future (Kamira, 2003). The shift to the computer-mediated word contains elements of both written and oral traditions, which, in turn, raises new questions culturally for Māori, as well as new opportunities (Lemon, n.d.).

## 5.4 Ture Pākehā

Broadcasting laws are another matter of consideration under Mata Pākehā. The Broadcasting Standards Authority (BSA) was established in 1989 to oversee the broadcasting standards regime in Aotearoa (Broadcasting act, 1989). Complaints are sent to the BSA, who then do research to decide whether a complaint should be upheld. Broadcasting standards and complaint processes are well established for linear television content. The same cannot be said however for online publications. Every day there are developments and advancements in technology and online platforms, resulting in variable laws around shared content. Online Media Standards Authority (OMSA) was formerly responsible for upholding standards for news content online (OMSA, 2016). Māori Television was accountable to OMSA. This has changed, with complaints in regards to online content now forwarded to The New Zealand Press Council. Not only are laws within the realm of online media continuously changing but so too are the bodies charged with enforcing them. The Press Council looks at publications and coverage online by a number of broadcasters including TVNZ, MediaWorks, Sky Network Television, Māori Television, NZME Radio and Radio New Zealand (The New Zealand Press Council, 2017). It should be noted that complaints regarding certain online content can be heard by the BSA if that material has also been broadcast in its entirety on television.

The biggest benefit of online is its reach to the masses, however that is also what makes online content near impossible to police. It is a volatile platform for broadcasters with some controversial news stories generating dialogue from audiences that breach online standards. It is the responsibility of the broadcaster to monitor comments on far-reaching social media platforms such as Facebook. Although there are some automatic settings on social media platforms that are able to filter written profanities, these measures are not enough to adequately monitor threads. Māori Television is therefore not only responsible for the content it produces, but also the comments written by platform users. For example, one of the 12 key principles outlined by The New Zealand Press Council is the matter of confidentiality (The New Zealand Press Council, 2017). “Publications have a strong obligation to protect against disclosure of the identity of confidential

sources” (The New Zealand Press Council, 2017). A court case could be the subject of a news item, however if the defendant has been granted name suppression, media outlets are expected to comply with laws around confidentiality. What is problematic is that once an article or news story is shared online, Māori Television, like all broadcasters, are responsible for comments made by the public. If a Facebook user decides to disclose the name of a person with name suppression, a broadcaster can be held accountable. The internet has had an unsettling effect on media. Where once, programming was only aired on television and difficult to obtain, shows are now public, accessible and circulating online with no boundaries.

The growing global influence of technology has led to the prioritisation of online safety. After noticing the potential harm and growing influence of technology, New Zealand Police, Ministry of Education and several other organisations worked collaboratively with their IT industry partners to create Netsafe (previously known as Internet Safety Group) in 1998 (Netsafe, n.d.). Since then, Netsafe has been a watchdog and advocate for online safety. They provide safety help, support, expertise and education to New Zealanders, helping people manage and reduce the risk of online harm (Netsafe, n.d.). Under the Harmful Digital Communications Act 2015, Netsafe was appointed as the agency to receive, assess and investigate any complaints about online bullying, harassment and abuse (Netsafe, n.d.). Their aim isn’t to scare people away from technology but rather encourage people to use tools and techniques that can improve their overall online experience (Netsafe, n.d.). Although the organisation was established before smartphones and social media, the rapid growth and evolution of digital technology highlight the need for bodies like Netsafe. There is an expectation that media outlets support the principles promoted by Netsafe, avoiding the production of content that can have potentially harmful effects on their audiences. The ethic of social responsibility should be recognised by Māori Television. The BSA also observes and develops appropriate Codes of Broadcasting Practices and is charged with the responsibility of administering a standards regime and determines formal complaints (BSA, 2017). There are 11 key standards that free-to-air broadcasters like Māori Television are expected to maintain (BSA, 2017).

1. **Good Taste and Decency:** Broadcasters must take in to account current social norms of good taste and decency. Consideration must also be given to the context in which content occurs. If the content is likely to disturb or offend a number of viewers, visual or verbal warnings are required.
2. **Law and Order:** Factual programmes should be mindful not to glamorise or condone criminal activity and anti-social behaviours such as violence, serious crime and the abuse of liquor and drugs.
3. **Privacy:** Broadcasters are expected to maintain standards in regards to the privacy of an individual.
4. **Controversial Issues or Viewpoints:** When controversial issues are covered by news and current affairs programmes, they should make reasonable efforts to present significant points in the same programme or other programmes within the period of current interest.
5. **Accuracy:** Efforts should be made to ensure the news and current affairs programming is accurate and does not mislead audiences. If errors are made, broadcasters must then rectify the situation by making necessary corrections as soon as possible. This standard does not apply however to statements which are clearly distinguishable as analysis, comment or opinion.
6. **Fairness:** Broadcasters should deal fairly with people or organisations taking part or referenced in a programme. This means that people and in particular, children should not be exploited, humiliated or unfairly identified. Broadcasters should also exercise care to ensure that there is no distortion of an event or the overall views expressed.
7. **Discrimination and Denigration:** Broadcasters should not encourage discrimination against, or denigration of, any section of the community on account of sex, sexual orientation, race, age, disability, occupational status, or as a consequence of legitimate expression of religion, culture or political beliefs.

8. **Responsible Programming:** Programmes should be classified appropriately, aired at appropriate times and are presented in a way that does not cause panic or unwarranted alarm. Broadcasters should also ensure viewers are not deceived or disadvantaged by content.
9. **Children’s Interests:** Broadcasters must consider child viewers and their interests during children’s normally accepted viewing hours.
10. **Violence:** Care and discretion should be exercised when dealing with issues of violence.
11. **Liquor:** There are restrictions to the promotion of liquor that must be observed by factual programmes such as news and current affairs. These genres should be socially responsible and avoid liquor promotion. This means that content should not encourage under aged drinking through liquor sponsorship of a programme, advocacy of liquor consumption or the promotion of liquor products, brands or outlets.

An important principle that both television and online news platforms are required to consider is “Accuracy, Fairness and Balance” (New Zealand Press Council, 2015). This means that readers or viewers must not be deliberately misled, information cannot be sensationalised and a fair voice must be given to both sides of a story. The rise of technology has given the public more opportunity to analyse and scrutinise media content, holding them to account for any breach of these standards.

On Friday 23rd of October 2015, Te Kāea aired a story and shared it online under the headline, “Ngāti Pikiao support Coroner’s recommendation to close a section of Kaituna” (OMSA, 2015). The report was based around an inquest into the death of a white-water kayaker named Louise Jull in Rotorua (Māori Television, 2015b). In the story Te Kāea reported that Ngāti Pikiao of Ōkere supported a recommendation by Coroner Wallace Bain to close off a section of the Kaituna River (Māori Television, 2015b). The story went on to say Coroner Bain recommended the section where Ms Jull was found should be off limits. In actual

fact, no ruling or recommendation at all had been made by the coroner (Māori Television, 2015b).

This inaccuracy resulted in an OMSA grievance between Māori Television and Whitewater (OMSA, 2015). The content was subsequently removed from all platforms and an apology was issued on the Māori Television website. On consideration, noting the self-regulatory actions of Māori Television, the matter did not go before the OMSA Committee for consideration and the matter was settled (OMSA, 2015).

Mata Pākehā highlights a need for Māori Television employees to be aware of the benefits of emerging technologies and the online space in the modern age, while also considering online and on-air standards in the day-to-day production.

## **5.5 Conclusion**

The internet provides endless opportunities for Māori Television, something that is being utilised by the station already to achieve its ambitions. Technology also raises questions about whether the internet is a culturally appropriate means of disseminating cultural knowledge. Given that broadcasting is a result of rapidly advancing technology, it is important that Māori Television adapts to developments that are changing the face of broadcasting today. In order to remain relevant and maintain viewership, the organisation has made some of the most radical changes in its 15 years, taking a multi-platform approach in an effort to make Māori language content more accessible. While technological changes are extending the reach of the service, there are nevertheless many challenges, particularly in relation to online platforms and their operation. As a result, there is potential for a greater audience, despite the reality of competition with giant multi-media organisations who have global influence.

Finally, the appropriateness of technology as a tool to pass on cultural knowledge raises questions of its own. Given the public and wide-spread nature of the online space, special care and consideration must also be taken to ensure laws are abided by and audiences are protected from any potentially harmful material. However if Māori Television and indeed individual kaimahi are aware of these factors,

informed decisions can be made to ensure Māori broadcasting can reap the benefits and opportunities offered by technology without repercussions.

In 1991, a pioneer of Māori broadcasting Kingi Ihaka recognised that although Māori broadcasting is committed to Māori first, that does not discredit the key role of Pākehā technology, “Māori broadcasting must mean nothing less than broadcasting for Māori by Māori. Such considerations do not obviate the possibility of Pākehā participation, nor indeed, the need for Pākehā technical skills” (Ministry of Commerce, 1991).

## **Chapter 6**

### **Whakakapi**

#### **6.1 Introduction**

At the beginning of this thesis, I established the purpose of this study and set out a number of questions that I aimed to answer. In this chapter, I will first look at a number of sub-questions posed in chapter one to address how they have been answered within the confines of this study. I will then analyse how the main question was dealt with. Because of the collaborative nature of this study, I will outline the findings of my three mata while also drawing on the other three components of Te Mata Ono covered by Te Aorere, to understand this Māori broadcasting model in its entirety. In addition, I will outline the next stage of this study and discuss our future goals for this research. Finally, I will unravel the different definitions and metaphors woven into the name Mata Ono that have presented themselves to Te Aorere and I as this study has progressed, providing layers to its meaning, thereby enriching and reshaping our understanding of what Te Mata Ono represents.

#### **6.2 Sub-questions**

In chapter 1.3, I posed a number of questions to provide a clear and definitive direction for this research. The key question was:

- How can the Mata Ono model be applied to the Māori Television arena to ensure both quality and cultural integrity within the Māori Television broadcasting space?

In order to present an adequate answer, it is necessary at this point to summarise my findings by answering the following sub-questions.

- a) What is Māori broadcasting?
- b) What is the history of Māori broadcasting?
- c) What is Mata Ono?

- d) What are my three elements?
- e) How can this model be implemented to support the long-term development and growth of Maori Television?

Sub-questions a) and b) above are intrinsically linked, as Māori broadcasting is defined by its history. This thesis is primarily concerned with Māori Television, its function within the media sector, the impact and contribution it makes and its potential development into the future. That said, Māori Television is but one part of an overall effort made by many Māori to ensure the survival of te reo and tikanga Māori so they are visible, acknowledged and valued. Māori Television cannot be discussed in isolation. It must be analysed taking in to account the context in which it resides, that is, the wider Māori broadcasting space including historical factors. One could mistakenly assume the origin of Māori broadcasting to be Māori in the medium of radio. As briefly alluded to in chapter 2.2, Māori have long been de facto broadcasters through the utilization of oratory skills including storytelling, karanga, waiata, haka and taonga pūoro. The concept of broadcasting purely means to share messages with a mass audience and while the tools and platforms used have transformed over time, Māori have readily adapted. Considering the oral traditions that are embedded in our culture and the narratives that have been passed down from generation to generation, Māori are natural broadcasters. So what is Māori broadcasting? Our understanding of Māori broadcasting has changed over the years, as discussed in chapter 2.2. Māori broadcasting following Western models started with Māori on radio. Over time, Māori fought for an independent voice through the establishment of iwi radio stations. With the emergence of the audio-visual medium of television, Māori sought to break new ground, asserting their presence in the mainstream before the eventual launch of Māori Television. Currently, we are experiencing the rapid development and influence of online platforms. This industry was built to ensure Māori are represented fairly and have an opportunity to provide an authentic insight into te ao Māori. It should be noted that there isn't a need for Māori to find voice, Māori have a voice. Māori broadcasting's purpose is to empower Māori to use their voice while encouraging others to listen. I believe within the scope of this thesis, I have sought to give an accurate portrayal of what Māori broadcasting is and its history.

### **a) What is Te Mata Ono?**

Te Mata Ono is not about strict rules and regulations, it is a framework, a guideline and a functional model which Māori broadcasting could look to implement. It contains the principles which define Māori broadcasting as an industry committed to the revitalization of te reo and tikanga. Te Mata Ono provides kaimahi with an culturally specific insight into their respective roles and responsibilities.

During the course of this thesis, I have discussed Mata Māori, Mata ō-tua and Mata Pākehā at length. Despite discussing the overall model, I will now summarize the three elements of Te Mata Ono that have been researched by Te Aorere, those being, Mata Ako, Mata Tikanga and Mata Iwi.

**1. Mata Ako:** The key focus of this mata is te reo Māori. As mentioned in chapter one, Mata Ako looks at our obligation to upskill to ensure that Māori Television is broadcasting high quality reo to its viewers. This element of Te Mata Ono regards broadcasters as being kaiako or teachers. Kaimahi must be mindful of the fact that they are responsible for taking the language into the homes of the nation. Mata Ako reiterates the belief that at its core, Māori broadcasting was established to promote, protect and revitalise te reo Māori. As seen in chapter 4.5, there is an overlap between Mata Ako and Mata ō-tua. In the introductory chapter I suspected that there would be connections between the six elements. It should be expected that, given the fundamental part te reo Māori plays in this industry, the language would be an integral part of this model.

**2. Mata Tikanga:** Mata Tikanga looks at the role of tikanga Māori in Māori broadcasting. It asserts that by looking back at the narratives of our ancestors and mātauranga Māori, that an in depth understanding of tikanga and its relevance in contemporary settings such as Whakaata Māori, can take place. The role of tikanga is also discussed in my own thesis in the Mata ō-tua and Mata Māori chapters.

**3. Mata Iwi:** Tribalism is the key concern of Mata Iwi. While Māori Television has a responsibility to represent Māori, we are not a homogenous people. Qualities distinctly unique to certain iwi should be acknowledged and celebrated in order to avoid tribal pigeon-holing.

**b) What are my three elements?**

The three components of Te Mata Ono that I look at, are Mata Māori, Mata ō-tua and Mata Pākehā.

**4. Mata Māori:** Given the clarity and simplicity of the Māori Television brand, it is clear the service was established to in some way, cater for all Māori. Mata Māori discusses Māoritanga versus tribalism and the questions it raises around cultural identity. However Mata Māori does not look to impede one's capacity to exert his or her tribal roots, it simply identifies the responsibility of Māori Television to represent Māori as a whole. Māori Television's role and culturally appropriate methods necessary to effectively fulfil those roles, are also examined in this mata.

**5. Mata ō-tua:** This section, unlike other components of Te Mata Ono, focuses solely on organisational culture. Māori Television looks to “inspire the revitalisation of te reo Māori and tikanga Māori”(Māori Television, 2019, p.23). Therefore Te Mata ō-tua acknowledges the need for kaimahi to be inspired themselves in the first place. Only then can they effectively inspire viewers. This mata also analyses the relevance of kawa, tikanga and matauranga Māori in informing practices, procedures and strategic frameworks. Mata ō-tua stresses the importance of validating our knowledge and ensuring our culture is valued within Māori organisations across the spectrum.

**6. Mata Pākehā:** The two components in this mata are hangarau Pākehā (technology) and ture Pākehā (broadcasting laws). Technology and online platforms are growing very quickly and there is a need to utilise these developments. Accessibility is key in this modern age, especially for rangatahi, a demographic that is expanding rapidly for Māori in particular. Broadcasting laws

are a means of ensuring that standards are upheld and directives are adhered to. In chapter 4 I gave an overview of some of the broadcasting standards Māori Television must operate under, giving examples to highlight their importance.

**c) How can this model be implemented to support the long-term development and growth of Maori Television?**

The purpose of this thesis was to develop a theoretical model for Māori television broadcasting. Because of the word restrictions of a master's thesis, Te Aorere and I will look to develop Te Mata Ono further through PhD study. The next step is implementing this model in a practical manner, which is beyond the scope of this four-paper thesis. Other collaborative publications will emerge from this research.

### **6.3 Main Question**

How can the Te Mata Ono model be applied to the Māori Television arena to ensure both quality and cultural integrity within the Māori Television broadcasting space?

The findings for each of my three model components have provided the answers to the main research question of this study. Although the application of these findings has not yet been tested, I have nevertheless spoken about how both the quality and cultural integrity of Māori Television can be maintained.

Mata Pākehā highlights many areas where quality assurance can be maintained and indeed improved. Broadcasting laws ensure that certain standards are met by all broadcasters, including Māori Television. It is in the best interests of not only broadcasters, but also the audience, that standards are upheld. Broadcasting criteria are but one way of ensuring that providers are held accountable if content is not up to scratch. Technological developments such as high definition broadcasting, good quality live streaming methods and high definition online videos also contribute to the level of quality content produced by Māori Television.

Mata ō-tua considers the need for employees of Māori Television to upskill, improving their proficiency in the language so they speak it regularly, normalising te reo Māori in the workplace. A focus on developing a comprehensive language plan for the organization, regardless of employees' current level of fluency, will ultimately lead to an improvement in the quality of te reo Māori on screen.

A consistently problematic matter is the question of how Māori Television upholds its cultural values while also ensuring they remain objective in a journalistic way. Mata Māori outlines a number of ways in which broadcasting practices can be modified to incorporate tikanga Māori. One key finding in this mata is that the principle of manaakitanga, which applies to most tikanga, can easily be incorporated into the way kaimahi interact with others without compromising journalistic expectations.

Lastly, chapter 4 acknowledges that Māori knowledge can contribute positively to the operation of Māori Television as a contemporary entity. It is clear that broadcasting is a space that was established by the majority culture and is structured around western ideologies, making mainstream systems incompatible with Māori aspirations. Mata ō-tua emphasizes the need to incorporate Maori principles, adopt culturally appropriate models and affirm the value and relevance of mātauranga Māori in the broadcasting industry. These findings give an insight into how Māori Television can maintain journalistic and broadcasting standards and produce high-quality content while also prioritising the maintenance of cultural integrity, above all else.

#### **6.4 Te Mata Ono**

The objective of this study was to develop a theoretical model for Māori Television that I would then look to further develop and implement at PhD level. This study has fulfilled its purpose, progressively addressing all of the questions posed at the beginning of this thesis. I have achieved what I set out to do within the confines of this four-paper thesis. However, my initial understanding of Te Mata Ono has developed further than I anticipated. As this study has progressed Te Aorere and I as individuals have grown, the scope and depth of the study has

expanded, and we have progressively revised our understanding of what Te Mata Ono means.

Māori words and proverbs contain multiple meanings, lessons and truths about the world we live in. By drawing on traditional knowledge we have reshaped and deepened our perspective of Te Mata Ono and how to define it. Looking at the model through a Māori lens has provided us with a multi-dimensional interpretation of Te Mata Ono. In the introductory chapter, I defined the name of this model. Initially the word mata was defined as face or screen with ono simply translating to mean the number six (Williams, 1971). Therefore Te Mata Ono quite literally meant “the six faces” of Māori broadcasting. At this point, “mata” already had a double meaning, as it referred to the face of broadcasters and the different roles they have, as well as giving reference to the television screen. However by analysing the layers of meaning behind the words “mata” and “ono”, an alternative purpose of Te Mata Ono becomes clearer.

Mata, or more specifically the term “pito mata” can be defined as “potential” (Moorfield, 2011). This term is reiterated in a pepeha, which states, “Iti noa ana, he pito mata,” which translates to “Although small, it is uncooked” (Mead & Grove, 2003, wh.149). This kōrero is in reference to the kūmara. Although it is small, the uncooked portion of the kūmara can sprout to produce many more kūmara. This pepeha was traditionally used when referring to a warrior who survived despite losing companions at war. However, today, “it might be used for any small investment of a resource from which it is hoped to reap a plentiful return” (Mead & Grove, 2003, wh.149). Furthermore, the word “ono” can also mean to plant root crops (Williams 1971). Therefore Te Mata Ono can mean the planting of potential. On exploring this concept further, Te Aorere and I, as researchers, can be referred to as “pito mata”. Once the idea of this theoretical Māori broadcasting model was planted, we had the potential to develop the idea further in the hope that one day we would plant or “ono” the six components of this model into the minds of those in the industry.

Te Mata Ono as a whole can also be likened to the “pito mata” or the uncooked part of the kūmara. Although it is raw in its theoretical form, if it is planted

environment that supports its growth, it will thrive and flourish, realising its potential to make a positive contribution to Māori broadcasting.

A relevant Māori proverb states, “E tupu atu kumara, e ohu e te anuhe” (Mead & Grove, 2003, p.49). As the kūmara grows, anuhe or caterpillars gather around it. Once we “ono” or implement Te Mata Ono into the broadcasting space, it is hoped that the industry will see a bountiful return, subsequently drawing in viewers who wish to enjoy the richness of our Māori content.

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