

CHAPTER SIX: IWI MEDIA

In a country that likes to think its multicultural, there are more dogs shown on commercials than there are Maori or Polynesian.

(Harvey cited in Spoonley, Hirsch 1990:84)

This chapter examines iwi media in the forms of iwi newspapers, iwi radio and the drive to establish iwi television. Over recent years, we have begun to see the assertion of control by Maori in two areas, media and education. The proliferation of iwi radio stations, iwi newspapers and the establishment of Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa have been exciting proactive developments. Chapter Seven explores iwi education while this chapter focuses on development within media.

Within recent years we have seen the proliferation of iwi newspapers, iwi radio stations and the push for iwi television. What this chapter describes is the battle to establish these forms of media. However it also asks the question: what is the decolonising potential of this media? Iwi media is looked at here in two ways, as a decolonising project in itself, because its very existence challenges existing media and secondly within that media there are a range of decolonising potentials.

On the first point, the existence of Maori media itself as will be seen has not just provided a few Maori songs to be heard on the airwaves. Along the way have been important challenges to the state and the challenge has been one of the few spokes in the wheel of government privatisation moves to sell off state assets. That battle has taken place in the Waitangi Tribunal, the High Court, the Court of Appeal and the Privy Council.

The second point is that there are a range of decolonising potentials within iwi media itself. In the establishment of iwi media there have been played out the struggle to define what Maori music is, what a Maori radio station is, but more fundamentally what is Maori? Some iwi media have consciously engaged in that struggle, for example MAI FM, Aucklands rangatahi station. But other iwi media have viewed their roles as being unproblematic.

Colonisation has become much more complex in the present era. Much of this complexity has been created by images, discourses and representations being determined outside of Aotearoa. Governmentally imposed power is only part of the scene as Awatere (1984) and Poananga (1986) have made so clear. Power also exists in another sense - power as it is 'radiated through culture'. As Joan Cocks wrote in *The Oppositional Imagination*:

This is a power entrenched in ordinary linguistic distinctions, literary and imagistic representations and habits of practise; as well as counter-emergent in distinctions, representations and practises that are extraordinary and iconoclastic

(Cocks 1989:2)

Merata Mita, a Maori film maker has examined the presentation of Maori and indigenous representations in the area of film-making:

The powerful negative discourse aspects of film, of Hollywood in particular, is the way it spreads Western culture and ideology around the world.

(Mita cited Paraha 1992:113)

Mita has called for the need for Maori to control the ways in which they are represented on the screen. In Glynnis Parahas thesis she talks of Meratas attempts to 'decolonise,

demystify and indigenise the images, the processes and the screen' in film making. In this way Mita proposes theories of action for those working in the media, as well as those outside (Ibid:98).

Of particular concern to Mita is the need to decolonise the images of Maori women. Film making images of indigenous peoples she says have been about Western male fantasy (recently joined by Western female fantasy in the form of the Piano)¹. She says that the images of Maori women have been 'fantasized, sexualised, romanticised and sentimentalised'

Merata Mita sees several necessary steps in the process of deconstructing the images of Maori women, firstly the need to understand how the images of Maori women have been constructed, and secondly how and why images of Maori women were mystified and colonised. She says that it is only in the understanding of these constructions that Maori can then reclaim their own images.

Globalisation of media images can be illustrated by the block buster movies now being produced by Hollywood. What we have seen in *Dances With Wolves* and *Rapanui*, are Hollywood controlled films, which depict indigenous peoples, and had indigenous advisors. *The Piano* was a film that was funded off shore and had Maori advisors. Although indigenous peoples are 'consulted', 'authenticity' seems to still be Pakeha controlled.

¹For Maori critique of Jane Campion's portrayal of Maori people in the film *The Piano*, see *Broadsheet*, Summer 1993, article by L Pihama and C Smith. Also refer to letter from Wi Kuki Kaa in *Mana Magazine*, Feb 1994.

Maori are still seen as the 'touch of colour' to the landscape.

In his book *Travels In Hyper-reality*, Umberto Eco says that media and other communication networks are not only dangerous because of the economic and political power that they have, but also the way they shape opinion and transform consciousness. Eco argues that there are limits and constraints of the medium itself; such as the need to produce an item in a limited space, that must appeal to a wide audience of differing tastes; such as the time constraints, the space constraints and so forth. The writers freedom is therefore limited within the medium. The wider the 'mass appeal' the more constraints there are from the medium itself. Of course Maori have never featured in the 'mass', they are invisibilised as an audience.

When Maori are depicted the portrayals are overwhelmingly negative or Maori culture is presented as show business. The media is an area that has operated off free market policies for some time. Advertising is the source of large amounts of revenue and an area from which Maori are deliberately excluded:

Everywhere the all white ads we see on television and in print are no accident: the New Zealand advertising industry routinely and expressly excludes Maori and Pacific Island talent on the grounds of their race alone.

(Scott 1990:84)

What is the space to effect change for Maori in this environment? Eco argues that media

messages can be interpreted and read in different ways. How messages are interpreted by the receiver will depend on the codes used to decipher the message, for example the beating to death of an Indian shopkeeper will be interpreted completely differently by a racist than from the Indian community. What happens is that the message gets sent out from the source and is received in different social settings where different codes operate. What this means is that when wealth and prosperity are portrayed on TV, this can operate as a revolutionary message in depressed countries. Human agency does play a part in media deconstruction.

Underlying the work of Eco and other theorists is the idea that the form of the media has a more significant effect on people and knowledge than the message carried (see McLuhan M, *Understanding Media*). This raises important questions e.g the Maori news in the form of Te Karere presents their news format in the form of what is considered the usual T.V news format. Each item gets a couple of minutes. The news is presented as little blocks, introduced by a presenter. You can follow the progress of different stories over several nights. Under Ecos argument we could argue that the resultant form is one of 'managing' dissent.

However the use of Maori language and the presenting of views considered unpalatable for other news formats do get presented. What also happens is that what is selected as 'news' often differs from other news formats.

In order to achieve change Eco says that it is not enough to merely control the source and

the channel. He argues that just controlling the source is not enough that also there needs to be counter hegemonic strategies such as educating to deconstruct the message, the audience can therefore wage 'guerilla warfare'.

Over recent years the development of iwi media has provided for a range of counter-hegemonic viewpoints to emerge from Maori controlled media. The proliferation of iwi based media has seen the rapid growth of iwi newspapers, iwi radio stations and the ongoing battle to gain Maori television as well. The development of Maori media has been dramatic over the last 5 years. Derek Fox, Maori broadcaster has pointed out that the development of Maori media is an essential aspect of iwi development:

Developing a strong Maori media is up there with the big fishing deals and land claims. In fact, its more critical. And the tragedy is that few of the Maori powerbrokers see that.

(Fox 1992:10 Mana)

The envisaging of iwi media has always contained ongoing themes. One of these themes is the need to have the Maori language heard and used in the mass media. The calls for the Maori language to be heard became more strident in the 1970s with groups such as Nga Tamatoa raising awareness about the need to have opportunities to learn Maori as well as the need to have it seen and heard.

Another common theme in the envisaging of iwi media is the focus on youth and popular perceptions. This argument emerges along the lines that te reo Maori cannot just be placed to the side, it must be seen in mainstream TV because if it is only placed to the side then

what message is being given about the status of the language. Sir Kingi Ihaka raised these two points in the High Court in the broadcasting case, 1992.

(6.1) CO-OPTING RANGATAHI

These are important points because the influence of the media on Maori youth can be seen in the co-option of Black American images seen amongst both Maori urban youth as well as Pacific youth. Recent articles have pointed out that many Maori youth are influenced by the culture of Black Americans, particularly urban rangatahi. Maori youth are adopting the dress, the language, the music and the mannerisms of Afro-Americans. In an article, *Why The Kids Wanna Be Black*, interviews reveal a number of reasons for the link up. Moana Maniopoto Jackson and Dean Hapeta, two Maori singers say:

It comes down to what you see on TV and what you hear on the radio. We don't hear enough of our own culture, so we co-opt the next best thing

(Mana:3 Moana Maniopoto Jackson)

I've always admired Malcolm X, he was my first hero....the Malcolm X that said the white man is a devil

(Ibid Dean Hapeta)

Pat Hohepa points out that the link up between Maori youth and Black Americans is not new. Earlier generations of Maori youth enjoyed the Black music of Billie Holiday, Louis Armstrong and other blues and jazz artists. Maori writers of the 1970s and 1980s drew on the works of Black political writers of the U.S such as Eldridge Cleaver, Malcolm X and Angela Davis.

The occasional Maori in the 1970s had an Afro haircut. However whether this was a connection of identifying politically with the oppression of Blacks is debatable. As Pat Hohepa (Ibid) points out, today this trend has affected not only what rangatahi listen to but also the way that they look, Rastafarianism is an example that has caused concern amongst kaumatua.

Merata Mita views the co-opting of Black influences as being a natural response to a worldwide trend from Maori youth, saying that

while Maori people have been busy preserving Maori culture they've been alienating their youth..... We,ve created such a mystique and negative enforcement that its much easier for young Maori to take Afro-American symbols and wear them, no-one is going to attack them for it.

(Ibid 13)

Whilst the co-opting of Black influences may be understandable, Moana Maniopoto does see the co-option as a problem. She attempts to change this by incorporating Maori language and images in her music.

What this article shows is that colonisation and decolonisation are complex processes. Debates will continue on whether or not Black influences are a good or bad thing. But what is presented as Black is determined by media portrayals of what is Black. The comfortable, middle class, cool images presented on TV and film is not the reality for millions of Black Americans. Poverty is their reality.

Whilst its important for Maori to pay their respects to writers such as Malcolm X, Martin Luther King etc, its also important to ask why is that Maori revolutionary leaders are invisible in our own history books. The co-option of Black filtered images is very much another form of colonisation, a form shaped by the media.

(6.2) IWI RADIO

Broadcasts on radio in the Maori language began in 1942 during World War Two when the lists of Maori killed overseas were read out by Wiremu Parker of Ngati Porou. The Maori language never did get much exposure through radio in the days of the New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation. Even as recently as 1987 Radio New Zealand broadcast less than an hour of Maori language a week despite the fact that thousands of broadcast hours were available (Whaanga 1990:64).

The battle for the airwaves has been ongoing since 1973 (Walker 1990). Several Maori organisations submitted submissions calling for the need to establish a Maori radio station. At the time Walker notes that only one and a half hours of Maori programming existed a week. Whilst the Broadcasting Committee were sympathetic to the idea, they moved slowly and the result was that the idea of establishing a Maori radio station in Auckland was canned with the incoming National government of 1975.

Te Upoko O Te Ika was the first Maori radio station that emerged with a strong commitment to te reo Maori. The group establishing the radio station was Nga Kaiwhakapumau I Te Reo Maori (Wellington Maori Language Board) headed by Huirangi

Waikerepuru whose aim is to retain and encourage the use of Maori. Ngai Kaiwhakapumau have been an important part of the battle, along with the New Zealand Maori Council to establish both radio and television time that is controlled by Maori groups. The group was formed in the early 1980s when Maori Affairs granted a \$7000 funding grant.

In 1985 Nga Kaiwhakapumau took a claim to the Waitangi Tribunal, using the \$7000 as part of the money required to research the claim. Briefly the claim argued that the Maori language is a taonga in the terms of the Treaty. It was asked that te reo Maori be made an official language for all purposes. Numerous submissions were submitted, and the claim had two major arguments, that te reo must be taught adequately in schools and that te reo should be used both on mainstream radio and television. The Waitangi Tribunal eventually ruled that the education system was operating in breach of the Treaty, for it had failed to protect the Maori language. Maori was subsequently made an 'official language' but at a token level only. Nga Kaiwhakapumau argue that unless the reo is used both on mainstream radio and television then it exists merely in token form (Mana No 2, April 1993: Mana No 1, Feb 1992, Walker 1990). The Crown clearly had a responsibility under the Treaty to actively promote te reo Maori, both in the education system and in broadcasting.

Te Upoko O Te Ika initially ran for only one week a year between 1983 and 1986 (Mana 2:1993) during Maori language week. It wasn't until 1988 that Te Upoko eventually got a licence and began continuous broadcasting. As Walker points out 50% of the funds to

run the station came from Maori Access but the rest of the funding to run a radio station had to be raised by Nga Kaiwhakapumau (Walker 1990:27).

Aotearoa Radio was the next radio station to hit the airwaves. According to Walker (1990), the establishment of the Radio Aotearoa Network came out of a suggestion by the Maori Broadcasting Committee who had sprung out of the 1984 Hui Taumata and was headed by Toby Curtis. The original plan was for Radio Aotearoa to begin in Auckland and then to operate as the central body, from which other iwi radio would satellite off. As Katherine Findlay points out Aotearoa radio was the consolation prize from the government after the Broadcasting Tribunal backed away from the Maori bid for the Third channel (Mana 1992:11). The Runanga-A-Iwi Bill shifted the emphasis away from an umbrella Maori radio network, to the proliferation of iwi initiated and iwi controlled radio stations. Radio Aotearoa's funding has been subsequently cut by New Zealand On Air with the change in emphasis.

In February 1992 there were 20 iwi stations, there are now 22 (N.Z. On Air Guidelines). The rapid development of iwi radio emerged out of the decision under the 1989 Broadcasting Act to allot a percentage of the Broadcasting fees through New Zealand On Air for the purpose of fostering te reo Maori and tikanga. The problems have been enormous. In the 1989 Broadcasting Act, the Broadcasting Commission was given as part of their functions:

To reflect and develop New Zealand identity and culture by:

- (i) promoting programmes about New Zealand and New Zealand interests and*
- (ii) promoting Maori language and Maori culture*

The Commission was also required to consult with representatives of Maori groups to assist in the development of the Commissions funding policies. In 1989 it was decided by the Minister Of Broadcasting to allot 6% of Broadcasting fees for the purposes of 'promoting Maori language and culture'. This has been channelled into Maori radio (NZ On Air Funding Policy And Guidelines).

New Zealand On Air criteria stipulate that to qualify for full funding a station must meet the following criteria:

- a) *Maori language and culture must be a broadcasters primary objective*
- b) *Broadcasters will be funded who are using the frequencies reserved by the Government for the promotion of Maori language and culture. The licences will be vested in iwi authorities.*
- c) *Priority goes to applications to establish Maori radio stations that broadcast to populations of 10,000 or more.*
- d) *Over time broadcasters are to supplement more and more their own funding.*
- e) *A management and business plan must be submitted.*
- f) *Some experience in broadcasting and a broadcaster must have carried out a short term broadcast on the reserved frequency.*

These criteria set up an immediate tension between the need to be commercial and the need to be promoting Maori. As Hiwi Tauroa put it:

The New Zealand On Air expectation is that you can carry te reo and tikanga and sell it - well you can't.

(Mana Feb 1992:9)

Te reo and tikanga Maori are incompatible with a commercial sound. The tension gets

played out differently in the different radio stations. Mai FM whose target audience is Auckland urban Maori youth who do not speak Maori, have been commercially successful and yet perhaps no iwi station has sustained as much controversy. Set up specifically to appeal to urban rangatahi, they found that their sound was commercially successful. This caused protests from independent broadcasters who stated that Mai was not an iwi station, the implication being that the commercial success of the station meant that the station should not be given a license by the government but should pay for it.

Taura Eruera, the station manager says the fight to establish was a long one. Ngati Whatua wanted a commercial FM frequency but the Ministry of Commerce did not take the bid seriously in the initial stages. The Ministry did not initially accept that Ngati Whatua were the appropriate group to hold an Auckland licence but meetings with Tainui revealed that Tainui had no intention of beginning an iwi radio station in Auckland. Mais target audience were rangatahi, so they did not compete with the Maori audience that was already listening to Radio Aotearoa the other Maori radio station in Auckland (Listener Aug:1992).

The criticisms of Mai FM have surfaced around the issue of 'they are not really Maori', coming from both Maori and Pakeha critics. Mai have been very market conscious in the process of establishment and they have aimed at a particular section of Maori youth, those that do not speak the reo. The marketing has aimed at establishing a youth brand, that its-cool-to-be-Maori as Marketing Manager, Vivienne Sutherland Bridgewater calls it (Mana 4:1993 Nov). Being commercially successful requires good ratings and being able to attract advertisers. Whilst Mai FM may be appealing to dispossessed Maori youth, they

are not doing anything to promote Maori language and tikanga except as a brand. Mai FM is an example of the way that success in the market place has meant appealing to a much wider audience than just Maori, in order to attract the advertising dollar. The result is that Maori culture is reduced to a decorative item: packaged, branded and labelled.

The head of the iwi radio station in Te Aupouri says :

The power of iwi radio to change peoples thinking is phenomenal

(Ibid:15)

There has been a variety of styles develop under the umbrella of iwi radio. Iwi radio stations seem to have drawn some of the few Maori journalists and broadcasters back to an iwi base. But Derek Fox points to the lack of fast track training necessary to deliver expertise to iwi radio. There has been no commitment to fund the training necessary. Fox says that it is no surprise that there is a lack of expertise in the area, saying that radio and television never have had equitable hiring practises (Mana, Feb 1992).

New Zealand On Air have only agreed to fund iwi radio stations for three years and government have made it clear that a fair measure of self-sufficiency has to be achieved.

(Ruth Harley, CEO NZ On Air)

(6.3) IWI NEWSPAPERS

The first Maori language paper began in 1842, called Te Karere Maori. There has been a long history of Maori publications in the form of newspaper. Last century there was

Pipiwaharuroa, the Matuhi Press, Te Hokioi, Te Wananga, Te Paki O Te Matariki, Te Pihoihoi Mokemoke, Waka Maori and others. In the 1950s, Te Ao Hou was published by the Department of Maori Affairs and Tu Tangata was to follow.

Over recent years there has been a revival of iwi newspapers. As of April 1993 there were eight in existence:

Kahungunu (Hawkes Bay, Wairarapa)

Kia Hiwa Ra (Te Kuiti)

Mana Tangata (Whanganui)

Pu Kaea (Bay of Plenty)

He Korero (Otaki)

Maunga Rongo (Taranaki)

Kia Ora News Please (Tokoroa)

Te Maori News (Auckland)

(from Kahungunu Issue 4 May 1993)

Also Mana magazine which is a glossy, whose first issue appeared in February 1992. Mana editor, Derek Fox says that they did no market research to find out what was clearly obvious, that there was a need to provide Maori news, that was presented in an attractive format. (Mana, April 1993)

Iwi newspapers have served a number of purposes. Their formats usually include iwi news,

political events and critical discussion of current events. Some have articles in Maori and others do not. Some have the agenda of also educating about whakapapa and iwi histories. The recent Sealords deal that received minimal coverage from other media has received widespread coverage by iwi media.

However there is variation within the range of iwi newspapers for some have more of a decolonising potential than others. Some are overtly political, challenging and questioning the inequities that Maori face. Some write the news according to government departments and others write sharp critiques of government policies. Some do all this in one paper. What is consistent is that iwi news is given top priority and the importance of tribal history is emphasised.

What is notable also is the fact that Maori women are actively involved in the production of iwi newspapers and they are highly visible in them, as writers of the articles, in the photographs and as news.

(6.4) TELEVISION

Television has been the most difficult area of broadcasting for Maori to gain access to. The desire to promote the Maori language through the medium of television has been an ongoing struggle since 1985. The struggle that has taken place has been a battle that has been about te reo Maori vs the free market, that continued on through the courts, to the Privy Council.

The arguments put forward by Maori can be summarised by Kingi Ihaka at the time that he was Maori Language Commissioner, when he stated that radio and television were 'an essential component of institutional support for the maintenance and revitalisation of the language'. (Court Of Appeal proceedings, NZ Maori Council vs Attorney General)

In 1985 a number of powerful Maori organisations consolidated under the umbrella of the Aotearoa Broadcasting System (ABS). Started by the New Zealand Maori Council it drew together a number of other groups including Kohanga Reo, the Maori Womens Welfare League, New Zealand University Students Association, the Bishopric Of Aotearoa and numbers of individuals. ABS applied for the warrant for the third television channel.

Rangi Walker says that whilst ABS had membership power, they lacked financial power to mount a successful bid. So they approached the Broadcasting Corporation (BCNZ) to provide the capital as well as support the ABS application. But three weeks prior to the hearings BCNZ backed out. It was a major disappointment. The consolation prize as some have called it was the envisaged Radio Aotearoa Network, but this was argued against by Nga Kaiwhakapumau and the New Zealand Maori Council who argued that Maori radio must be iwi based in line with the government iwi development policies of the time.

Government restructuring of Broadcasting saw the setting up of New Zealand On Air who were to be responsible for distributing funding including Maori broadcasting. Also included in government plans was the sale of broadcasting frequencies. Nga Kaiwhakapumau objected to the privatising moves saying that the Maori language was not

being actively protected:

How can the government promote Maori language broadcasting if Maori broadcasters lose access to the spectrum

(Mana April 1993:59)

Following a claim to the Waitangi Tribunal, a number of frequencies were reserved for iwi stations. However Nga Kaiwhakapumau saw two main problems, the problem of the market driven approach that views ratings as what counts would leave te reo Maori unprotected and also the loss of access to the spectrum because of the cost of buying in. Although frequencies had been reserved there still was not adequate protection for te reo Maori.

The New Zealand Maori Council took out an interim injunction to prevent the transfer of assets to the state owned enterprise, because of the inadequate protection of the Maori language. In the High Court Justice McGechan decided enough was being done by the Crown in Maori radio for him to allow the transfer. However he did point out that more Maori broadcasting was necessary and the government plans for television were insufficient. Cabinet resolved to grant some funding which Judge McGechan approved and the transfer of television assets was allowed through.

The judges recognised that there was an antithesis between the Maori language and the market oriented policies of the new structures in broadcasting and they called it a 'stark dilemma'. However the decision showed a trust in government process that Maori did not feel. Whilst acknowledging that some safeguards be put in place, there are no safeguards

for the future e.g the New Zealand On Air criteria clearly states the need for iwi radio stations to become commercial. Whilst saying that the parties should act in good faith, it seems that Judge McGechan's philosophy was that adequate protection for te reo Maori consisted of throwing it to the wolves.

The New Zealand Maori Council had argued that Maori, as an official language should appear on mainstream television. Judge McGechan disagreed saying that it may cause a backlash. He directed government to only reserve access to transmission and production facilities. This contradicted the arguments put forward by Sir Kingi Ihaka, that broadcasting was essential for the retention of te reo Maori in two crucial ways, firstly the language would be used and heard and secondly that mass perceptions are shaped through a language and the presenting of te reo Maori on television would mean an acceptance of the need for its survival, particularly from youth. The Maori groups were saying that by not ensuring mainstream television coverage the message was that te reo Maori was not deemed valid.

The outcome was that adequate safeguards were not in place. Counsel for the NZMC presented evidence showing that even when TV3 had been licensed with a condition in the licence that they were to run one and a half hours Maori programmes a week, with the objective of mainstreaming Maori material, TV3 had not fulfilled those requirements and te reo Maori was minimal. Also the change from Broadcasting Tribunal to Broadcasting Commission meant that the Broadcasting Commission was now responsible for persuading T.V broadcasters to provide Maori language.

Following the loss of the cases in the High Court and in the Court Of Appeal, the New Zealand Maori Council combined with Nga Kaiwhakapumau I Te Reo lodged an appeal to the Privy Council. Reporting of this case is a good example of how Maori media considered the case to be important news, whilst newspapers such as the New Zealand Herald reserved a few column inches to say that the case had been lost.

Mana magazine reported the outcome of the case in detail and showed that even though there was no order to halt the transfer of the broadcasting assets to TVNZ Ltd, there were some clear directions made to government with regard to protection of the Maori language. They ruled that the Crown clearly had an obligation to ensure the promotion of the Maori language through broadcasting. If this did not occur, then they expected that the case would return to court. Finally, the court costs of the appeal were waived by the Privy Council (Mana Magazine No. 5).

Meanwhile there have been Maori TV and video production groups starting up. Some are iwi focused and in the case of Moko productions the production team are Maori women. The move towards making television that stems from an iwi base seems a distant dream for many iwi. However Tainui have in place a production company that has already begun to produce iwi based programmes. Tainui television was set up in 1991 as a charitable trust to represent Tainui. Tainui television was founded by Morehu McDonald, Tukuoirangi Morgan and Robert Neha all of whom are skilled personnel working for TVNZ and TV3.

Tainui television produced their first programme in 1992, the filming of the Aotearoa

festival and Tuku Morgan pointed out that

...nothing major like this has been attempted from a tribal push. We have been able to mount a production in which the majority of the people on the team are from Tainui.

(Listener Feb 10, 56:1992)

Tainui television share the drive towards a more autonomous space for Maori television

...the aspiration of Maori people to develop towards an independent Maori channel, where our own cultural values prevail and where we dont get excluded from prime-time slots because our material is considered to be non-commercial.

(Morehu McDonald Ibid:57)

One of the major limiting factors for the establishment of Maori television has been the lack of adequate training courses available. In a high tech industry, the courses are high cost and do not cater for the needs of Maori. Ripeka Evans, whilst consultant to the Chief Executive at TVNZ said that;

Although tribal or iwi television may help facilitate the allocation of resources, at the end of the day a product has to stand or fall on its merit. Good television depends on great story-telling skills and technical expertise.

(Ibid 57)

Lack of training and expertise is considered to be a problem for Maori television. At this point in time there is no training for Maori production members. Also what is an important consideration is whether or not those trained in the existing mass media system can propose solutions to problems that are not just reproducing the dominant media system. Iwi media requires innovative and creative development.

Recently a new Maori broadcasting funding agency was set up with Ripeka Evans as executive director, called Te Mangai Paaho, they are to take over the funding of future Maori programming.

(6.5) IMPLICATIONS FOR IWI DEVELOPMENT

The development of iwi media over recent years has been rapid and transforming. The development of an area of iwi controlled media has served to construct a Maori public sphere for public debate. It is now possible to have access to knowledge, for example of the Sealords Deal in some depth. Iwi newspapers and radio stations have made visible a great deal of news that has not been considered news by Pakeha controlled media. There are now alternatives to the traditional media view of Maori as 'the criminal', 'the dole bludger', 'the solo mum', 'the ungrateful whinger' noticeable in much reporting on Waitangi Tribunal claims and other negative constructions².

However media is an example of how the free market logic clashes with Maori needs and aspirations. In looking at where Maori have been allowed to have space in media, those places have been in the media that is the least powerful for shaping the perceptions of the public, that is, in radio and newspapers. Television remains firmly in Pakeha hands. Of course, this is also the area of the greatest amount of revenue, from advertising and the broadcasting fees.

²For a look at racism and the media see *Between The Lines: Racism And The New Zealand Media*, Spoonley P and Hirsch W (eds) 1990 Heinemann Reed.

What the broadcasting debate shows is that despite the fact that Maori is an official language, television, in particular are only prepared to make tokenistic gestures towards allowing the Maori language to be heard. The marginalisation of the existing programming, Te Karere and Marae are evident in their graveyard time slots.