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The Voice of Iwi Radio

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ABSTRACT

The author presents findings from a project examining the state of indigenous radio in New Zealand. Interviews with 15 Maori radio station managers were conducted for the purpose of identifying and examining the difficulties stations are presently experiencing. Interviews were also conducted with noted commentators and government agency staff to clarify concerns and identify avenues to overcome difficulties. Results from interviews, including themes generated through a thematic content analysis of participant's responses, are provided. The study has unearthed a number of significant findings. Specifically, the research points to difficulties with funding, staffing and training. While radio stations on the whole were able to fulfil contractual obligations to Te Mangai Paho, limitations with infrastructure have hindered their development. The thesis provides recommendations and identifies further areas of inquiry.

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HE MIHI

Toi te kupu, toi te mana, toi te whenua,

E nga awa, e nga maunga, e nga waka o te motu, tena koutou katoa.

Tenei te mihi atu ki a koutou rau rangatira ma.

E nga mate huhua o te wa, haere, harere, haere. Haere koutou kua rupeke atu ki tua o te arai.

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CHAPTER ONE

SCOPE OF THE RESEARCH

1.1 Introduction

The electronic media are being used by indigenous groups around the world as vehicles for strengthening cultural identity and protecting and promoting indigenous language and culture. In attempts to retain a place within the multicultural melting pot of contemporary society, indigenous people view radio as a significant medium for informing, entertaining and educating their community (Browne, 1996).

In New Zealand (Aotearoa), Maori radio is in its infancy. In a little over 10 years, 20 iwi radio stations have been established and now transmit views, news and issues relevant to their communities in both English and Maori.

The development of iwi radio has, to a great extent, been as a consequence of Maori/Crown legal clashes. While Maori desire has provided the initiative, it has been the legal challenges in the Courts and the findings of the Waitangi Tribunal that have provided the ammunition to ensure Government support for Maori Radio.

The first Maori radio station to be established was in Wellington in 1987, Te Upoko o Te Ika. It was a private initiative launched by Nga Kaiwhakapumau I Te Reo, a Maori language society devoted to strengthening Maori language, the same group who battled for the Maori language to be recognised as an official language in New Zealand.

Not long after, Radio Aotearoa in Auckland went to air in 1988, as part of a government initiative.

With the recognised commitment by the Government in 1988 to the Maori language, New Zealand on Air was charged with the responsibility of establishing iwi radio. In 1995, Te Mangai Paho, The Maori Broadcasting Commission, was given the responsibility of maintaining and funding iwi radio stations (Te Mangai Paho, 1994a).

Iwi radio stations are licenced broadcasters who face no restrictions on the hours of broadcasting, or on the amount of advertising that they may broadcast. The only conditions for the use of the broadcasting licence are that the primary objective of the radio station is for the promotion of Maori language and culture, and, the primary audience must be a Maori one (Te Mangai Paho, 1994a).

To date, there has been little empirical research on the status of iwi radio stations which investigates the overall status of iwi radio in New Zealand and allows policy implications to be considered.

1.2 The Research Question

The purpose of this study is to (a) identify whether a gap exists between the policy directives set by Te Mangai Paho and the actual performance of iwi radio stations, and (b) identify the barriers which exist to achieving the directives (personnel, technological, cultural etc.). The study will also investigate options on how existing resources and funds may be better targeted to maintain and/or increase services already offered to the community.

1.3 Aim of the Study

Overseas, particularly in Canada and America, commentators have noted that there is often a serious gap between policy statements and the actual performance of broadcasting licencees. Because iwi radio stations are established for the primary purpose of promoting Maori language and its culture, this research will examine the iwi radio station's ability to achieve this directive.

Indigenous radio is a relatively recent phenomenon so a number of ancillary questions arise which, while not being included within the scope of the present research, are highly critical issues impacting on indigenous radio. These issues include; what is culture and how can it be measured within radio transmissions by radio broadcasters and funders? and; if radio is being used for the promotion of a language and culture, what supportive evidence is available to advocate this medium as an effective vehicle for education? While these are not primary research objectives of the research it is hoped the results will provide discussion of these questions.

There are also a number of overarching questions at the societal level which will be referred to. These include: what potential is offered by Maori radio?, what sort of media organisation should be created, or developed from existing bureaucracies to regulate Maori radio so that their potential can be realised?, and; how can the New Zealand mass media best serve a bicultural society?

1.4 Significance of the Study

The significance of the study will be its potential in providing a basis for operational and future planning decisions for iwi radio stations, by informing funding bodies, and by contributing to wider societal awareness. Further, it is intended that the study will give direction for future policy development.

It is hoped that by identifying past and existing policies and exploring the status of present iwi radio stations, a better understanding of the contribution of iwi radio in New Zealand society will result. Such an examination will be valuable in establishing a set of coherent, equitable, and practical policies in regard to ethnic minorities and broadcasting.

CHAPTER TWO

DESCRIPTIVE BACKGROUND

2.1 Introduction

Indigenous radio broadcasting in New Zealand has a short history. Little research has been conducted from which any extensive literature review or analysis can be provided. It is important, therefore, that before examining the literature available, a context in which iwi radio has developed and the environment in which it now operates is provided. This will provide scope for the recognition of parallels and dissimilarities between New Zealand and overseas research. This chapter provides a measure of background information.

The chapter begins by exploring developments overseas with indigenous radio broadcasting, and the benefits and difficulties associated with indigenous radio broadcasting. Next, the development of Maori radio broadcasting in New Zealand is examined in relation to Maori aspiration for the revitalisation of their language and the related High Court, Court of Appeal, Privy Council and Waitangi Tribunal cases. Finally, this chapter outlines the functions of Te Mangai Paho, the contractual obligations required of iwi radio stations, and the difficulties experienced by iwi radio stations.

2.2 Indigenous Radio - Developments Overseas

2.2.1 Introduction

Access to the electronic media has been identified as part of a greater objective in the development of indigenous cultural preservation and political and economic self-determination.

The media are merely the latest technological tool by which Aborigines seek to increase the strength of their position by harnessing political will both within and without their communities and to advance towards self-government or political sovereignty by generating empathy and understanding of their cultural differences (Anderson, 1997).

The term 'indigenous radio' has been used to describe any radio station in which all or part of the transmission broadcast is in the language of an ethnic minority (Castell, 1997). By this definition any station, regardless of their funding arrangements, historical background, or intended purpose, is an indigenous radio station so long as a minority language is part of the programme mix.

Indigenous radio has been identified as having numerous advantages to the indigenous cultures to which it is broadcast. It has the potential to strengthen indigenous identity (Molnar, 1994) and self-esteem (Browne, 1996), and to rescue, preserve and expand the indigenous language (Molnar, 1994; Browne, 1996). It is also regarded as a means to overcome the negative portrayal of indigenous people (Browne, 1996), provide another source of employment for the indigenous community (Browne, 1996) and be a vehicle for the dissemination of indigenous ideas (Joint Maori/Crown Working Group, 1996).

In the Asia-Pacific region, Australia and Canada (Leslie, 1997), radio is the most widely used and most effective form of communication for indigenous groups. There are many reasons for the popularity of radio as a means of communication including; the cost, the immediacy of the message, and the appropriateness of a verbal means of communication to orally based cultures.

One of the most positive aspects of radio over other forms of communication media is that it is relatively inexpensive (Leslie, 1997; Nash, 1995; Molnar, 1994). Aside from the initial cost, radio is economical when compared to the daily expense of a newspaper and its often-added cost for transportation.

Another benefit of radio is the fact it does not take as long as printed media to reach remote areas (Nash, 1995). That is, its immediacy as a form of communication is a benefit to the many people who rely on radio for personal messages and as a source of news and weather reports (Nash, 1995).

Most indigenous cultures are "orally-based" with high levels of illiteracy. This is particularly evident in America (Gormack, 1991), Australia (Molnar, 1994) and Asia Pacific (Nash, 1995). The degree of illiteracy within the indigenous population creates a barrier to newspapers, magazines and other printed media. Radio broadcasting does

not have to deal with illiteracy, as it is a spoken medium and can be communicated in the varying dialects and languages of an indigenous culture.

Geographical remoteness is often another difficulty in communicating with indigenous groups. For example, many Native Americans live on reservations which tend to be in remote areas. The population can be widely dispersed within this territory. The same can be said for the many Islands that make up the Asia-Pacific region. Radio overcomes the difficulty of regional isolation through transmitting over the airwaves, often accessing areas isolated from other daily communication routes.

This following section briefly examines the development of indigenous radio in Australia, Canada and America. Its purpose is not to provide a complete history of expansion but to highlight the reasons behind their establishment, the mechanisms developed to deliver services and the difficulties encountered.

2.2.2 Australia

In Australia, the indigenous population of Aboriginal peoples make up fewer than 2 percent of the total 17 million people. However, in remote rural Australia (Northern Australia) they form a substantial proportion of the population. As an ethnic group, Aboriginal communities are culturally and linguistically diverse, with estimates of up to 60 different languages still being spoken (Molnar, 1990, p.2).

The media have not been kind to the Aboriginal race. Early colonial media reflected racist views stereotyping the indigenous peoples as “non-human, animals and brutes” (Pattel-Gray, 1997). Present news organisations constantly focus on negative images (Kerin, Windsor & Hawes, 1997) and tend to underreport matters of interest to the aboriginal community (Pattel-Gray, 1997). In 1988, a study of the reporting of crime stories noted that rural press tended only to identify criminals by their race when they were Aboriginal (Cunneen, 1988).

While Aboriginal communities were involved in using radio broadcasting for the recording of cultural practices, histories and traditions during the 1970's and early 1980's (Michaels, 1990), aside from one Aboriginal radio programme which broadcast 110 hours a week from Alice Springs, very little else was available. Further, the

programmes that were broadcast did little to address particular audience needs (Molnar, 1990, p. 2).

It was not until the Federal Government held an inquiry into the media needs of the Aboriginal community in 1984 that a broadcasting system specific to their needs was set up (Wilmot, 1984). This system called BRACS (Broadcasting for Remote Aboriginal Communities Scheme) was administered first by the Department of Aboriginal Affairs, and then replaced by the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC) in 1990. Its purpose was to assist in the development and opportunity for remote Aboriginal communities to transmit their own programmes, or programmes from other stations, to their respective communities (Jacka, 1992).

While Aboriginal communities welcomed the system, (e.g. by 1990, 60 BRACS units were in place), there were also many criticisms of the scheme. For example, Molnar noted that:

Aboriginal broadcasters [in Australia] charge that it is very much a white bureaucratic solution, a system introduced too hastily, without consultation with all communities involved, and not adequately financed" (Molnar, 1990, p. 8).

Some communities received equipment they did not ask for nor knew how to use, while others received the necessary equipment without funding for the buildings needed to house the station (Molnar, 1990).

Further, it has been argued that one of the fundamental difficulties facing indigenous radio in Australia is the fact they are heavily dependent upon Government funding in a broadcasting environment which promotes deregulation, privatisation and competition. As a result indigenous organisations are marginalised and unable to generate sufficient revenue to operate independent of the Government (Molnar, 1994).

As a result of continued dissatisfaction with broadcasting arrangements for indigenous groups, the National Indigenous Media Association of Australia (NIMAA) was established in May 1992. With a membership of 136 broadcasting organisations, NIMAA promotes aboriginal access into public radio and has set up national radio networks as well as being involved in television and print media initiatives. Its long-

term aim is to be the administrator for the distribution of funds to indigenous broadcasters throughout Australia (Resystem, 1993).

2.2.3 Canada

The Canadian experience with indigenous radio and cultural identity has been well recorded. Over the last 20 years native radio broadcasting has been developed and strengthened due to increasing indigenous involvement and government support and progressive policies.

Canada's national public broadcaster (the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation) has developed a service which broadcasts in a number of languages and allows for communities larger than 500 residents to house a radio transmitter of their own (Leslie, 1997). However, the stations suffer from a lack of funding, and are serviced by mainly volunteers who are responsible for all local programming, assembling and maintenance (Leslie, 1997).

The federal government also established a similar venture in Canada. Known as the Northern Native Broadcast Access Programme (NNBAP), the service was established in 1983 in response to native concerns over the "unrestricted invasion of northern airwaves by non-native cultures, traditions and lifestyles" (Rupert, 1983).

Thirteen native communication societies receive funding from the NNBAP with the majority of these groups involved with radio broadcasting (Leslie, 1997). In 1994, NNBAP provided 674 hours of indigenous language radio programming to thirteen northern native communities (Hickey, 1997).

The Canadian federal government's 1988 policy statement, 'Canadian Choices: A New Broadcasting Policy for Canada', stated that:

Broadcasting is a major determinant of our culture as Canadians, as Quenecois, as Albertans, as Nova Scotians, as Anglophones or Fransophones; as urbanites or rural dwellers" (Department of Communication, 1988, p.5).

While advances in indigenous broadcasting have occurred in Canada, concern is felt over the quality and level of broadcasting to indigenous people living in urban areas

(Leslie, 1997), particularly when the majority of indigenous broadcasting is carried out in mainly remote communities where it is considered "uncontaminated and ideal" (Brendin, 1993).

2.2.4 United States of America

In the United States of America, Native American tribes have been voicing their concern over the monocultural stance taken by a white-dominated media. The problems with the mainstream news media include; negative coverage of American Indians, a focus on sensational events rather than exploring issues, a stereotypical view of Indians presented to non-Indian audiences, and the fact that many important stories are simply ignored by the mainstream media (Gormack, 1991).

The distrust and dissatisfaction Native Indians have felt in their portrayal through the media has led to the indigenous culture seeking to establish and control their own media network.

In 1991 there were 18 non-commercial Native Indian radio stations all receiving part-funding from the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB). Most stations also received financial assistance from tribal budgets. There were two criteria to be eligible to receive the financial assistance: the stations must employ five full-time staff and the stations must have an annual budgets of over (US) \$150,000 (Gormack, 1991).

Gormack (1991) feels the success of these stations is dependent primarily upon the programming mix. He sees the radio stations fulfilling a community role of "local news, weather and public information...to meet audience needs that are not addressed by other media" (Gormack, 1991, p. 16). Music, though a large contribution to time-on-air and although received favourably by the audience, is not considered by Gormack to be something which differentiates Native Indian from non-Native Indian stations.

Smaller stations have tended to have resource problems that form barriers in their ability to provide in-depth coverage of local issues. This has resulted in a reliance on sharing between more well-established stations and a national news network (National Native News Bulletin) to ensure all stations provide audiences with a daily news

coverage which is comprehensive on both local and national news issues (Gormack, 1991).

Gormack identifies a number of problems hindering non-commercial Native American radio stations. These include:

1. Stations have a degree of funding vulnerability that affects the amount and quality of news production.
2. The funding limitation leads to problems with staffing, particularly the retention of trained personnel. Further, with limited funding, staff spend more time on administrative and menial tasks rather than on developing programmes.
3. Staff training becomes difficult when funds are limited. This is made more difficult by the fact radio stations wish to employ people from their own region who may or may not be skilled in the area but have a keen interest in being involved and are willing to work voluntarily (1991, p. 17).

2.2.5 Discussion

Indigenous people around the world have strived for a representative voice within their community. Often this has been the result of poor representation within the mass media - representation both in terms of indigenous personnel within the industry, and also in the depictions of indigenous cultures and people provided by the mainstream media.

Radio has been chosen as the preferred electronic medium for indigenous communities for reasons reflecting cultural preferences, demographic profile, and economic costs. Radio is considered a valued medium in the promotion of indigenous language and culture and as a means of information dissemination that is both accurate and appropriate to the community.

Often indigenous radio stations are heavily reliant upon government funding for continued survival and this gives rise to difficulties in acquiring autonomy. In some cases the over-dependence upon government funding can result in closure of indigenous media, as government funding tends to be neither secure nor sufficient (Demay, 1998). Further, while it has been argued that indigenous broadcasting empowers indigenous communities, the limitations with infrastructure, funding and technological resources have limited that potential (Anderson, 1997).

In both Canada and Australia, the limitations in infrastructure and funding has resulted in the aboriginal broadcasting community forming a centralised national body, both as a representative to negotiate with the government but also to promote the shape of indigenous broadcasting in their country. For example, in an attempt to develop indigenous broadcasting in Canada, the Association for Indigenous Radio (AIR) was formed in 1995 consisting of Aboriginal community radio stations throughout Southern Ontario. AIR has as its objectives: preserving and enriching the native language, assisting in the establishment of new stations, negotiating with government, establishing training initiatives, and lobbying for funds and policies which advance indigenous community radio development (AIR, 1998).

2.3 Maori Development and Broadcasting

2.3.1 Introduction

Iwi radio developed at a time of political and social change in New Zealand. In the 1980s New Zealand was entering an era of free-market economics, moving away from the welfare state and into a user-pays system. Political thinking sought closer ties with overseas economies and the sale of state owned and controlled enterprises (Easton, 1997). At the same time Maori were entering a period of cultural renaissance and economic development and were becoming increasingly vocal and active in attempts to make the Government recognise their responsibilities under the Treaty of Waitangi (Kelsey, 1993). At the heart of Maori attempts to become involved in broadcasting was the desire for the protection and revitalisation of the Maori language (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986).

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

A number of cases were also brought before the Waitangi Tribunal, notably the 'Te Reo' (1986) hearing and the 'Allocation of Radio Frequencies' (1990) case, both of which had a direct effect on the evolution of Maori radio in New Zealand.

This section will examine how indigenous radio developed in New Zealand as a culmination of both Maori initiative and intense litigation through the New Zealand court system.

2.3.2 The revitalisation of the Maori language

The importance of language is recognised in national and international law. In signing the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1968), New Zealand is obliged to abide by Article 27 of this Act which provides that:

In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practise their own religion, or to use their own language (Waite, 1992, p. 14).

Language is considered the most fundamental component of culture (Browne, 1996, p.7) and is essential to the development of individual identity, group identity, and national identity (Waite, 1992, p.13). It is said to be the vehicle through which a culture transmits its beliefs, values, norms and world view to its members (Porter & Samovar, 1991). It therefore comes as no surprise that in New Zealand, Maori view the revitalisation of their language as one of the most important steps in the advancement of the Maori culture and its people (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986, 3.1.2).

The demise of the Maori language has been well-documented (Benton, 1981; Waitangi Tribunal Report, 1986; The Royal Commission on Social Policy, 1986). During the 18th and 19th centuries the Maori people were to experience a dramatic change in their society. A differing socio-economic climate and land loss due to European contact contributed to the decline in the Maori population and use of the Maori language (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986).

Urbanisation would also prove to be a major determinant in the decline in the use of the Maori language, as urbanisation would cause a major change in Maori demographics and lifestyle. This population movement would also have the effect of eroding tribal structures and alienating generations of Maori from their cultural heritage (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986).

Upon reflection of the effect of urbanisation on Maori, the Royal Commission on Social Policy stated that:

The rapid and widespread urbanisation of the Maori people has posed a significant threat to their language and culture and has contributed to a loss of identity so typical of the overwhelming effects of introduced Western culture (1986, p. 25).

In 1913, 90% of Maori school age children were able to speak Maori. This figure reduced to 26% in 1953 and 5% in 1975 (Durie, 1998). In 1979 it was estimated that there were 70,000 native speakers of Maori (Benton, 1990). By the end of the 1980s Nicholson and Garland (1991) believed there were 10,000 fewer fluent speakers of Maori than at the end of the previous decade.

The movement for Maori language revitalisation occurred most intensely in the early 1980s when the first kohanga reo (Maori language nests) was set up in 1982 for the education of pre-school children. The establishment of kohanga reo was accompanied by vigorous political and legal pressure and would later be the impetus behind kura kaupapa (Maori language total immersion primary schools).

In October of 1984, the Hui Taumata (Maori Economic Summit Conference) was convened in Wellington by the then Minister of Maori Affairs, the Hon. Koro Wetere. Its purpose was to examine ways in which the economic position of the Maori people could be strengthened (Hon. K.T. Wetere, 1984). The Hui Taumata was important for a number of reasons. First, it identified iwi (tribal) development as the vehicle through which the welfare of Maori should be improved. Second, the hui recognised that if there were to be any advancements in Maori welfare, then Maori needed control over their own destiny, making decisions over their own development. Third, a paper presented by Donna Awatere examined the state of Maori broadcasting. The paper highlighted the absence of Maori culture and language on national and regional television and radio and called for a Maori committee to be established to look into the feasibility of a Maori-operated radio station (Awatere, 1984).

When the Hui Whakapumau (Maori Development Conference) was held in 1994 to assess how far Maori have come since Hui Taumata, the Hon. K. T. Wetere would claim that the most successful story of the decade was the revival of the Maori language through the rise of the kohanga reo, kura kaupapa Maori, Maori radio stations, and the Maori Language Commission (1994).

This revival of the language is supported by recent statistics. In 1996, 26% of Maori stated that they were able to converse in Maori as opposed to 5% in 1975 (Statistics New Zealand, 1997, pp. 16-17). However, while statistics indicated that speakers of the Maori language were on the increase, they did not reveal how fluent the speakers were, where they preferred to use the language and who they preferred to speak with (Karetu, 1997). Further, a high proportion of elderly (aged 60 years and over) accounted for over half (53%) of those people able to converse in the Maori language (Statistics New Zealand, 1997, p.17). This is of particular concern as the Maori population has an ageing demographic profile.

2.3.3 The Maori Language in Court

In 1986 The Waitangi Tribunal sat to hear a claim brought before them by Nga Kaiwhakapumau I Te Reo (The Maori Language Board of Wellington) and Huirangi Waikerepuru, the Chairman of that society. The claim sought for the tribunal to recommend te reo Maori (the Maori language) as an official language throughout New Zealand.

The Te Reo Maori claim was very different to other claims brought before the tribunal. For one thing it was a national claim. Previous claims were geographically located, relating to one or several iwi and focused on tangible resources. This claim was also different in that it focused on government policies dating back to the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.

Huirangi Waikerepuru and Nga Kaiwhakapumau I Te Reo argued that many of the Crown's past acts and policies were in fact inconsistent with the principles of the Treaty. This included the Maori Affairs Act 1953, the Broadcasting Act 1976, the Education Act 1964, the Health Act 1956 and the Hospitals Act 1957. The claimants argued that as a result Maori were prejudiced against in that they were not able to have

the Maori language spoken, heard, taught, broadcast or otherwise used in parliament, the courts, government departments, local bodies and hospitals.

The claimant's case hinged upon the Tribunal's ruling of whether article two of the Treaty of Waitangi and the definition of taonga (treasured objects) included the language. The Tribunal concluded that article two did indeed guarantee the language would be protected and therefore section 6 of the Waitangi Tribunal Act was appropriate.

When the question for decision is whether te reo Maori is a 'taonga' which the Crown is obliged to recognise we conclude that there can only be one answer. It is plain that the language is an essential part of the culture and must be regarded as a valued possession (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986, p.20).

Two major areas were examined in this claim: education and broadcasting. The Education Department came under harsh criticism and was told by the Tribunal that their Maori language course was a dismal failure (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986, pp. 37-38). The Tribunal recommended that an examination of how Maori language and culture was taught in schools needed to be urgently conducted.

In regard to broadcasting, the Waitangi Tribunal stated that the Crown had a responsibility to ensure Maori interests in broadcasting were protected.

In its widest sense the Treaty promotes a partnership in the development of the country and a sharing of all resources. It is consistent with the principles of the Treaty that the language and matters of Maori interest should have a secure place in broadcasting (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986, p. 39).

This case would later be seen as one of the major building blocks for litigation over Crown obligations to protect Maori interests, including language. Further, the recommendations in the Te Reo Maori finding were largely adopted in the establishment of the Maori Language Commission in 1987 with the passing of the Maori Language Act (Temm, 1990). The Act had the effect of:

1. Declaring the Maori language to be an official language of New Zealand.
2. Entitling people to speak Maori in certain legal proceedings.
3. Establishing Te Komihana Mo Te Reo Maori (Maori Language Commission).

Concomitant to the Te Reo claim, the Royal Commission on Broadcasting was investigating the issue of Maori broadcasting and the Aotearoa Broadcasting System were applying through the Broadcasting Tribunal for a Maori television channel. As a result, the Waitangi Tribunal did not make detailed findings in relation to broadcasting so as not to interfere with the jurisdiction of the Royal Commission on Broadcasting and the Broadcasting Tribunal (Waitangi Tribunal, 1990).

However, the Tribunal did conclude that the Crown had an obligation under article two of the Treaty to protect Maori taonga, including language, and that part of this obligation included using broadcasting services, such as radio and television, as vehicles for the promotion of the Maori language.

The evidence and argument has made clear to us that by the Treaty the Crown did promise to recognise and protect the language and that that promise has not been kept. The guarantee in the Treaty requires affirmative action to protect and sustain the language, not a passive obligation to tolerate its existence (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986, p.1).

In 1986 the Royal Commission on Broadcasting released its report. Taking into consideration the work of the Waitangi Tribunal and the Broadcasting Tribunal, the Royal Commission deliberated on the role the media could play in the survival and development of the Maori language.

The principles underlying the claims for Maori access to the broadcast media are equity and autonomy.... The Waitangi Tribunal has emphasised the fact that linguistic continuity is essential and that the lack of input by broadcast media has contributed to the deterioration of the language.... There is no doubt in our minds as to the validity of the demands for a greater share of the resources of broadcasting and the benefits of biculturalism (Royal Commission on Broadcasting, 1986).

In December 1988, while the Government was restructuring broadcasting, it attempted to establish two new state-owned enterprises for broadcasting (Radio New Zealand Ltd and TVNZ Ltd). The New Zealand Maori Council and Nga Kaiwhakapumau i te Reo sought an injunction of activities until the Government could prove that the Maori

language would be protected under this new arrangement. The parties wished to confirm the Crown protection of the Maori language, which had been recognised as a 'taonga' and an official language of New Zealand by the Waitangi Tribunal in the earlier Te Reo case. Further, Maori sought assurances that FM frequencies would be reserved in Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch where large numbers of Maori resided.

It was not until 1990 that the High Court would make a judgment on broadcast restructuring and the allocation of radio frequencies. The central issue was the Radiocommunications Act 1989 and the allocation of radio frequencies by tender. The plaintiffs sought suspension of the sale of frequencies until the Waitangi Tribunal had heard the case. The court did not find the Crown in breach of the Treaty though the presiding Judge (Justice McGechan) agreed that the language which was a taonga, was in a perilous state, and as such the Crown had an obligation to protect it. Justice McGechan made the following statement on the role that mass media have in the revitalisation of the Maori language.

Broadcasting under conditions of modern life certainly has a part to play in Maori language revitalisation. It is an important part with two aspects. First, the more a language is used, the better its chances. Hours spoken on broadcasting media, simply as hours spoken heard by a mass audience, are useful in themselves. Second, I accept there is a subtler dimension. The media, particularly the audio-visual medium of television, is a powerful instrument in shaping mass perception (McGechan, 1991, p. 61).

Lodged at the same time as the high court hearing, the Waitangi Tribunal also heard a claim on the allocation of radio frequencies. A number of the arguments put forward included the lack of adequate consultation and insufficient time to consider AM & FM requirements. The Tribunal agreed that the transfer of Crown assets to State Owned Enterprises (SOE) was inconsistent with Maori protection. The tribunal's recommendations included:

1. that the radio-frequency tender should be suspended for 6 months, and that the Government should establish an Iwi based broadcasting medium.

2. that the government make available independent advisers to ensure that iwi could make informed decisions in assessing their needs
3. that FM frequencies be made available for Maori broadcasters in Auckland and Wellington (Waitangi Tribunal, 1990).

In response to the Waitangi Tribunal's recommendations, the Government reserved radio frequencies for the purposes of promoting the Maori language and culture and to ensure the 'full coverage of iwi tribal areas' (Ministry of Commerce, 1998, p. 2).

As the Crown could show it had taken steps to ensure Maori interests in broadcasting were protected (e.g. reserved frequencies) Justice McGechan allowed the sale of Crown assets to continue. However, dissatisfied with the ruling, the claimants would take the case to the Court of Appeal in 1992.

The Court of Appeal agreed that the Maori language was a taonga that deserved protection and that broadcasting was vital to the protection of the language. However, the Court of Appeal concluded that the Crown's ability to fulfil Treaty obligations was not diminished by the transfer of assets.

Maori litigation continued until the Privy Council in December of 1993 rejected the Maori claimants case against the earlier rulings in the Court of Appeal and the High Court that inadequate consultation and protection was being undertaken by the Crown. The case was overturned as the Privy Council stated that the Crown had already agreed, in principle, to reserve FM frequencies for use by Maori broadcasters in Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch and protection mechanisms outlined in the High Court were adequate (Ministry of Commerce, 1994).

However, in completing their assessment the five law lords reaffirmed the responsibilities of the Crown to the Maori language:

Foremost among those principles are the obligations which the Crown undertook of protecting and preserving Maori property, including the Maori language as part of taonga, in return for being recognised as the legitimate government of the whole nation by Maori (Mana, 1994).

The law lords also gave indication that there are limitations to what should be considered prudent and reasonable fulfilment of Treaty obligations. Particular reference was made to the need to take into account the economic situation within Aotearoa/New Zealand when deciding upon whether the Crown was failing in its duty to actively protect the language through broadcasting.

It does not mean, however, that the obligation is absolute and unqualified. This would be inconsistent with the Crown's other responsibilities as the government of New Zealand and the relationship between Maori and the Crown. For example, in times of recession the Crown may be regarded as acting reasonably in not becoming involved in heavy expenditure in order to fulfil its obligations although this would not be acceptable at the time when the economy was buoyant (Mana, 1994).

The ruling of the Privy Council also made it very clear that should the Crown fail to fulfil its social obligation, then it could find itself back before the judiciary (Winiata, 1994).

2.3.4 Discussion

Maori radio broadcasting is built upon a number of significant developments. There was the desire by Maori to protect and revitalise their language, with many viewing broadcasting as an important vehicle in its revival. The establishment and success of such initiatives as kohanga reo and kura kaupapa and the economic and political aspirations identified, advanced and in some cases achieved at the Hui Taumata and Hui Whakapumau would further strengthen the Maori resolve to continue with a cultural renaissance.

However, while efforts at language revitalisation have intensified in the 1980s and 1990s and while it can be claimed that achievements have been made, there remains an urgent need for language promotion in light of limitations in research information and the ageing profile of fluent speakers.

The judgements of the Waitangi Tribunal were also central to the establishment of iwi radio. The 'Te Reo' Report was a significant turning point for the resurgence of the Maori language. The Report led to the Maori language being recognised as a National

language in New Zealand and many of its recommendations were adopted when the Maori Language Commission was established in 1987. The 'Allocation of Radio Frequencies' case ensured the reservation of frequencies within the radio spectrum for use by Maori.

While the High Court, Court of Appeal and Privy Council did not rule in favour of the Maori claimants, the courts did reaffirm the Government's responsibility to the protection of the Maori language. The Crown's recognition of their responsibilities under the Treaty of Waitangi to promote and protect the Maori language would be their 'primary interest' in Maori radio (Ministry of Commerce, 1998).

The Hui Taumata in 1984 identified iwi as the vehicle through which the welfare of Maori could be improved. When the BCNZ called a hui in Takapuahia marae in Porirua (November, 1986), outlining what they considered feasible options for Maori radio, Whatarangi Winiata and Piripi Walker would argue for a radio system based upon regional (iwi/hapu) development (Tu Tangata, 1987).

In 1989, when NZ On Air was given the responsibility to establish Maori broadcasting, they sought tenders from iwi organisations. Under this proposal iwi organisations would become licence holders and iwi radio stations would become licensed broadcasters with no restrictions on the hours of broadcasting, or on the amount of advertising. The only conditions for the use of the broadcasting licence was that the primary objective of the radio station would be the promotion of Maori language and culture (Te Mangai Paho, 1994a, p. 9).

2.4 Maori Radio Broadcasting

2.4.1 Introduction

Government policy surrounding the nature and shape of Maori radio would reflect both Maori aspirations for iwi development and language revitalisation, and Crown responsibilities to promote the Maori language through broadcasting. This section outlines the restructuring process that occurred during the 1980s and early 1990s within New Zealand broadcasting which has led to the present arrangements in funding and policy.

This section also outlines the functions of Te Mangai Paho, its funding criteria, and improvements that have been implemented by TMP to promote Maori language use over the airwaves. The contractual obligations required of iwi radio stations to receive funding from TMP are also highlighted.

Finally, this section identifies the concerns expressed by station personnel and noted commentators on the difficulties faced by iwi radio stations since their inception.

2.4.2 State restructuring

In 1984, a briefing document presented to the incoming Labour government from Treasury signalled a shift in the dominance of the Government in the New Zealand economy (Kelsey, 1993). Due to a perceived lack of accountability and efficiency in state production of goods and services the reformers sought a separation of commercial from non-commercial state operations. Commercial operations would be turned into state-owned enterprises (SOEs) with profit as a measure of performance. Non-commercial services, such as social services, would be met through a tendering process through private sector providers in an attempt to improve competition (Kelsey, 1993).

Prior to deregulation, New Zealand broadcasting was the responsibility of the Minister of Broadcasting. Beneath the Minister sat the Broadcasting Tribunal and the Broadcasting Corporation of New Zealand, who heard complaints regarding broadcasting, and granted spectrum warrants (Bell, 1995).

Following state restructuring and the introduction of the Broadcasting Act 1989, the ministerial responsibilities were divided between the Minister of Broadcasting and Communications, the Minister of State-owned Enterprises, and the Minister responsible for Television New Zealand and Radio New Zealand (Bell, 1995). Adjudication of broadcasting complaints and setting of broadcasting standards were given over to the newly established Broadcasting Standards Authority and the Broadcasting Commission (otherwise known as NZ On Air) was given the responsibility of controlling public funding including Maori broadcasting (State Owned Enterprises Committee, 1988). The licence for radio frequencies were allocated via public tender rather than controlled by the Broadcasting Tribunal (Ministry of Commerce, 1994).

Between 1989 and 1993, NZ On Air was responsible for Maori broadcasting and the establishment of iwi radio as part of the protection orders developed by the Crown to satisfy judgments made in the High Court, Court of Appeal and Privy Council. Starting with \$4 million and six iwi stations in 1989, NZ On Air's funding had increased to \$7 million in 1993 with the establishment of an additional 16 iwi radio stations.

In July 1993, the funding of Maori broadcasting became the responsibility of Te Mangai Paho (then known as Te Reo Whakapuaki Irirangi). An amendment in the Broadcasting Act established Te Mangai Paho, and provided it with the mandate to promote Maori language and culture in broadcasting through funding from the public broadcasting fee.

2.4.3 Te Mangai Paho

As a representative of the Crown, Te Mangai Paho is expected to fulfil several functions, the most important being "to promote Maori language and culture by making funds available, on such terms and conditions as it thinks fit, for broadcasting and the production of programmes to be broadcast" (Section 53B, Broadcasting Act, 1989). However, the Act does not allow TMP to use funds for infrastructure, personnel development or equipment.

At its inception in 1993 Te Mangai Paho was responsible for \$13 million of Vote: Communications budget for its first three years of operation (Yeabsley, Duncan & James, 1994, p. 138). In 1997/98, Te Mangai Paho had \$9.3 million from which to purchase Maori language programming. Of the \$9.3 million, \$4.5 million was used to purchase programming from Maori radio stations; \$1.3 million as incentive funding for stations who provided programming over the required broadcasting threshold; \$0.7 million for Starnet, a national network; \$0.4 million to assist with radio station coverage extension; and \$0.2 million for independent programming (Ministry of Commerce, 1998a).

Te Mangai Paho currently funds 20 iwi-based radio stations and two national radio services (Ruia Mai and Mana News). Radio stations received an initial capital grant of

\$100,000 to assist with each station's establishment and annual funding of \$200,000 (Ministry of Commerce, 1998a).

The Ministry of Commerce issues licences for the reserved frequencies to iwi-based organisations. The iwi organisations are responsible for choosing who the broadcasters for their region will be and also act as kaitiaki (guardian) to ensure the frequencies are used for the promotion of the Maori language.

The level of annual funding received by each radio station per year (\$200,000) has not increased since 1994 and as a result has depreciated in value and is considered by most iwi radio stations as inadequate (Ministry of Commerce, 1998a). However, Te Mangai Paho argues that additional funds have been made available. For example, TMP also meets the costs of the National Maori radio services, the running cost for Starnet, a news and information distribution network, and fees to the Association of Performers and Recording Artists which would otherwise cost each station an additional \$92,000 per annum (Ministry of Commerce, 1998a).

Stations can also earn on average an extra \$60,000 per annum through the incentive funding scheme. This scheme provides financial incentives for stations to increase their percentage of broadcast time conducted in Maori on-air (Ministry of Commerce, 1998a).

Te Mangai Paho also argue that radio stations are 'less financially vulnerable' as automation, introduced through TMP funding, has allowed stations to be run on fewer staff while improving programming standards (Ministry of Commerce, 1998a). The automation equipment are computer software packages. The two packages used by iwi stations are DALET and CODA. The software allows stations to develop computer-generated playlists, a way of electronically managing broadcasts without the need for station personnel to be available 24 hours a day.

2.4.4 Iwi radio: funding and contractual obligations

TMP purchase from 20 iwi radio stations nine hours of broadcasting per day, of which three hours must be in the Maori language (162 minutes of Maori language) between 6:00am and midnight (Ministry of Commerce, 1998a). The Maori language broadcast

must be in duration of not less than ten minutes to count as part of the three hour time requirement (Ministry of Commerce, 1998a).

The 20 iwi radio stations are connected by Telecom links (Starnet), allowing segments to be transferred between stations. It also allows stations to receive news and current affairs information from Ruia Mai - the National Maori News Services, which is funded by TMP and Mana News (also a news provider and part funded by TMP).

Iwi radio stations indicate to Te Mangai Paho those hours within the nine TMP funded hours per day that they intend to broadcast in 100% Maori language for periods not less than ten minutes. TMP then monitor broadcasts for compliance with the option of withholding or terminating further funding should stations not comply with their language quota plans.

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

2.4.5 Iwi radio: Identified complications

At the beginning of 1991, and during the Broadcasting Assets case, the Minister of Communications, Maurice Williamson, sent out a paper inviting Maori people interested in broadcasting to attend four hui to express their views. The paper "Broadcasting, Te Reo, and the Future" (Minister of Communication, 1991), was partly a result of delays in the allocation of radio frequencies stemming from continued Maori litigation against the Crown and partly an opportunity to clarify Maori needs and consider whether Maori interests in broadcasting were of a significant enough amplitude to continue discussion.

"Broadcasting, Te Reo and the Future" acknowledged that broadcasting, in particular, radio broadcasting, was the "backbone of policies designed to promote Maori language and culture", (p. 4). Further, the booklet reiterated the Government's continued stand on the development of tribally based radio stations.

An obvious theme that emerged from the four hui was the importance of the Maori language in respect to Maori national and tribal identity. Iwi-based radio was seen as an important means of ensuring 'tribal renaissance'. Participants felt that due to Maori being widely dispersed throughout New Zealand, and the fact Maori are traditionally a tribal people, community-based radio would be of more direct interest to people within their region (pp. 6-7). The hui-generated paper also identified a number of concerns noted by participants over the development of iwi radio.

Funding was an obvious issue and calls for adequate levels of funding were frequent (pp. 8-10). The importance of technical advice and training for staff was mentioned and some speakers felt such actions may alleviate the problems encountered in their station development (p. 11). Some concern was also raised over the quality of the frequencies reserved and of the quality of the Maori language content on national and iwi-based radio (pp. 12-13). As with the sentiments expressed at the Hui Taumata in 1984, the hui recognised that if there were to be any advancements then Maori control of Maori broadcasting was a priority (p. 15).

Piripi Walker, a prominent Maori broadcaster, also noted the plight that many stations were experiencing.

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

Commercialism and financial success are dependent upon large listening audiences. However, many stations were experiencing incompatibility between providing a commercial sound and broadcasting Maori language and tikanga (Findlay, 1993, p.9). This difficulty in creating a balanced programme mix was noted by Whaanga in 1995.

There's no denying Maori radio has had to come from behind with a rush. It has had little development time, no time to practice off-air and make the mistakes. It's had not time to work on the mix of Maori language and English so that non-Maori language speakers can follow a train of thought, and native speakers don't get hoha (bored) with the repetition (cited in Findlay, 1993, p.9).

In late 1996, a Joint Maori/Crown working group met to discuss policy surrounding Maori broadcasting (Joint Maori/Crown Working Group, 1996). The aim of the two meetings was to define the purpose of Maori broadcasting and plan future development. As a result of the meeting, the Joint Working Group noted some concern over the “overall quality of the contribution” by the Maori radio stations to the promotion and protection of the Maori language and culture (p. 5). Further, comments were made that Maori radio stations were lacking proper resources, both financial and personnel (p. 5).

There have also been a number of criticisms leveled at Te Mangai Paho. Among the criticisms have been comments that TMP does not consult with broadcasters, that TMP has a narrow, output-based approach to funding and that it takes a purist approach to broadcasting in Maori (Kennedy, 1997). Criticism has also been made of TMP’s lack of broadcasting knowledge (Fox, 1998) and inadequate tendering process (Seargate, 1996; Babbington, 1998)

A lack of business experience within iwi radio and uncalibrated funding from TMP have been proposed as the two main reasons behind the failure of those Maori radio stations who have closed (Clifton, 1997).

In July 1998, Piripi Walker prepared a paper for the New Zealand Maori Congress and Nga Kaiwhakapumau I Te Reo in response to a Discussion Document by the Ministry of Commerce on the state of iwi radio. The paper outlined several areas where Walker considered iwi radio to be experiencing difficulty. These included, a lack of adequate funding, a lack of proper consultation and input into policy, a lack of infrastructure (e.g. meaningful salaries, career paths), the need for increased pressure on quality programming, and difficulties with training and staffing.

Limitations have also been recognised by the Ministry of Commerce who, in May 1998, released the report ‘Maori Broadcasting: Radio Service’ in which it stated:

In the view of officials, present arrangements for Maori radio are basically sound. TMP reports that the majority of Maori radio stations are broadcasting significant levels of Maori language. A number of improvements can be made, however, particularly in terms of co-ordination among iwi radio stations and

'national service' providers, the provision of training of Maori broadcasters, broadcast coverage and the administration of radio licences.

2.4.6 Discussion

Maori broadcasting, in particular, iwi radio, has been the greatest growth area in the media industry in the early 1990s. The development of iwi radio has provided Maori communities the means to promote their language openly and freely and allowed Maori to hear news and views presented in a way culturally acceptable to them.

While 20 iwi radio stations now broadcast in Aotearoa, there has been some debate over the ability of iwi stations to promote Maori language and culture. Many of the arguments have arisen from people within the industry who feel the primary purpose for which iwi radio stations receive government funding has been eroded through difficulties in funding and training and through a lack of qualified personnel (Walker, 1996). Further, throughout the development of iwi radio there has been continual criticism by Maori broadcasters of the Crown's commitment to Maori broadcasting, in particular, its level of annual funding has been ridiculed since hui in 1991 (Minister of Communication, 1991).

As a result of Maori and Crown dissatisfaction with the level of Maori language being broadcast on iwi radio (Walker, 1996; Te Mangai Paho, 1997), Te Mangai Paho have introduced more stringent measures to ensure Maori language use. A content quota threshold of 30% and ten-minute Maori language duration periods were introduced, as was the incentive funding scheme to encourage iwi stations to provide more Maori language programming.

However, while increased pressure has been placed on stations to broadcast in the Maori language, TMP (1995) have also identified that there is a shortage of fluent language speakers and that 70% of iwi radio staff have five years or less of broadcasting experience. Training, which many consider to be the main instrument to improve broadcast skills within the industry, continues to be neglected through limited choice and a lack of funding or sponsorship.

The Ministry of Commerce (1998) notes that "there is nothing to prevent stations from seeking funding from other sources other than Te Mangai Paho" (p. 6). Many

broadcasters consider this to be an indication that the Crown would like to see Maori radio become more market-oriented. On the other hand, many Maori broadcasters would like Maori radio to receive the level of financial support Pakeha radio received prior to deregulation (Harawira, 1998; Radio Ngatihine, 1998). Broadcasters have also found that attempts at generating support from other Government agencies often end with stations being referred back to Te Mangai Paho (Radio Ngatihine, 1998).

The ability to generate advertising revenue is dependent upon securing large listening audiences which many iwi radio, particularly rural stations, do not have the ability to produce. Several commentators have argued that because Te Mangai Paho promote increasing levels of Maori language quantity on-air without consideration for quality or for the types of programming likely to attract and retain listeners, has limited the advertising potential (Fox, 1998).

While there was an expectation by the Crown that iwi radio stations would become semi-commercial (Ministry of Commerce, 1998), little attention was focussed on organising the necessary leadership to ensure Maori broadcasting was able to meet this objective. Critics (Fox, 1998; Walker, 1998) have argued that difficulties with development have hindered the ability to establish alternative revenue sources or the necessary infrastructure to support and retain personnel.

CHAPTER THREE

LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a review of relevant literature. The chapter begins by examining the theories that have been developed and trends which have evolved within the mass media. The literature review also examines research that has explored Maori depictions within the mass media and Maori participation within the media industry. The purpose of the literature review is to present and analyse a body of research and literature which, together, will help explain why Maori have argued for greater participation within the media industry and why separate media services for Maori have developed.

3.2 Mass Media: Theories, Models & Trends

3.2.1 Introduction

This section will examine a number of theories that have been developed to explain the development of mass media and their possible effect on public opinion. The benefit of identifying these theories is that they provide us with models from which we can understand the function of media and media effects. They also provide a foundation for the examination of cultural conflicts that may occur in broadcasting where mainstream and indigenous cultures meet. This is pertinent to the New Zealand situation and can offer some insight into a) why the promotion of indigenous cultures is important, b) why it is difficult for indigenous populations to promote their culture; and c) why separate indigenous media services may develop as a result. However, it must also be acknowledged that little research has been conducted to date on indigenous radio, even less on Maori radio broadcasting in New Zealand, and therefore it is important to note that the theoretical perspectives discussed in this section are general in their application.

3.2.2 The Spiral of Silence

Developed by Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann (1974) in her article 'The spiral of silence: a theory of public opinion', the spiral of silence theory argued that there is a tendency for groups who hold minority opinions to remain silent so as not to be found opposing the

position held by the perceived majority. People who think that they represent the majority's opinion, on the other hand, are more likely to voice that opinion. This propensity for the majority voice to be more readily heard and the minority voice to remain silent generates a spiralling process which "increasingly establishes one opinion as the prevailing one", (p. 44). This theory provides for some understanding of how minority opinion can become isolated from the majority view and it makes the suggestion that the mass media does not so much reflect public opinion as create it:

According to the social-psychological mechanism here called the 'spiral of silence', the mass-media have to be seen as creating public opinion; they provide the environmental pressure in which people respond with alacrity, or with acquiescence, or with silence (Noelle-Neumann, 1974, p. 51).

Rimmer and Howard (1990) attempted to test the key hypothesis of the spiral of silence with a survey dealing with public opinion on the topic of toxic waste. They found no relationship between media use and public attitude. Salwen, Lin, and Matera (1994) conducted a study into the willingness of citizens to express their opinions of 'Official English' in three communities. Their study would provide mixed support for the theory.

While this theory provides some understanding of why minority groups in society may remain silent, it does not completely explain the situation within contemporary New Zealand society. There are many minority groups, such as the Maori or the gay and lesbian sectors within New Zealand, who have not remained silent as this theory would suggest. Does their voice sway public opinion and political process? That is a question yet to be fully investigated. A further counter-argument for this theory is the possibility that groups in society choose to remain silent rather than bring attention to themselves. Nonetheless, this is an insightful theory into the process of how public opinion can be generated.

3.2.3 The Political Economy Theory

The Political Economy Theory argues that the media is shaped to reflect the interests and purposes of the political and economic institutions that support the industry. Under this theory the contents and ideology of the media are determined by the economic base of the organisations in which they are produced (Curran, Gurevitch, & Woollacott, 1982, p. 18). Hence, commercial radio must cater to the needs of their advertisers. To

this purpose they manufacture material and programming with the intention of maximising audience interest. It has been suggested that this is the rationale for much of the sex-and-violence content throughout the mass media (Elliot, 1977). Further, media institutions whose revenues are in some way dependent upon the state or who are controlled by the state tend to take a middle ground attitude, that is, keep to the majority consensus opinion (Elliot, 1977).

3.2.4 Hegemony Theory

Antonio Gramsci developed the theory of 'Hegemony'. His theory argues that the wealthier cultures have a greater opportunity to impress their beliefs and values upon other cultures within their society. The economically and politically powerful dominate the media and through the promotion of their ideology the audiences accept or are convinced as to their 'superiority' (Downing, Mohammadi & Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1995, p.16). Through this process of control the audience believe that: (a) the dominant group's interests are the same as their interests, or that (b) it is in their interest for the dominating group to be in power, or that (c) the dominant group deserves to rule (Schirato & Yell, 1996, p.176).

In 1984, Shoemaker and Mayfield attempted to find studies testing hegemony theory as it relates to media. They found three. Two supported the media hegemony concept while one did not. In particular, one study found that, in the United States at least, the dominating group spend a considerable amount of time defending their ideas from attacks from critics (Gamson, Croteau, Hoynes, & Sasson, 1992). Severin & Tankard (1997) would argue that in such a situation it becomes difficult to see dominance of everyday thinking taking place.

3.2.5 Cultural Imperialism

According to the theory of Cultural Imperialism, mass media has the effect of changing the beliefs and values of indigenous cultures through the "subtle inclusion of capitalist ideological messages carried in programmes and text" (Browne, 1996, p.10). This theory argues that mass media produced in a number of countries, particularly Western countries, tends to dominate media channels worldwide. This theory is believed to have the most relevance to third world countries, who do not have the ability to produce their own media and rely heavily on media from America and Britain (Wheeler, 1997).

Browne (1996) goes further to define media imperialism as the situation when “national governments control the financing and technical configuration of the electronic media” (p.235). The resultant government control extends to the point of “doling out of just enough broadcast frequencies and money to indigenous groups to permit them to function minimally at a local level, preferably far from urban areas” (p. 235).

3.2.6 Cultural Dependency

The ‘Cultural Dependency’ theory claims that the mass media broadcast ideology and influence behaviour through the dissemination of programmes which are fundamentally defined by “countries external and opposed to internal national interests” (Sarti, 1981, p. 321). Cultural Dependency theory differs from Cultural Imperialism theory in that it is not dealing necessarily with political control and capitalism (Boyd-Barrett, 1982, p.174).

Browne (1996) views the Cultural Dependency theory as the most useful model for guiding research into indigenous media (p.12). He believes the theory explains how people can become so accustomed to imported material that when they have the opportunity to produce the products themselves they tend to take on the cultural values, characteristics, and ideology of the foreign products (p.11). This is because the society is so heavily influenced by the overseas produced material and technology and possibly also because the audience is now so familiar with the characteristics and values of the foreign commodities it becomes difficult to be commercially viable outside of audience expectations. It has also been argued that neither the programme producers nor the audience need necessarily realise this transfer of ‘cultural characteristics’ (Browne, 1996). In some cases, theorists who work under the model of cultural dependency oppose the expansion of mass communication and information services as they believe this can only strengthen external ideology (Sarti, 1981, p. 323).

3.2.7 Public Service Model

The process of separating Public Service Broadcasting from any other form of private or public control was developed most fully under the leadership of BBC’s first director General, Lord Reith in the early 1920’s (Barbrook, 1998). At its heart, public service

broadcasting had the aim of informing, educating and entertaining through a system that was:

non-profit and non-commercial, supported by public funds, ultimately accountable in some legally defined way to the citizenry, aimed at providing a service to the entire population, and one which does not apply commercial principal as the primary means to determine its programming. (Abramson, 1998)

Set up in 1927, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) was funded by a national licence fee, an annual fee charged to all owners of receivers, which contributed to the costs of the nationalised radio service. The revenue generated from the licence fee created a secure economic base from which the Government could produce programmes.

New Zealand viewed the potential of such a system as a political tool to be used for: the purposes of national unity in young and geographically far-flung nations, to build and protect cultural and political sovereignty, and for party political propaganda and the imposing of a government-decreed consensus (Cocker, 1994, p. 253).

However, while the New Zealand government regulated broadcasting based upon the British model in the 1930s, by the mid 1980s the regulated structures were collapsing in the face of new technology, public reaction and political movement to a free-market economy (Rennie, 1990).

Cocker (1994) would argue that deregulation occurred partly due to the continual tinkering with the management of public broadcasting within New Zealand by the government, which resulted in consumers unable to gain any attachment or sentiment for a public broadcasting system. He argues this lack of public support was reflected in the weak response from interest groups and muted public defence during the period of deregulation.

By the end of the 1970s, New Zealand's broadcasting structures were unloved and deemed to have failed. When they were washed away in the tide of deregulatory policies, swept with them was the instrument of regulation in the

public interest and the unfulfilled ideal of public service broadcasting (Cocker, 1994, p. 254).

Due to the perceived failure of the public service model the New Zealand government in the 1980s turned to the deregulated free-market approach taken in America. Within a deregulated market the government has little control over broadcast content and places few restrictions on the operation of the broadcast media. The main focus of the free-market model is to make money through advertising revenue by maximising ratings and attracting large audiences.

The overall change in the thinking surrounding the subject of broadcasting is significant. It replaces an approach to broadcasting which emphasises social and cultural objectives with an approach which stresses the commercial and economic aspects of broadcasting. A liberalised or deregulated system of broadcasting thus imposes very different requirements on broadcasters to the ones which usually apply in a publicly regulated system (Negrine, 1998, p. 233).

3.2.8 Globalisation of the media

The globalisation of the mass media has become increasingly apparent with the advancements in media technology and the deregulation of broadcasting structures internationally (Wheeler, 1997). Keane (1992) comments on the 'double-edged' nature of the technological developments.

Such developments in global communication media, in theory at least, make the world smaller and more open. The media operate to an extent as a global fourth estate.....Developments in global communication theoretically ensure that events anywhere can be reported anywhere else on radio within minutes; on television within hours. Meanwhile, private broadcast news has become a global business....streamlining...opinions and tastes. A few major news organisations control the newsflow. Syndicators guarantee that wider and wider audiences get to read and hear the same stories (p. 27).

Robertson (1995) defined two major features of media globalisation in developing his theory on the topic. First, a global compression has occurred throughout the world as a

result of 'international trade, military alliances and cultural imperialism' which in turn has created greater interdependence between countries (cited in Wheeler, 1997, p. 180). Second, Robertson looked to the growing global consciousness as an integral factor. He suggests that the world is becoming more united, but not integrated as there is no clear direction toward a single system and concepts such as individuality and nationality are now becoming defined by wider reference points of international ideologies and a 'general concept of humanity' (cited in Wheeler, 1997, p. 181).

For Baudrillard (1993), technological advancements in communication have led national cultures to become globalised eliminating the distinctiveness between private and public.

Whereas once cultural citizenship might have been seen as the gradual widening of access to an elite cultural sensibility, such distinctions have since imploded and been replaced by commercialism, irony and play. Old national hierarchies that sought to bind time and space through literature, history, heritage, ceremony, and myth have been replaced by spatialised communication flows. Vertical national traditions have become floating signifiers in the mediated horizontal global culture (Baudrillard cited in Stevenson, 1997, p. 41).

Certainly, there is a degree of credibility in the theories provided by Baudrillard (1993) and Robertson (1995), especially considering the rapid emergence of global information flows and Rupert Murdoch's developing vision of a global link. However, Stevenson (1997) suggests that such predictions are vastly exaggerated and criticises Baudrillard for not recognising the importance of citizenship to the study of culture. He argues that "cultural citizenship is a multifaceted concept that resists a singular definition" (p. 42). Further, there is evidence to suggest that cultural globalisation does not necessarily mean the end of national or cultural uniqueness (Appardurai, 1990; Sinclair, 1992). In terms of the New Zealand situation, Bell (1995), in her examination of New Zealand broadcasting, has supported the claim that globalisation does not bring an end to national distinctiveness.

3.2.9 Discussion

While some research has been conducted on mainstream news media coverage of indigenous minorities, little has been written on indigenous radio. It, therefore, remains

difficult to prescribe an appropriate theoretical base and ideological premise from which the present study might be grounded. Nevertheless, such theories and models can provide understanding and appreciation of the impact of mass media and provide a record of broadcasting development from which research into indigenous media can flow.

The 'Hegemony' theory can provide explanation of why minority voices have been somewhat muffled in the past within New Zealand, particularly in the case of Maori who have only recently fought to have the Maori language recognised as an official language in New Zealand. Hegemony theory can also provide understanding of how public opinion is generated, as can the 'Spiral of Silence'.

The 'Political Economy' theory can be useful in understanding how Maori radio may have developed, how it is funded, on what premise is the funding allocated and reviewed, and why particular types of programmes are funded and developed over others in New Zealand. A case in point would be "Te Karere", the Maori News. This is a programme funded by the State as part recognition of the partnership and protection provisions in the Treaty of Waitangi.

Media imperialism theory provides some understanding of the possible effect that government control of funding and policy may have on the eventual development and shape of indigenous media. There has been considerable concern over the cultural imperialism of many third world countries where it is argued that current pressure to enter and exploit third world airwaves "parallels the colonial imperialism of the nineteenth century" (Wheeler, 1997, p. 176). For example, the possible infiltration of western ideology, values and political thinking lies at the basis of China's resistance to deregulation and privatisation of media structures (Wheeler, 1997).

Cultural Dependency theory also has something to offer the debate, particularly considering the influence of imported materials and programmes is great, especially with young Maori who seem impressed by the American culture, their clothes, language and attitude.

It is also important to recognise the models of broadcasting which have been followed in New Zealand. The public service model was the broadcasting structure within New Zealand for fifty years between 1930 and 1980. During that period national and regional radio stations received full financial support from the Crown but it was not until deregulation that iwi radio became a reality. Indeed, it has been argued that iwi radio was only made affordable by deregulation and the introduction of commercialism in radio broadcasting (Rennie, 1990). However, it has also been argued that the rise of deregulated free-market broadcasting, and the loss of a public service philosophy, has marginalised minority programming through limited funding and small advertising revenue potential (Molnar, 1994).

The impact of globalisation of the mass media, through improvements in technology and deregulation of broadcasting structures, is an important factor in understanding mass media. Indeed, the theories of cultural dependency, cultural imperialism, media imperialism and hegemony point to the possible implications of media globalisation on indigenous groups. The impact of globalisation on national cultures continues to be a contentious issue.

3.3 Mass Media and Maori

3.3.1 Introduction

While there has been considerable research conducted on indigenous populations and radio overseas (i.e. Browne, 1994; Molnar, 1994; Leslie, 1997) there is a paucity of such research in New Zealand. The main focus of this section of the literature review will be to examine writings on the relationship between the mass media and Maori. Specifically, the literature review will explore the coverage of Maori issues and Maori representation within the mass media industry to provide some explanation as to why Maori have attempted to develop their own media services.

3.3.2 Coverage of Maori issues

Publications such as 'Between the Lines' (1990) and the writings of Fox (1988), Wilson (1988), Spoonley (1990), Saunders (1996), Walker (1990) and McGregor (1991), have highlighted increasing dissatisfaction within the Maori community over the inaccurate and unfair portrayal of Maori issues within the mainstream media.

Much of the mis-reporting about things Maori which has gone on over the years is a result of either mis-information being handed out by racist organisations, ignorance on the part of non-Maori reporters and their inability to fully understand and appreciate the Maori point of view, or a mixture of both. Many Maori display a grave mistrust of the media and its representatives. This is based on what they consider to be the poor showing the media have made of covering Maori issues (Wright, 1990, pp. 1-2)

As early as 1988, Wilson highlighted the way in which the media has predominantly been monocultural and he makes the argument that such practices have been detrimental to the Maori language and culture.

A regular part of the media's message is that Maori does not matter. Not much anyway. Not unless it intrudes on the Pakeha world. That is why we get all the gang stories, and why a loans scandal or a 'kill a white' statement is so much bigger than kohanga reo or a Ratana hui (p. 483).

Fox (1992), a leading Maori journalist and media commentator, mentions that mainstream media continually misunderstand Maori. For instance, he contends that mainstream media are ignorant of dialect differences in the language as well as variations in protocol and in the social and economic interests between tribes. He highlights the tendency of the media to emphasise 'bad news' and ignore the positive aspects occurring within the Maori community. He provides several examples of 'racial stereotyping' and inaccurate reporting. Cases in which front-page headlines portraying Maori in a negative light are later found to be inaccurate when actually investigated (pp. 175-176).

This claim is supported in research by McGregor and Comrie (1995) who conducted an investigation into the quality of broadcast journalism in New Zealand within television and radio news between 1985-1994. McGregor and Comrie (1995) found that half of all television stories concerning Maori within this time-period portrayed Maori negatively. The research also spoke of the invisibility of Maori. From a total of 915 stories taken from four broadcasters (TVNZ, TV3, Morning Report and Mana News), only 19.2% were Maori stories, 126 of the total 176 Maori stories coming from Mana News. McGregor and Comrie (1995) concluded that:

Minorities have traditionally fared badly from the news media but the results revealed a low incidence of stories about Maori issues in the traditional programmes and individual cases of sensational and stereotypical reportage. The prevalence of bad news stories when Maori news is covered compounds the problem (p. 83).

Kelsey (1993) has argued that the mainstream media assume Maori are not an audience and that non-Maori would not have any interest in Maori life. Kelsey (1993) regarded this assumption as a major factor in Maori being portrayed negatively.

The New Zealand Media assumed a consensual national identity - one which was white and male. Pakeha journalists played to that audience, presenting Maori people and issues in terms of prevailing racist stereotypes. Except for the plastic Maori image of the cultural performer or the Maori sporting hero, news of Maori was almost always negative - the criminal, the street kid, the beneficiary, the corrupt entrepreneur, the radical activist. Maori business successes, political developments or significant events were virtually invisible (p. 305).

Spoonley (1990) would provide empirical evidence of racial stereotyping in his study of racial cues in the media, and specifically, newspaper reports of the 1979 haka party incident at the University of Auckland. In his examination of an incident involving Maori and engineering students, Spoonley found editorials and reporting to be inaccurate and using unnecessary or unjustifiable labels, which portrayed Maori as aggressors and engineering students as victims. Spoonley (1990) concluded that:

the concern is that incomplete or inaccurate reporting both reflects the bias of some in the media and endorses the negative attitudes held by some within the wider community (p. 33).

Walker (1990) would also come to similar conclusions as Spoonley (1990) in his dissection of the 'haka party incident'. Walker also looked at the Waitangi day celebrations, media portrayal of Maori gangs, and the Maori loan scandal as other examples of mainstream media dominance, and reached the conclusion that:

any contest between Maori and Pakeha over land, resources or cultural space, media coverage functions, unwittingly or otherwise, to maintain Pakeha

dominance. The Fourth Estate is controlled by Pakeha. It selects the events it deems newsworthy, which usually centre on violence, conflict and competition. When these events involve Maori and Pakeha, it consistently represents the Pakeha status quo, helping them to maintain their power (pp. 45-46).

One of the recurring complaints made by the late Ernie Leonard, a noted Maori media broadcaster on 'Panui', a television programme which examined media coverage of Maori issues, was that Maori as news sources or news subjects were infrequent, especially in situations of controversy (cited in Abel, 1997, p. 191). McGregor and Comrie (1995) who investigated the quality of broadcast journalism in New Zealand would provide support for this claim. Results on the ethnicity of sources from four broadcasters (TVNZ, TV3, Morning Report and Mana News) would show that "overall, the ethnicity of sources in the news stories sampled showed an overwhelming reliance on Pakeha newsmakers" (p. 52).

Most recently, Abel (1997) provided a detailed case study analysis of television news' construction of Waitangi day celebrations between 1990 and 1995. The results suggested that while journalists acknowledged the difficulty in remaining objective, many remained unaware that traditional news values may reflect or promote a Pakeha perspective. Abel provided the following points as reasons for this lack of awareness:

- The background the news workers come from and the circles they move in
- Socialisation into the norms and routines of news gathering
- Ideological pressures in the wider society that lead us to assume that some things are commonsense (pp. 185-186)

Abel (1997) would also find that the control held by senior management impacted upon the perspective of the story.

Comments by TVNZ journalists who were on the spot at Waitangi in 1990 also point to the power of those with editorial control. Three journalists remarked separately that their reading of the situation at Waitangi was overridden by those higher up the news hierarchy back in Auckland.

Wilson and Gutierrez (1985), two American media theorists, have suggested that news about ethnic minorities in white news media have been characterised by several

developmental phases. Five stages can be identified, though they are not necessarily chronological in nature. The first is the 'exclusionary' phase whereby news reporting tends to exclude coverage of minority groups. This is followed by the 'threatening issue' phase where minority groups are only included because they are considered a threat. The 'confrontation' phase is reached when the minority group has been established as a threat. The 'stereotypical selection' phase occurs when the media reinforces majority stereotypical opinions, and finally there is the 'integrated coverage' phase, which occurs when the media move beyond their focus on negativity (p. 135). Research by McGregor and Comrie (1995) and McGregor and TeAwa (1996) provided examples of the first four phases within broadcast journalism in New Zealand. The integrated coverage phase was not evident.

Integrated news remains an ideal which is seldom realised in practise. The search for a voice by Maori in mainstream radio and television news remains a question of honour which is unfulfilled (McGregor and Comrie, 1995, p. 83).

While research has pointed to the mainstream's difficulty or inability to cover Maori issues, several commentators have commented upon the distinction between a Maori perspective of news reporting and traditional mainstream reporting.

Fox, quoted in *Whose News* (1992), believes that as the Maori renaissance continued and tribal identity and strength increased, mainstream media failed to recognise the importance of the tribe as a source of information. The mainstream media continued to emphasise a supposed 'Maori viewpoint' rather than more accurately describe Maori expression as tribal viewpoints or individual Maori viewpoints. Fox (1992) suggested that the Maori perspective of the news "cuts across conventional news values such as negativity" to provide positive images where they exist (p. 171).

Stuart (1995) describes Maori media as working on a different model to mainstream media. He views Maori media as more closely resembling African and Asian media which focus on an educational role rather than an informational role, which he believes mainstream media emphasise in New Zealand. He provides the objectives of Maori media, namely, to promote the Maori language and culture, to illustrate this point.

Morrison and Tremewan, in *Whose News* (1992), would also examine the appropriateness of the mainstream model of journalism for Maori. Morrison and Tremewan (1992) consider the adversarial model of debating used by mainstream journalists to be contrary to the hui model of consensus valued and practised by Maori. They identified that the present and short-term focus of news of Pakeha media tended to conflict with the Maori approach which values and examines past and long-term ramifications as well. An article by Mannion (1993) also reiterated the importance of providing history to a story in the reporting of news for Maori.

In her unpublished thesis entitled *The Maori Perspective of the News*, TeAwa (1996) found that there is a significant distinction between news reporting and the use of sources in her examination of a Maori news service (Mana News) and the New Zealand mainstream media.

The Maori perspective of the news is inclusive of the wider range of people as sources. There is a balanced approach to bad news stories by focusing on the problems facing Maori rather than the dissension between people, and the stories often include solutions to the problems (p. 123).

3.3.3 Maori journalists

The different perspective of the news and the invisibility of a Maori viewpoint may be exacerbated by the relative lack of Maori trained journalists in the mainstream media industry. Several studies have identified the lack of Maori journalists as a cause for concern including: The Journalist Training Board's study (1987), Tu Tangata (1987), Lealand (1988, 1994), McGregor (1992), and Kelsey (1993).

Prior to 1970, few systematic surveys had been conducted into the role of the press in New Zealand or the composition of New Zealand journalists (Lealand, 1987). In 1980, The Journalist Training Board's executive training officer, Gary Wilson, conducted the earliest piece of research with data relating to Maori and journalism. The results of the Journalist Training Board survey were reported in *The New Zealand Journalist* of March 1981. From a sample of 1000, it was found that only 17 participants were of a Maori or Pacific Island background. Unfortunately, this research included only 60% of the estimated profession and classified Maori and Pacific Island people together. This limitation in the data would be repeated in later research into journalism. Nevertheless,

The Journalist Training Board study did reveal the lack of Maori representation within the industry and provide a pivotal point for the emerging argument for specialised training for Maori journalists.

A national survey of newspapers, conducted in 1987 by the Maori magazine *Tu Tangata*, found that only 2% of editorial staff were Maori with all Maori staff holding predominantly junior positions (1987, p.3). As part of a wider review of Maori journalism the survey also asked how Maori news was covered. Half of the comments stated that "Maori news was covered like any other news" (p. 3). While the survey did not include television and radio journalists, it did suggest that Maori were poorly represented within the mainstream media's print industry. Researchers would suggest that the survey results "point to the reason for a large part of the ignorance about Maori issues both within the media and without in the reading public" (p. 5).

In 1987, Lealand conducted a survey of journalism in New Zealand examining the demographic and ethnic profile and tertiary qualifications of New Zealand journalists. He was to find that Maori, Pacific Islanders and other minority groups represented less than 5% of the workforce. As with the *Tu Tangata* study, few held senior positions with only one editor and five subeditors with Maori affiliations. From a total sample of 1,249 journalists representing a 41.6% return of questionnaires, only 100 (8.1%) possessed some degree of fluency with the Maori language, and half of the participants responded that they were inadequately skilled in covering Maori issues. While the study provided a significant sample it did not claim to represent the views of all journalists. Nevertheless, Lealand provided a solid and detailed argument that Maori, Pacific Islanders and other ethnic minority groups were under-represented within the profession.

Lealand repeated the survey in 1994 with a mail-out of over 3000 questionnaires of which 1214 (37.9%) were returned. Improvements in research design allowed for minority groups to be separated into Maori, Pacific Island and "other background" categories. Maori would remain a small group, accounting for 4.1% (50) of all participants. Pacific Islanders and "other backgrounds" would account for 0.9% and 1.5% respectively. Some improvement had been made in the number of journalists familiar with the Maori language, with figures rising from 100 in 1987 to 192 in 1994.

However, the journalist's level of language fluency was not investigated in the study and assertions that improvements have been made do not indicate the range of language ability within those examined. There would also be an increase in the number of journalists who felt they were able to cover Maori issues adequately (29.4% compared to 17.4% in 1987). While it was encouraging to see an increase in Maori editors (six editors were Maori as opposed to one in 1987), in terms of levels of employment, the majority of Maori journalists continued to hold junior positions.

McGregor (1991 & 1992) conducted two surveys on Maori journalism and the reporting of Maori news for the Race Relations Office. The first survey questioned senior journalists on their levels of understanding of Maori culture and information relating to training needs. The second study would survey Maori journalists and their positions in the media, their level of training, and their perceptions on how training may be improved.

In the study of senior journalists, McGregor (1991) found that senior staff had neither regular contact nor a clear understanding of the Maori community, 47% of news executives stated that no Maori journalists were employed by their organisation. She also found that no news executives were fluent in the Maori language and, for the majority of news organisations, there was no formal or informal policy for recruiting Maori journalists. McGregor (1991) would conclude that improvements in the mainstream media's reporting of Maori news through specific training courses and increased coverage of Maori issues as integral factors in improving race relations and the portrayal of Maori in New Zealand.

The results indicate a considerable measure of self-acknowledgement by news executives in New Zealand of the need to commit themselves to developing broader understandings of Maori issues and Maori culture (p. 10).

The level of understanding of Maori culture by editors was also examined in the Tu Tangata survey in 1994 which supported McGregors (1991) finding that editors were unfamiliar with the Maori culture.

Because of the low priority given the place of Maoritanga in New Zealand society, it remains a low priority in terms of 'news values' for editors.

Most have had little acquaintance with Maoridom's values and structures

and priorities, and so have little basis on which to judge what is news in a Maori sense.

In her 1992 survey of Maori journalists (n=92) McGregor found that while the majority (80%) of participants regarded fluency in the Maori language as important, less than one-third were fluent speakers themselves. Maori journalists most frequently mentioned te reo Maori (the Maori language) and tikanga Maori (Maori culture) as the two topics they would like further training in.

As a result of this study McGregor (1992) made the following conclusions.

1. There is a need for more Maori journalists within the industry.
2. Maori journalists felt their superiors limited the way news items could be covered. Concentration on negative news viewing Maori as a problem was highlighted.
3. Maori journalists felt that there was a difference in perspective between Maori and non-Maori reporting.
4. Maori controlled media was seen by many as a means of overcoming the difficulties many had with mainstream mass media.

The writings of media commentators (Whaanga, 1994; Stuart, 1995) and research conducted by Jeffries (1998) would also highlight the need for Maori-specific training courses to improve the reporting of Maori issues.

In his work as a Maori broadcaster and media commentator, Whaanga (1994) has continually advocated for Maori-specific training courses. He argues that the education and training systems in New Zealand have always assumed that training for Maori is the same as mainstream requirements. Whaanga (1994) believes that training for Maori journalism is ignored within the mainstream journalism training courses. Jeffries (1998), in his research examining the training needs of Maori, would reiterate the point that journalism industry training organisations are seen as contrary to the needs of Maori. The same theme would be repeated in an article by Stuart (1995) on the educational implications for Maori, where he argues that journalism courses controlled by the mainstream media ignore the growth and distinctiveness of Maori news media.

At present the Journalism Training Board is keen to get Maori people into the existing journalism courses. However, some recognition and training appropriate to Maori media must be included in the courses before Maori news media will support the courses (p. 87).

3.3.4 Discussion

In research by McGregor and Comrie (1995), and McGregor & TeAwa (1996), Maori news reporting by mainstream media has been found to be inadequate, leading to either misrepresentation or little representation at all of Maori issues. Specifically, research and writings point to Maori experiencing invisibility or stereotyping within the mainstream media.

The difficulties with negative coverage, stereotypical views of indigenous people, and ignorance of stories by the mainstream media have also been common concerns identified by indigenous groups in America (Gormack, 1991), and Australia (Pattel-Gray, 1997; Kerin, Windsor & Hawes, 1997).

McGregor (1992) and TeAwa and McGregor (1996) argue that the recruitment and retention of Maori journalists in newsrooms is necessary to help overcome the inadequacies in New Zealand's mainstream media. However, research by McGregor (1992) would find minimal numbers of Maori were being employed as journalists with almost half of all media organisations without a single Maori journalist. Survey research by The Journalist Training Board (1987), Tu Tangata (1987) Lealand (1988, 1994) and Kelsey (1993) would also point to poor representation of Maori within the mass media industry.

Media commentators (Tu Tangata, 1987; Wright, 1990), have also argued that poor representation within the industry is a major factor in the mainstream media's mis-handling when reporting Maori news.

While it was assumed by news organisations that mainstream news values and reporting processes were adequate for the coverage of Maori issues, the writings of Fox (1992), Stuart (1995), Morrison and Tremewan (1992) and TeAwa (1996) would suggest

otherwise. McGregor (1992) would find that Maori journalists felt that the Maori perspective of the news is different from the Pakeha perspective.

As a result of Maori dissatisfaction, Fox (1988), Morrison and Tremewan (1992) and Kelsey (1993) argue that Maori have concentrated on building a separate media voice to overcome the racism, ignorance and inappropriateness of systems evident within the mainstream media.

While the literature provides some measure of understanding, particularly of the difficulties Maori have experienced in their depiction and activity within the media industry, there is a paucity of empirical study conducted on the difficulties faced by iwi radio stations in New Zealand. This research intends to work towards addressing this gap.

CHAPTER FOUR

RELEVANT METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

4.1 Introduction

The aim of the research is to identify whether a gap exists between the policy directives of Te Mangai Paho and the actual performance of iwi radio stations. Further, the research hopes to describe the types of obstacles that are hindering iwi radios from fulfilling those directives (and provide avenues to overcome them). It is intended that the report will produce advice relevant to the development of iwi radio stations in New Zealand and suggest the means to overcoming obstacles.

The goals for the research were threefold:

1. The first goal was to identify whether a gap existed between the policy directives and actual performance of iwi radio
2. The second goal was to identify the range of difficulties iwi radio stations are experiencing in attempting to fulfil their contractual obligations to Te Mangai Paho.
3. The third goal was to outline the strengths and weaknesses of iwi radio stations.

This chapter will discuss why a multi-method approach using two different methods was taken. The purpose of each methodology, its benefits and limitations will also be examined. The following chapter will outline the employment of each method.

4.2 Choosing the Methodology

In 1984, Burgess argued that researchers ought to be flexible and select methods that are appropriate to the research problem under investigation. This sentiment was reiterated by Gaye Tuchman, a noted commentator on mass communication research, who in 1991 stated that “the method one should choose when approaching any topic including news depends on the question one wants to answer” (p. 79).

When deciding upon an appropriate methodology for the study four criteria were identified.

First, the methodology would need to be flexible enough to allow for the integration of new or insightful themes into the research process as the course of the investigation proceeded. Considering the dearth of research into indigenous radio stations in New Zealand and the broad range of problems being investigated, it was important to allow issues to emerge from the data rather than expect the data to fit a predetermined framework.

Second, the methods must be complex enough to assure researcher confidence that most, if not all, relevant issues would be identified by the research process.

Third, the methodology must be culturally sensitive. It must take into account the needs of participants and their related community. For example, it was important to choose a methodology that would be most acceptable to the culture of the participants to improve trust and confidence in the researcher and increase response rates.

Finally, and again due to the paucity of research in this area, the methodology must allow for a comprehensive examination of the topic while also providing a systematic analysis of the data sets.

The methodology in the present research is a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods. This mixing of methods is being used on the grounds that it can strengthen the research process (Fielding & Fielding, 1986). For example, the use of a multiple-methods approach is considered a valued technique for overcoming the limitations of individual methods and providing for several points from which findings can be validated (Reinharz & Rowles, 1988; Brewer & Hunter, 1989; Minichiello et al, 1995). Further, by using several methods with differing weaknesses, any matching findings can be accepted with more confidence than were only one method used. Any dissimilar findings may identify areas in need of further examination or more careful interpretation (Brewer, J. & Hunter, A., 1989, p. 17).

An exploratory multi-method study, as opposed to the more insular validation multi-method technique, was chosen for the present study. It was intended that the background and literature review would feed into the development of the survey. The findings of the survey research serve as the basis for the framing of later in-depth interviews. In many ways the questionnaire becomes a supplement for increased examination of identified concerns in the in-depth interviews. In the present study the survey provides generalisability while the latter in-depth interviews are used to provide more detailed and accurate investigation of particular topics of interest.

As 'direct personal contact' is a more preferred means of communication in discussing issues in the Maori community, face-to-face questionnaire surveys and in-depth interviews were chosen over mail or telephone surveys (Metge & Kinloch, 1984, p.15). Furthermore, researcher-administered, rather than self-administered, questionnaires would be used, as Maori prefer oral communication over other forms of communication for the 'transmission of knowledge' (Royal, 1992, p. 21).

Finally, the 'thematic content analysis' technique is chosen as the methodology of analysis. This analytical technique, which is based upon the frequency with which themes are present within the data, provides the study with clear statistical quantification to assist researcher understanding of participant responses without limiting the research to prearranged or predetermined categories.

4.3 Methodology: Strengths and Weaknesses

Face-to-face interviews with the researcher administering a semi-structured questionnaire provided the first procedure to data collection in this study. The second method involved in-depth interviews with several noted commentators. This section looks at the strengths and weaknesses of the methodological approaches used to gather information, namely, face-to-face semi-structured questionnaires and in-depth interviews.

4.3.1 Face-to-face interviewing

The choice of a face-to-face interview rather than mail or telephone was based upon several factors. As has been noted by various commentators (Tucker, Weaver and Berryman-Fink, 1981; Frey, Botan, Friedman & Kreps, 1991; Minichiello, Aroni,

Timewell & Alexander, 1996) face-to-face interviewing is best employed when a high response is needed and when respondents may have difficulty in reading, understanding, or interpreting questions. Researchers can assist participants by providing instructions or restating questions thus minimising possible misunderstandings.

The limitations of face-to-face interviewing include the time needed to gather information, the distance needed to travel to conduct interviews and the related costs. The ethical issues of privacy and anonymity also become increasingly pertinent in a face-to-face setting and may limit the type of data gathered (Frey, Botan, Friedman & Kreps, 1991). Face-to-face interviews have also been criticised on the basis that researcher rapport with the participant can influence the objectivity and may introduce bias into the research (Minichiello, Aroni, Timewell & Alexander, 1996, p. 64).

4.3.2 Semi-structured questionnaire

Semi-structured questionnaires provide the researcher with the opportunity to include both open and closed-ended questions. Topic areas are predetermined and questions are asked in a systematic sequence for all interviewees (Berg, 1995, p. 33). However, the semi-structured questionnaire has the advantage over structured questionnaires of allowing the researcher to probe beyond the questions asked. This offers both flexibility and detail to the data collection (Brannen, 1991, p. 65). Flexibility is attained by the researcher being able to delineate from the specifics of predetermined questions. Detail is achieved through the ability to probe which can provide more comprehensive information about issues highlighted throughout the interview process.

4.3.3 In-depth interviewing

As with any research technique, in-depth interviewing has its advantages and its disadvantages.

In-depth interviewing involves the administration of repeated face-to-face interviews with the study participants. A technique known as cross-checking is used to monitor the informant's perspectives in subsequent interviews. This is a process used to ensure the accuracy of statements made in earlier conversations (Minichiello et al., 1995).

The main advantage of in-depth interviews lies in the amount of detail they can provide. In-depth interviews are customised to individual participants and this allows the researcher to probe extensively for verification or clarification of the specific topics covered. Due to the repeated administration of the interview, the increased rapport between the participant and the researcher makes the introduction of sensitive topics more likely to generate valuable and accurate responses (Wimmer & Dominick, 1991, p. 149).

On the downside, in-depth interviewing has problems with the generalisability, as the sample is generally small and often non-random in its selection of participants (Wimmer & Dominick, 1991, 149). Also, in-depth interviewing is time-consuming as interviews are repeated with each possibly lasting several hours. Further, in-depth interviewing is sensitive to interviewer bias, in particular, participants can learn how to respond to questions through the researcher's tone of voice, his/her non-verbal signals or if, mistakenly, the researcher uses loaded questions (Wimmer & Dominick, 1991, p. 149).

Finally, one of the main limitations of in-depth interviewing is the fact that the researcher does not directly observe and record the situation being investigated as it occurs. The researcher relies upon the interviewee to understand the questions being asked of them and to reply truthfully and accurately their own account of the event under investigation. As a result of the high reliance on the interviewee, in-depth interviews are repeated to increase the researcher's confidence in the data collected.

4.4 Content Analysis: Background

In recent times, content analysis has become one of the most dominant methodologies utilised by researchers in the field of public communication, journalism, and mass media research (Frey et al., 1991, p. 213). For example, a survey by Jackson-Beeck and Kraus (1980) found that one-third of journal articles on political communication in 1978 and 1979 used content analysis.

This section provides a brief outline of the procedures used in the operation of content analysis as a method of analysis.

4.4.1 Definition of Content Analysis

Berelson (1952) defined content analysis as “a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication” (p. 18). However, communication theory has since evolved to come to mean something more than simply “the analysis of static representation in print” but as a ‘flow of interactions’ (Carney, 1972, p. 5). Consequently, content analysis came to be seen by Carney (1972) as “any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages’ (p. 5).

At its core, content analysis is a form of textual analysis. It provides a set of procedures to be used in both the collection of data and in the organisation of data into some standardised form from which inferences about the meaning of that data can be made.

4.4.2 Content Analysis: procedure

Content analysis involves a highly systematic step-by-step procedure and includes selecting the text to be analysed, deciding on the units to be coded, developing content categories, training observers to code the units, and analysing the data (Krippendorff, 1980).

Choosing the text to be analysed is the first step in conducting content analysis. This may be a television programme, magazines, newspapers, recorded interviews, letters, or posters. Importantly for the researcher, the text must be representative of the population under investigation. To this end, simple, stratified or cluster sampling techniques are used. If these procedures are not possible, non-random samples, such as convenience or purposive samples are devised (Frey et al., 1991, p. 214).

Before researchers can code the messages within a text they must first determine what the unit of analysis will be. Krippendorff (1980), for example, identifies five units that researchers may study: physical, syntactical, referential, propositional, and thematic units. The physical units are the actual texts to be used in the study: books, journal articles, newspapers, letters papers and so on. Rather than the content within the text being analysed, it is the time, length, size and volume which are studied. Syntactical units refer to the words of a text. Referential units look to identify the ‘symbolism’ expressed in a text which reflect the values, beliefs or attitudes of the authors.

Propositional units attempt to identify ideological biases, while thematic units are the topics, themes or recurring elements in a text (Krippendorff, 1980, pp. 61-63).

Closely related to the unit of analysis is the way in which the data can be quantified (Holsti, 1968). One simple unit of enumeration is a frequency count, that is, the total number of recurring themes. Another is achieved by recording the presence or absence of certain categories (Emmert & Barker, 1989, p.204).

Once the unit of analysis has been decided, the researcher must then develop the categories into which the units can be classified. Of paramount importance to content analysts is the need for categories to be *exhaustive* and *mutually exclusive* (Emmert & Barker, 1989, p.204).

Berelson (1952) defines categories as being divided into two basic types: substance categories that look at what is said; and form categories which examine how it is said.

The categories researchers may use in content analysis can be developed either inductively, deductively or by some combination of the two (Strauss, 1987).

Abrahamson (1983) explains that the inductive approach has the researcher 'immersing' themselves in the messages in order to identify the themes that are considered meaningful by the informants of the message (p. 286). The deductive approach has the categories suggested by the theoretical perspective the researcher is following and the texts provide the means to assess the hypothesis.

Thematic content analysis involves the coding or scoring of verbal material for content or style (Smith, 1992, p.4). Thematic content analysis identifies themes, that is, sets of categories to make sense of a passage of communication. For instance one way to analyse written material is to summarise the major themes contained within the item and then identify the frequency that each theme occurs. One assumption of content analysis is that frequency is a valid indication of the value of importance, hence, meaning is derived through quantity.

The procedure the researcher takes in placing the units of analysis into categories is called coding. This is extremely time consuming and researchers will often have

numerous coders involved in the analysis stage. A fundamental concern of the researcher when analysing the data are the concepts of reliability and validity (Wimmer & Dominick, 1983, pp. 171-176).

4.4.3 Reliability

Krippendorff identifies three forms of reliability when applying content analysis: stability (test-retest), reproducibility (test-test) and accuracy (test-standard) (1980, p. 130).

Stability as a form of reliability refers to the extent of uniformity or inconsistencies in coding a set of data when it is coded twice by the same person. The degree to which the results of the coding disagree reflects intra-observer disagreement. The test-retest reliability analysis is considered the weakest form of reliability.

The second form of reliability is 'reproductibility' or the test-test design. This involves two or more people coding the same set of data using the same coding instructions. The degree to which each coder agrees on the recording of the data reflects intercoder reliability.

The final source of reliability is 'accuracy' or the test-standard design. This is used when a known standard is available and can be compared to the current measure. If the new measure corresponds to a known standard then high test-standard reliability has been reached.

4.4.4 Validity

Several forms of validity have been proposed by Krippendorff. Due to a lack of prior analysis within the present topic, not all validity measures are appropriate. (For instance, correlational validity would be difficult to achieve, as this design requires the researcher to correlate their findings with the findings of another study). Three forms of assessing validity will be outlined; semantical validity, sampling validity and predictive validity (Krippendorff, 1980, pp. 157).

Semantical validity looks at the suitability of the language to the source of the information and to the forms in which the data is analysed. For instance, it would be

important to understand the values inherent within an indigenous language when using thematic content analysis on an indigenous culture.

Sampling validity simply refers to the extent to which a sample can be said to be unbiased or the extent to which the sample can be said to be similar of the population it is intended to represent.

Lastly, predictive validity is a measure of the level of agreement between the inferences obtained from the data and that is already known about the area of interest. High levels of agreement between the known context and the data indicate a high level of predictive validity.

4.5 In-Depth Interviewing: Background

In-depth interviews, or intensive interviews, typically involve a researcher conducting repeated face-to-face interviews with several participants. An interview guide, rather than a structured questionnaire, directs the interview. Often, interviews are lengthy and can be more conversational in nature than formalised interviewing procedures. This section looks at how in-depth interviewing is conducted.

4.5.1 Definition of in-depth interviewing

Taylor & Bogdan (1984) defined in-depth interviewing as:

repeated face-to-face encounters between the researcher and informants directed toward understanding informants' perspectives on their lives, experiences or situations as expressed in their own words (p. 77).

In-depth interviewing allows the researcher to select a specific sample of participants to reflect the key areas in which knowledge is needed. The opportunity then lies for the researcher in the interview situation to delve deeply into these areas of interest until saturation is reached. Saturation being the point in time when the researcher can with confidence state that all relevant information has been obtained.

4.5.2 In-depth interview: procedure

To conduct an in-depth interview the researcher follows a number of principles. First, the interview must be repeated with each of the informants. As a result, a greater length

of time is spent gathering information and investigating the informants' views. Second, the interview must be between the researcher and the informant. Third, the interview must focus on the participants' views rather than the researcher's perspective of the topic area. That is, to avoid bias, the interviewer must leave it to the informant to provide answers to questions. Finally, to gain an understanding of the participant's position, a less structured and more conversational process is used (Minichiello et al., 1995, p. 68).

As a result of such criteria an interviewer needs to continually assess their performance in the context of both the interview guide and the interview situation and also to ensure the information being gathered is both complete and extensive (Brenner, 1985, p. 154).

Several techniques are used by the researcher to investigate the phenomenon under study and verify the data that is collected. These include the techniques of the interview guide, funnelling and probing.

An interview guide is usually a list of general issues that need to be covered throughout the course of an interview. The interview guide differs from a structured questionnaire as aside from ensuring all issues are covered, the order in which questions are asked is irrelevant. (Brenner, 1987, p. 152).

Funnelling is used to control the flow of information. Typically an interview will begin with questions designed to help the interviewee start thinking about a topic of interest generally. Funnelling then shapes the process by focussing the interview on more specific questions about each topic (Minichiello et al., 1995, p. 84).

Probing questions are used to follow-up primary questions. They are used to provide increased descriptive and confirmatory data to questions that may require clarification or further examination. Probing can also be used when the informant does not answer or when their answers are vague or incomplete (Minichiello et al., 1995, p. 90).

Intensive interviews are generally recorded by means of note-taking, tape-recording or both. However, it has been argued that taking notes throughout the interview cues interviewees as to what the researcher is most interested in as the researcher may note

down some responses but ignore others. Tape recording on the other hand allows the researcher to focus entirely on the interview situation. The disadvantage of tape-recording lies in the danger of the researcher relaxing to the extent they miss important issues by not remaining attentive to all interviewee responses (Brenner, 1987, p. 154).

4.5.3 Sampling

There are several techniques used for sampling in a study using in-depth interviews. These can include population sampling, probability sampling, random sampling, stratified random sampling, non-probability sampling, incidental sampling, quota sampling, snowball sampling and theoretical sampling (Minichiello, 1995, pp. 160-161).

To be specific to this report the incidental sampling process is outlined. Incidental sampling, also known as convenience sampling, involves the selection of people at random from the chosen population in which the research is directed (Minichiello et al, 1995, p. 163).

The sample size for an in-depth interview study will tend to be small in relation to other studies. In-depth studies focus on providing insights into social phenomenon rather than statistical significance or generalisations (Bowling, 1997, p. 338). Therefore, complex and rich data is collected. However, this tends to be increasingly expensive and time consuming and as a result the sample size is small. The 'rule of thumb' used to gauge when a sample size is sufficient is known as the point of saturation. As noted by Minichiello et al. (1995) "the term saturation when used in conjunction with sampling refers to a process where no additional data can be found that would add to the categories being developed and examined" (Minichiello et al, 1995, pp. 161-162).

4.5.4 Reliability & Validity

Brenner (1987) identifies techniques to assess the reliability and validity of data collected through means of in-depth interviewing. These include:

1. comparing accounts against verification data,
2. scrutinising accounts for overt, observable undesirable influences in the interview situation (Brenner, 1987, p. 155).

In the first instance, one validity and reliability strategy identified when using in-depth interviewing is the use of a multi-method research design (Minichiello et al, 1995, p. 177). For example, by employing complementary methods of verification, a form of cross-checking validation occurs which increases the degree of validity attainable through any one technique.

Cross-checking increases the internal consistency of informant's accounts through comparing the material of the repeated interviews (Brenner, 1987, p. 156). External validity can be assessed through measuring the accuracy of informant's responses with information known outside of the research process. That is, if the informant's response to questions mirrors what is publicly known then the research can be considered as having high external validity (Minichiello et al, 1995, p. 177). An interesting sideline is that the use of verification information can also highlight limitations in the interviewee's knowledge surrounding the information being sought (Brenner, 1987, p. 156).

The second option of validity checking involves the researcher looking for any opportunity or purpose by the informant to influence the interview and information gathered. For example, the effect of a bystander may negatively influence the interview situation. Another example would be if the informant was unresponsive or hindered the interview process somehow. To overcome these difficulties interviewers are expected to be non-directional in their questioning (Brenner, 1987, p. 157).

CHAPTER FIVE

METHODOLOGIES: IMPLEMENTATION

5.1 Literature Review

In the view of Minichiello et al (1995) a literature review should be conducted throughout the entire research process (p.47). This involves sensitising the researcher to issues uncovered during the course of the study, identifying areas neglected by previous research, refining the research process, and generating higher awareness to the theoretical concepts involved.

In the present study work on the background and literature review was continued throughout the research process which allowed for the inclusion of new and previously neglected information into the review process. The Massey University library and the Internet were used extensively and relevant reports were requested from governmental bodies.

The background and literature review provided a strong basis from which the questionnaire was developed. In-depth interviews also drew from the literature review in the design of the interview topics.

5.2 Questionnaire

5.2.1 Sample

The sample for this study consisted of all iwi radio stations and national Maori news providers who were, at the time of the research, broadcasting and receiving funds from Te Mangai Paho (N=22). For the purposes of this research an iwi radio station is defined as any radio station whose:

1. Principal objective is the promotion of Maori language and culture,
2. Programming is directed primarily at a Maori audience (Te Mangai Paho, 1994a, p.9).

From a total pool of 20 iwi radio stations and 2 national news providers, the questionnaire was administered to fifteen (N=15) station managers. Three station managers chose not to take part as they felt the research might strain their relationship

with Te Mangai Paho. Although the researcher made it clear to the three station managers that the information would be confidential and the identity of participants would not be publicised, they chose not to contribute. Four station managers remained unavailable to comment for reasons unknown.

5.2.2 Recruitment

Contact details for iwi radio stations were found within 'The New Zealand Media Directory', a public directory of media organisations. Maori community contacts known to the researcher also provided access points into iwi radio organisations.

Respondents were approached through an information letter sent out by the researcher. The letter included a stamped, return-address envelope to allow them to indicate if they wished to become participants and to record their address and contact number.

The principal researcher conducted the interviews at a time and place that was convenient to participants.

For those respondents who were willing to participate in the study but were unable to take part in a personal interview, the opportunity for a telephone interview or the possibility of questionnaires being mailed to them to be completed was provided.

Prior to interviewing the study was explained to the participant using an information sheet (see appendix 2). Informed consent was sought before the interview commenced (see appendix 3). The names of respondents did not appear on the questionnaire. The questionnaire was coded and only the researcher had access to information that linked identifying data to the questionnaire (see appendix 1). This protocol ensured informed consent and confidentiality while collecting information about participant experiences.

A problem with this sampling technique lies in the self-selected nature of participants. That is, the sample consists of only those people who were willing to take part in the research. This could possibly lead to a distorted view of the topic under investigation (Gijbels, 1995). While this has been considered as 'elite bias' by some (Sandelowski, 1986), Morse (1991) suggests that 'it is exactly the purpose and intent to find respondents with knowledge of the subject' (p. 461; cited in Gijbels, 1995).

As 'direct personal contact' is a preferred means of communication in discussing issues in the Maori community, face-to-face questionnaire surveys and in-depth interviews were chosen over mail or telephone surveys as the primary means of data collection (Metge & Kinloch, 1984, p.15). Further, researcher-administered, rather than self-administered, questionnaires were used as the Maori prefer oral communication to other forms of communication for the 'transmission of knowledge' (Royal, 1992, p. 21).

5.2.3 Interview schedule

The questionnaire was semi-structured, comprising of both open and closed ended questions relating to radio station history, programme mix, audience profile, Maori language and culture, staff profile, training and technology. In total, the questionnaire consisted of 34 questions (see appendix 1).

The questionnaire underwent a pilot testing regime where two experts in questionnaire format and interviewing served as critics. Two experts involved in the radio industry also assisted in the development and structure of the questionnaire increasing face validity.

5.2.4 Data

The interviews were audio taped and the length of interview varied from 30 minutes to 2 hours. In addition, the principal researcher made extensive notes while administering the questionnaire. The data obtained was transcribed verbatim by the principal researcher.

Information obtained in response to closed-ended questions was separated from open-ended discourse. Open-ended research material is that resulting from responses to non-directive questions (Mostyn, 1987, p. 115). Each transcript was then read by the principal researcher using thematic content analysis providing identification of emergent and recurring themes from open-ended interviewee responses (Smith, 1992; Burnard, 1991; Miles & Huberman, 1984).

5.2.5 Themes

A coding manual was developed and consisted of 12 initial coding categories. The categories were established partly through the literature review and partly through communication with interested parties prior to the interviewing. As the analysis progressed more themes emerged.

Following the identification and allotment of passages within the discourse to categories as described by Krippendorff (1980), two coders were then asked to assign each passage to one of three further rankings; positive response, negative response or neutral. This second level of coding is considered most useful in the analysis of direct quotations in which messages seek to communicate specific information (General Accounting Office, 1982).

Several assumptions were made in the two-tier category system used. First, that frequency is a valid indicator of importance or significance. Second, that all content units can be given equal weight and can therefore be compared. And third, that when compared in the second level of quantification, each coded statement can be judged by its weight to measure “relative intensity” (GAO, 1982, p. 10).

5.2.6 Data analysis

The interviewing transcripts were coded by the primary researcher twice to gauge consistency in the categories used (intracoder reliability). Results from a stability test made by the primary researcher resulted in a test-retest score of .97 (97% agreement). The primary researcher re-visited and further refined the categories inconsistent or unclear with the earlier test. This analysis resulted in 12 initial coding themes: funding, Maori language, content quota, ten minute blocks, staffing, incentive funding, training, Te Mangai Paho, radio frequency coverage, Maori music, automation systems, and a final ‘general’ category for coders to place passages they felt did not fit into any established grouping. Double coding of passages was allowed.

An independent researcher who had experience in content analysis methodology then coded the transcript. Intercoder reliability for each theme was assessed by comparing the coding results of the independent coder with the primary researcher (Krippendorff, 1980). Agreements were also calculated for each of the theme’s sub-categories.

Intercoder reliability for thematic coding was .95 (95% agreement), sub-category coding reliability test also resulted in a .95 (95%) score. Inconsistencies in coding were found in five categories and in five subcategories. The principal researcher and independent coder discussed the inconsistent coding results until agreement was reached as to their designation.

The 'general' category in the initial twelve themes was replaced with four new themes which had emerged through the process of thematic content analysis: Executive Boards, Monitoring, Maori Radio Industry Commission and The Maori Radio Network.

5.3 In-depth Interview

5.3.1 Sample

In-depth interviews were conducted with seven participants as part of a multiple stage data collection process. The participants were selected as part of a convenience sample.

A recursive model of interviewing was used throughout the in-depth interviews. This involved the researcher eliciting responses from the informant through using a conversational design on predetermined themes and categories.

All of the interviews were carried out at the workplace or residence of the informants and were taped, transcribed and coded by the researcher.

5.3.2 Interview schedule

An interview guide was used for the in-depth interview and included the following categories: Te Mangai Paho management, staffing, training, ten-minute blocks, incentive funding, base funding, content quota, Maori music, radio coverage, automation systems, TMP monitoring, Maori Radio Industry Commission (Te Whakaruruhau), Maori Radio Network, Executive Boards, and Maori language on air. These categories were identified as important themes within interviewee responses to the questionnaire.

Further, interviews were continually developed to satisfy information gaps. As saturation was reached for particular topics within the course of an interview, focus would then be moved onto issues that required further investigation.

5.3.3 Data

The interviews were audio-taped and the length of interview varied from one to two hours. As with the questionnaire survey, the principal researcher made extensive notes while conducting the interview. All data obtained was transcribed verbatim by the principal researcher.

Each interview transcript was then read by the principal researcher using thematic content analysis to identify themes within each passage (Smith, 1992; Burnard, 1991; Miles & Huberman, 1984).

5.3.4 Themes

The coding manual, developed from the initial coding categories from the questionnaire survey, was again used to provide a framework from which themes could be allotted or distinguished. As the coding continued more themes emerged from the data.

Following the identification and allotment of passages within the discourse to categories the coders were then asked to assign each passage to one of three further rankings: positive response, negative response or neutral.

5.3.5 Data analysis

The interviewing transcripts were coded by the primary researcher to gauge consistency in the categories initially used. Results from a stability test made by the primary researcher resulted in a test-retest score of .84 (84% agreement). The primary researcher re-visited and further refined the categories inconsistent or unclear with the earlier test. Additional categories were identified and included. Following these changes a final retest score was achieved of .98 (98% agreement).

The initial 16 categories were: Te Mangai Paho management, staffing, industry training, ten-minute blocks, incentive funding, base funding, content quota, Maori music, radio coverage, automation systems, TMP monitoring, Maori Radio Industry

Commission (Te Whakaruruhau), Maori Radio Network, Executive Boards, and Maori language on air. There was also a 'general' category for coders to place passages they felt did not fit into any established grouping. Following the primary coder's test-retest analysis a further four categories were added. These were: National Provider, Maori Television, Maori Broadcasting Commission and Programming On-Air.

An independent researcher who had experience in using analysis methodology then coded the transcript. Intercoder reliability for thematic coding was .97 (97% agreement), sub-category coding reliability test resulted in a .92 (92%) score. Inconsistencies in coding were found in three categories and in nine subcategories. The principal researcher and independent coder discussed the inconsistent coding results until agreement was reached as to their designation. This included the final assignment of passages awarded multiple codes in initial coding.

The 'general' category in the initial themes was replaced with three new themes that had emerged through the process of thematic content analysis. These were: Station Research, Government Legislation, Aotearoa Radio and Public Radio.

CHAPTER SIX

QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the results of the questionnaire. Due to confidentiality agreements between the primary researcher and participants, information identifying the source of responses is not provided within the results.

The results for the questionnaire are divided into two sections. The first section presents the data collected from questions posed within the questionnaire. Thematic content analysis, based upon the frequency with which themes were present within the responses collected with the questionnaire interview is provided in the following section.

6.1.1 Demographics

The questionnaire first asked station managers to identify the year in which their radio station first started broadcasting. The earliest station began in 1986 with two transmitting in 1987 and two more in 1988. The following year (1989) saw another station enter the industry with two more in 1990 and another two in 1991. In 1992, three stations were established and broadcasting. Finally, of the fifteen stations taking part in this research, the two most recent stations began transmitting in 1994.

Eight (53%) radio stations provide a 24 hour, 7 days a week local broadcast to their clients. The spread for the seven (47%) remaining stations varied between 18 hours a day to 11 hours a day. Often stations would have fewer hours of local radio broadcasting in the weekend.

Four (27%) radio stations transmitted on AM frequencies, eleven (73%) transmitted on FM frequencies. Of those stations using FM frequencies, six (40%) stations had two FM frequencies from which they could transmit.

Station managers were then asked to identify the sources of funding and provide a percentage figure which represented each funding source's contribution to overall

revenue (two radio stations provided details on who funds were received from but no details on the percentage provided by each).

Table One: Sources of funding for iwi radio stations

Funding sources	Number of stations
Te Mangai Paho	15
Advertising	15
Programme sponsorship	9
Iwi contributions	4
Voluntary contributions	3
Te Puni Kokiri	3
Lotteries Board	2
Organised fundraising	2
New Zealand Employment Service	1
Sundry Income	1

The largest source of funding identified by all station managers was Te Mangai Paho. This source contributed to between 90% and 100% of funding for six of the iwi radio stations, 85% for one, 80% for another, 70% for two radio stations, 67% for one, and 50% for two. (Two radio stations did not provide percentage details).

Advertising was the next largest source of funding. The highest contribution advertising provided was 40% for one radio station. Four stations believed advertising contributed to between 20 - 25% of funding, two stations believed between 10-15%, three stations at 5%, 4% for one station, and 1% for the final station. (Three radio stations did not provide percentage details).

Nine iwi radio stations stated they received funding from programme sponsorship. Programme sponsorship accounted for 10% of one radio station's total revenue, 5% for three radio stations and 2.5% for one. (Four radio stations did not provide percentage details).

Four station managers stated they received funding also from iwi contributions. This source of funding contributed to 8% of one radio station's revenue and 5% for another. (Two radio stations did not provide percentage details).

Three station managers stated they received funding from voluntary contributions. This source of funding contributed to 5% of one radio station's revenue and 1% for another. (One radio station did not provide percentage details).

While three station managers noted the financial contribution of Te Puni Kokiri no percentage details were provided.

As to the remaining sources of funding:

- organised fundraising contributed to 2.5% of one station's revenue (another station manager did not provide percentage details),
- sundry income of 4.5% for one station,
- New Zealand Employment Service provided 3% for one,
- two station managers noted the Lotteries Board as a source of funding, however, no percentage details were provided.

6.1.2 Radio stations programme mix

The next set of questions asked station managers to identify whether they were involved in the production of programmes and, if so, what these programmes were.

Thirteen (87%) station managers stated their stations were involved in the production of programmes. The remaining two (13%) stations were not currently producing their own programmes but hoped to in the near future.

Table Two: Types of programmes produced by iwi radio stations

Types of programmes	Number of stations
News and current affairs (iwi, hapu, whanau concerns).	10
Information (community notices).	12
Educational (language teaching and learning).	12
Sport.	12
Special interests (panui, religious services etc).	13
Archival.	11
Music.	9
History (Raupatu and waiata).	1
Advertising	8
Talkback	1

When asked whether station staff make a point of listening to other radio stations to improve broadcasts, 13 (87%) station managers said yes and two (13%) station managers stated they did not. (It should be noted that one station is geographically isolated and unable to receive transmissions from other iwi radio stations).

6.1.3 Audience

When asked if the station managers knew of the current size of their audience, five (33%) could not provide details. The remaining ten stations provided figures between 8,500 to 37,000 with an average audience size of 17,335.

Four station managers mentioned that the numbers should only be considered potential Maori listeners, as they have not conducted recent research to support their projections.

When asked whether the size of their listening audience had increased, decreased or remained the same since the station began transmitting, 11(73%) station managers stated they had increased, two (13%) stated they had decreased, and one station manager believed the audience number had remained the same. One station manager did not provide details.

One station manager noted that they believed their audience number had increased but could not substantiate the claim due to a lack of research. Another station manager who felt their station audience had decreased believed it to be a result of an ongoing battle with Te Mangai Paho.

The next question asked whether each station conducted surveys to gauge listener satisfaction and, if so, how was this done. From the total sample of 15, 12 (80%) station managers stated they did survey audience views and three (20%) stated they did not. The following tabulates the types of research surveys used by stations.

Table Three: Survey methodology used by iwi radio stations

Survey method	Number of stations
Telephone survey	3
Door to door survey	4
Written survey (Mail-out)	2
Outside Research team	3

For the three stations that did not actively conduct research on their audience, two stations relied upon listeners phoning in with their concerns, and one station relied upon word of mouth in the community to filter back to station staff.

Ten (67%) station managers stated they had difficulties retaining their audience numbers, while two station managers stated they did not. Three participants declined to comment.

Of the ten stations that were experiencing some difficulties in listener retention, four blamed the problem on a lack of coverage to all areas within their iwi boundaries. Three stations blamed it on poor signal strength, one station on transmission problems, and one station felt the difficulties they have stem from being on an AM rather than FM frequency.

6.1.4 Maori language and culture

Station managers were asked to provide percentage details on the amount of broadcast time in the Maori language only. It should be noted that this timeframe refers to the nine hours Te Mangai Paho purchase from each station per day.

**Table Four: Percentage of time spoken in the Maori language
by number of stations**

Percentage of broadcast time in the Maori language (Nine hours)	Number of stations
30%	3
35%	1
40%	1
41%	1
45%	1
49%	1
50%	1
52%	1
53%	1
61.7%	1
67%	1
100%	2

Three station managers made comments relating to the incentive funding. Two stating that incentive funding was not enough to cover the increased expense involved in the production of Maori language programmes. One station manager made the comment that because incentive funding is a relatively new phenomenon they haven't had the opportunity as yet to gauge whether the increased funding will offset the increased cost of production.

Three station managers identify the ten-minute block requirement from Te Mangai Paho for measurement purposes as a major problem.

Two managers believe iwi radio stations rely too heavily on Maori Waiata (songs) in having to reach the ten-minute block requirement. For example, one participant commented:

“Some stations are actually broadcasting this huge amount of Maori language that they never did before. Basically what they do with the automation system is do a whole hour’s worth of waiata in what we call the dead hours, four, five, six o’clock in the morning and they use them as their Te Reo incentive hours. It costs them nothing. Maori radio is about promoting Maori language not broadcasting it, there is a difference. Because what two good programmers have done - shifted all their reo content into dead hours where there is little or no listening audiences. The two peak hours are breakfast and drive. Maori language should be - to a degree- put there”.

When asked if the station managers agreed with the 30% Maori language content quota limit for funding from Te Mangai Paho, seven (47%) participants agreed and seven (47%) disagreed. One station manager declined to answer.

For those participants who disagreed with the 30% content quota requirement for funding from Te Mangai Paho, they were then asked whether they felt the requirement was too high or too low. One station manager felt it was too high, four station managers felt the requirement was too low. Two station managers declined to answer.

Several participants commented on the issue of content quota following this question. One station manager remarked on the difficulties his station has in achieving the content quota minimum (30%):

“I believe that there should be a quota of some sort and there should be monitoring of some sort. What I disagree with is the way in which they carry it out. Because you are in a situation when you have to provide three or four hours a day and there is scant resources in which to do that. Its all very well to say they will (TMP) give you two hundred thousand dollars for nine hours which three hours need to be in Maori, but at the same time most of that three hours is always going to be music because the stations either don’t have people

skilled in te reo Maori, or don't have the resources to pull those people in if they have got those sort of people in the community and actually utilise them properly. At the present rate of funding, 30% is too high".

Four station managers made remarks relating to incentive funding. One response reiterating earlier comments that incentive funding was not enough to cover the increased cost of production. Three responses related to the purpose of incentive funding in teaching Maori language in the community. For example:

"Who the hell is going to learn the language around the playing of songs and use it in conversation. Nobody. We see the need for someone like Te Taura Whiri to be supporting or training programmes where the announcers can step outside this continuity between song after song after song, weather, news, song after song after song sort of stuff. Some stations can get 49%, 59%, 69% Maori language funding but if you look inside what they are saying it's just nonsensical prattle, and you ask yourself what is TMP trying to achieve with this incentive funding. Are they propagating that or are they interested in propagating rich conversational Maori out in the community".

Three station managers stated that the minimum amount of Maori language spoken on air should be increased; two agreeing on 50% Maori language and one on 80% Maori language. One station manager felt the amount of Maori language spoken on air was not as important as the overall sound that attracts listeners.

"We need to make the station attractive. The language doesn't really matter, it's what the station sounds like. To play dance music, blues, and then go into a big lump of Maori all squeezed together and then back to normal sort of programming we don't think is very good because previously we used to mix with waiata, three or four songs every hour and it was mixed right through out the day and night. We don't have a problem with the content. Our audience is very young and amongst that younger age group there are not that many fluent speakers. It is very difficult. Either we aim at a very small market of fluent speakers which is not a commercial proposition in which case TMP need to fund

us to do it, or we are required to get money from somewhere else. So we have to try and reach this happy medium”.

Two managers remarked on difficulties experienced with the ten-minute blocks. Both were commenting that the ten-minute regimen interferes with their freedom as a broadcaster in programming.

Participants were then asked if they experienced any difficulties in meeting the 30% Maori language content quota required by Te Mangai Paho. Five station managers stated that they have experienced difficulties, ten station managers stated they have not.

Of the difficulties identified, three related to the ten-minute blocks and station difficulties in ensuring the Maori was continuous within that ten-minute period. One participant made the remark that the content quota amount they have agreed upon with Te Mangai Paho suffers from difficulties when they switch over to other radio stations and find they fall below their quota minimum. One station manager noted that their problems stem from technical difficulties and an incompatibility of their automation programme with other stations' automation software. One station manager suggests a lack of consultation as the cause of their current difficulties.

“They hide their heads in the sand in Wellington and become a great bureaucracy which measures coldly the level of language on each station but it forgets about “te wairua o te reo me nga tikanga” (the soul of the language and culture) and that is the thing that really annoys a lot of us is that we can't afford to be that way because we are in contact with these people all the time. When you are rung up on the phone and told coldly that your Maori language content doesn't match up and the criteria is quite unclear you start to get a bit annoyed. There are a few stations around who are so frightened of losing funding that they will not question some of the processes that have been put into place but they need to be questioned because they are unilateral and they are done without consultation”.

When asked how station managers have been able to overcome the difficulties with content quota, one participant commented:

“Rescheduling/new programming/split programme - that’s how it’s overcome. I am making sure the announcers are sticking to that 10-minute block. It’s not a problem, it’s just that it’s not good radio. The other problem is that the amount of Maori music totally in Te Reo is not that great and the music rotates very quick which again is not good radio”.

6.1.5 Staffing

The first question in this section asked station managers to provide the number of total staff they had working at the station. Next, they were asked how many of their staff had on-air duties and how many of their staff were full-time, part-time or volunteer. Finally, they were asked to count how many of their staff with on-air duties spoke primarily Maori language when announcing. The following table provides the results to all these questions (N=15).

Table Five: Staffing breakdown per station

Total staff	On-air duties	Full-time	Part-time	Volunteer	Maori on-air
6	5	2	4	0	1
12	7	10	2	0	7
14	12	5	9	0	14
15	3	3	0	12	3
9	6	4	5	0	4
7	7	5	2	0	7
14	11	3	11	0	1
8	7	1	7	0	5
5	2	5	0	0	0
13	10	6	1	6	3
10	6	6	4	0	2
18	19	6	12	0	0
7	6	7	0	0	3
4	4	2	1	1	2
18	4	6	11	1	1

Station managers were then asked if they encountered any difficulty in attracting experienced personnel to their station. Nine station managers felt they had come across problems, five station managers stated they had not.

Of the nine station managers who identified they had had problems with attracting personnel, six stated unattractive salary packages as the main cause of the problem. One stated that recruitment was difficult, as iwi radio stations do not provide career paths to staff, one commented that their problems stem from their geographic isolation and economically depressed location. The final comment was from one station manager who found it difficult to find people who could speak Maori fluently.

The station managers were asked how they had been able to, if at all, overcome their problems with recruitment of experienced personnel. One response was to upskill locals, another headhunted staff from other stations, a third comment was to increase the salaries for main positions on-air and teaming industry experienced staff with non-experienced. One station manager stated that although problems had occurred they were not major difficulties as their staff turnover rate was very low. One station manager stated two reasons for their station being unable to overcome this problem of recruitment. First, the stations cannot provide attractive salary packages and therefore qualified staff tend to seek work elsewhere. Second, policies and criteria change so often that the station is unable to plan for the long-term.

Two station managers stated they had experienced difficulties in retaining staff. The remaining stations (13), stated they had not. Of the two station managers who had problems, one felt it was because of the low wages, the other believed it was due to “frustration with the ongoing politics of Maori radio”.

6.1.6 Training

The next section of the questionnaire asked station managers whether staff had received broadcasting training and what were the present training needs.

Eleven station managers stated that their staff had received training in broadcasting. Four station managers stated their staff had not. (It should also be noted that two of the

four station managers who stated their staff had not received training also expressed the fact that a number of their staff were from the radio industry and had received training prior to being employed in iwi radio). The following tabulates the types of training and the number of stations whose staff has received training in that area.

Table Six: Types of training received by staff

Types of Training	Number of stations
Production	4
Voicing	2
Maori language	4
Management	2
Administration	2
Announcing	4
Media Journalism	2
Archival	1
Copywriting	1

When asked if the station managers had difficulties in planning staff training, seven confirmed they did have problems, seven stated they did not and one station manager declined to answer. The cost of training accounted for four station managers' problems. Five station managers stated that the time away from the station was another barrier. One manager responded that training was limited, as they were unable to replace staff when away on a training course.

The questionnaire then asked station managers to indicate at what structural or organisational level they thought staff training programmes should be carried out. The majority consensus (12) was for training to be conducted by station, i.e. trainers going to each station individually. One manager felt it could be done nationally with a single venue, and another manager felt training should be conducted by station and regionally. The final response was for training by all three, station, region and national levels.

When asked whom the station managers thought should pay for training programmes, Te Mangai Paho was identified as the preferred choice (12, 80%). Of the three remaining participants, one chose the iwi radio stations themselves, one chose the Government and one opted for training institutions.

The questionnaire then asked station managers if they would be prepared to contribute to the expense of the training (the examples given as to the possible forms of assistance included accommodating and feeding the trainers). All station managers stated they were prepared to provide some funding for training.

The areas in which the station managers would like to see specific training programmes are identified in the following table (one participant did not provide details).

**Table Seven: Types of training programmes required by
number of station**

Type of training required	Number of stations requiring the training
Managerial	8
Announcing	8
Accounting	7
Maori Language	6
Production	4
Administration	3
Monitoring	2
Technical skills	2
Copywriting	1
Interviewing	1
Scheduling	1
Accountability	1
Computer skills	1

6.1.7 Facilities

Thirteen (87%) of the fifteen station managers interviewed found limitations with their present equipment and/or accommodation. Two station managers were satisfied with their current situation.

Table Eight: Types of difficulties being experienced by iwi radio stations

Types of problems encountered	Number of stations experiencing the problem
Accommodation	8
Transmitter coverage	6
Broadcasting studio	2
CODAmation	2
DALET training	1
Commercial minidisks	1
Maori language training	1
New Lines in (Telephone)	1
Software capability	1
Furniture	1
Remote transmitter	1

Two of the eight stations that are limited by their accommodation have attempted to overcome this problem. One station has asked the landlord to extend the building, the other station is presently looking to purchase their own building and increase their autonomy. One of the six stations having problems with their transmitter coverage is seeking to change the location of the transmitter to increase the area receiving their signal. One of the two stations having problems with their CODAmation software has asked the manufacturer for an upgrade to allow the station to have better production potential.

While thirteen participants identified limitations, only one station manager confirmed that it affected on-air service. The station was one of eight who had accommodation restrictions. The constraint was primarily one of growth of human resources and equipment. Six station managers said their limitations had no effect on the on-air presentation and eight station managers declined to answer.

6.1.8 General

Station managers were asked the question “what are the fundamental aims that you are trying to achieve with iwi radio?” Six (40%) station managers stated Maori language

promotion was their aim, three (20%) said it was producing quality programmes, one manager saw strengthening iwi identity as their primary goal, and one station manager believed financial viability before everything else was the main objective. One station manager felt that the aim of the station should be accessibility for all Maori while another saw their station as a communication tool for the iwi. One manager commented that their aim was to be the best Maori radio station in the country while one manager stated the aim to be the “economic, educational, spiritual and social and cultural development of our beneficiaries”.

The following table provides a list of the types of assistance station managers felt would help them achieve their goals identified in the question above.

Table Nine: The types of assistance required by iwi radio stations

Types of Assistance required	Number of stations
More funding	6
Professional staff	3
Better equipment	2
Another transmitter	2
Bulk funding	1
Greater community support	1
Simulcast AM & FM	1
Staff passionate for the job	1
A second station	1
Pakeke (elder) support	1
Accessibility to quality production studios	1
Remote production capability	1

When asked how station managers would know when they had achieved their goals, seven (47%) station managers stated listeners’ support/feedback would provide them with a measure to gauge success. Other means to gauge success included: 100% te reo on-air (1), station autonomy (1), when broadcasts meet internal monitors (1), management approval (1), survey of audience numbers (1), and survey of Maori radio stations (1).

The next set of questions looked at the funding and policy situation within the current environment. The first question in this series was “are you satisfied with the present way in which iwi radio stations are funded?”

Three station managers stated they were satisfied with the current funding arrangement. Eleven (73%) station managers stated they were not. One participant declined to comment.

Several comments were provided from the eleven (73%) station managers who stated they were not satisfied. Three comments related to dissatisfaction with the level of funding. Incentive funding was another issue raised by two managers.

“I am happy to get what I get from TMP, but I am talking about myself and how they measure all that incentive funding, how do they measure stations get this and other stations get that. I felt that if it was so easy to fund programmes who just get programmes off Ruia Mai while I spend all my time putting together programmes, you just felt, well what am I doing here. They can pull it off Starnet”.

Two station managers provided similar opinions on why this dissatisfaction with Te Mangai Paho exists.

“A lot of the requirements are around programming and there is a big difference between the knowledge of Te Mangai Paho who make the decisions and the broadcasters who implement them. Some policy is against good broadcasting practice. Te Mangai Paho as a separate Maori representative is good as a funding concept but not good as a policy developer and administrator”.

“Basically we have got people who are running TMP and governing funds to iwi radio broadcasters and they are not broadcasters themselves. So they have no appreciation of exactly what’s out there and how to put it together”.

The second question in this series was “are you satisfied with the present way in which the policies governing Iwi radio are developed and administered?”

The majority (80%) of station managers were not satisfied with policy administration. Two station managers were satisfied and one participant chose not to comment.

Participants were then asked what type of arrangements would they prefer for the development of policy. Eight (53%) station managers replied consultation with station managers as an important means of improving present dissatisfaction with the ways policy is currently being developed and administered.

Station managers were next asked if their Licence Holder (iwi trust board) had ever intervened in their programming on air in the past. Five station managers confirmed licence holder intervention (four participants noting that the intervention had proven beneficial for the station), ten participants stating their licence holder had never intervened.

The final question asked station managers if they thought there was need for a national Maori Board/Commission/Agency to lead Maori Broadcasting. Twelve (80%) replied they thought there was a need. One station manager believed there was not, and two participants declined to comment.

Station managers were then asked to comment on how a national Maori board could assist iwi radio and how could it be developed. Two station managers felt the present Maori Radio Industry Commission (voted in by Maori broadcasters) was a good template to work from. Another participant responded that a recent Maori Radio Network, which is presently being established to provide an advertising network, could be an appropriate structure for a national body.

Two participants commented that the national body should be made up of people who have experience within the industry. The final comment suggested two possible arrangements.

“There is a need for two organisations actually. There is a need for a group to operate at the political level, at the policy level where they are constantly advising TMP and the government on the development of legislation and of policy. And there is a second need for a group like a National Maori Radio Network that we are trying to set up that works at a operational level to provide the kind of benefits that different franchises around the country enjoy”.

6.2 Discussion

Overall, iwi radio stations are able to fulfil their contractual obligations to Te Mangai Paho. However, the findings of the questionnaire suggest that iwi radio stations do experience several difficulties in their operation. A number of these problems relate to the level of funding stations receive while other problems are organisational and look to inadequacies within the radio station and within the Maori radio broadcasting infrastructure.

6.2.1 The issue of funding

Maori radio stations are heavily reliant upon Te Mangai Paho funding for their continued survival. Advertising does not generally contribute a great deal and while stations remain dependent upon Te Mangai Paho funding they are also obligated to fulfil funding requirements.

There are several problems with this reliance upon Te Mangai Paho funding. First, by becoming increasingly reliant upon TMP funding for survival, the Maori radio station’s very existence is tied into a government funding agency whose own fund is limited and open to the whims of political pressure, Government spending and direction of community opinion. While security of funding is guaranteed for TMP for the short-term, long-term predictions remain uncertain.

Second, the more stations become reliant solely upon Te Mangai Paho funding, the less money there is in total to divide between stations. For example, the incentive funding scheme is a limited fund. Should all radio stations choose to produce 100% Maori language programming then this finite amount will be divided between 20 radio stations resulting in a smaller pool for everyone concerned.

It is obvious that Te Mangai Paho policy directives have had an impact on the programming freedom of the stations. This is not to say all stations oppose TMP policy, indeed many station managers have welcomed the increased emphasis on the promotion of the language for example. However, several station managers have voiced their concern over the likelihood of lost advertising as a result of increased usage of Maori language on-air. As a result of lost revenue, stations tend to rely more and more upon the incentive fund to generate revenue.

6.2.2 The problems with training

Maori radio stations have all agreed that there was a need for some form of content quota measurement to ensure that Maori language was spoken on-air. However, the degree to which each station takes in promoting the Maori language on-air differs substantially between the minimum 30% and maximum 100%.

It is likely that difficulties with broadcasting in the Maori language, and indeed broadcasting in general, will continue for many Maori radio stations, for the short term at least. Two issues are relevant. The first is a lack of industry training in broadcasting in the Maori language. The other lies in the difficulties stations have in retaining and attracting qualified personnel.

While it could be argued that there is a wide variety of training programmes on offer through, for example, the Film and Electronic Media Industry Training Organisation (FAEM ITO), the suitability and affordability of these programmes to Maori radio programming needs remains in question.

Indeed, research conducted by Jeffries in June 1998 on the training needs of Maori radio stations pointed to this very fact. Other similarities that this research has with Jeffries (1998) findings included stations suffering from a lack of overall training. While stations were interested in training opportunities for their staff, the preference was for training to be delivered regionally rather than nationally due to financial constraints. Further, short courses were preferred over long courses as stations were unable to release staff for extended periods. Stations were also found to be suffering from 'structural problems' including; limited funding, small audiences, and limited advertising opportunities, (Jefferies, 1998).

Importantly, training for Maori broadcasters must be initiated at an early stage and be part of a progressive plan - a strategy that takes into account and encourages staff promotion. This is important, as staff retention within the industry is poor. Problems with retention are partly explained by the loss of trained personnel to better paid employment within the mainstream industry. But it is also exacerbated by the lack of formalised staff development plans that can provide workers with career opportunities.

Similarly, Maori radio stations have great difficulty in attracting qualified personnel who combine two important elements - people who are versed in te reo Maori and people who have journalistic and broadcasting experience. Again, this is tied to the funding issue. Radio stations simply do not have the funding necessary to offer attractive salary packages. There are certainly people at present within the industry who are dedicated and do possess many of the skills that are needed. However, unless training and advancement within the industry is encouraged and rewarded, it is unlikely qualified staff will be attracted to or retained within the industry.

6.2.3 Monitoring quantity and quality

There is also the issue of setting industry standards for the language where monitoring can measure both quantity and quality against some agreed upon criteria. Arguments for and against what should be monitored and who should monitor vary. Many radio stations consider the monitoring of Maori language quality something they should conduct themselves. Indeed, it is sensible and good business practice that stations monitor themselves and set themselves quality benchmarks. There is also the Board of Trustees who have a role as kaitiaki (guardian) for their community and must also play a part in ensuring language competency. TMP tend to focus on quantity and is unlikely to develop quality standards unless given the statutory mandate and increased funding to achieve this task. Te Whakaruruhau is another key player as a representative for iwi radio stations. There is also the Maori Language Commission who has yet to play a significant part. As with training, there appears to be little co-ordination between parties. All have a vested interest in the promotion of the language and culture, but their roles are not tied to a single strategic plan for the development of Maori language use on-air.

6.2.4 The need for research

There appears to be a lack of valid audience research conducted by iwi radio stations. Maori radio stations, as part of their contractual obligations to Te Mangai Paho, are expected to research their listening audience. However, several stations have not conducted recent research and as a result may rely upon old research findings from which to forecast listening projections.

It is important for stations to become more proficient in research for their own welfare as well as for the benefit of the potential and actual listening audience. Several stations identified using outside research teams to conduct surveys. It is unknown whether other stations are aware of the services being offered by outside research teams and what the costs are to each station. However, this issue is related to funding as are most of the problems experienced by the stations. Because Maori radio stations work within a limited budget, they cannot afford the cost of research. As a result, they tend to rely heavily on staff collecting data through whatever means is at their disposal, which means it is often anecdotal.

CHAPTER SEVEN

QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS: THEMATIC CONTENT ANALYSIS

7.1 Results: Thematic Content Analysis

The following table provides a frequency of responses for certain themes. It also indicates the direction of these responses as positive, negative or neutral sub-categories.

Table Ten: Significant themes and direction of responses in questionnaire data

Themes	Number of responses	Positive	Negative	Neutral
Te Mangai Paho Management	21	0	19	2
Staffing	12	1	10	1
Training	11	0	6	5
Ten minute blocks	10	0	10	0
Incentive funding	10	0	8	2
Funding (Yearly)	8	0	8	0
Content Quota	8	0	7	1
Maori Music (Waiata)	4	0	4	0
Radio Coverage (Transmission)	3	0	2	1
Automation systems (Software)	2	0	1	1
Monitoring (Maori language)	2	0	0	2
Maori Radio Industry Commission	2	0	0	2
Maori Radio Network	2	0	0	2
Executive Boards (Radio Station)	2	0	2	0
Maori Language (on-air)	1	0	1	0
TOTAL	98	1	78	19

Theme One: Te Mangai Paho.

Participants made twenty-one responses about Te Mangai Paho. The majority of those responses were negative (90%). Negative responses typifying this theme included:

- *“Basically we have got people who are running TMP and governing funds to iwi radio broadcasters and they are not broadcasters themselves. So they have no appreciation of exactly what’s out there and how to put it together”.*
- *“If whoever was organising policy were to consult at least twice a year with all iwi stations we’d be happy. It comes back to knowing what the process is to contribute to the policy. Very few of them contribute to how policy is actually run. There is a lack of consultation”.*
- *“I think people there should be people who work in radio rather than the government elect, that is, people who have worked in radio. How can you know what’s good for the industry if you have never worked in that industry?”.*
- *“I think that people in there want to do the right thing and they have their heart in the right place. I don't think TMP are experienced enough about broadcasting and that’s where I have difficulty. I think that once you have got broadcasting people in there who understand the needs and wants of broadcasters themselves, then we have a much better relationship with TMP. But it has always been known that people in TMP haven’t got that true relationship with broadcasters. This is why many stations have difficulties”.*

Theme Two: Staffing

Participants made twelve responses on the topic of staffing. The majority of those responses were negative (83%). Four station managers stated they found it difficult to attract qualified personnel because they could not afford to offer attractive salary packages. With increased funding it was felt that stations could entice experienced people and also provide better career opportunities for their staff who, at present, were highly committed yet largely unqualified. Negative responses typifying this theme included:

- *“Remuneration is a big thing. Iwi radio stations don’t offer a career path to staff so those that end up working for iwi radio stations certainly aren’t here because of the money. They are usually here because they have a commitment to the kaupapa, which involves their commitment to their hapu and iwi”.*

Theme Three: Training

Participants made eleven responses on the topic of training. Six were negative, five were neutral. Negative responses typifying this theme included:

- *“I think two hundred thousand dollars is not enough to run a radio station for a year and include radio training. For example I had a huge hassle with our people who hold the training portfolio who allocated five hundred dollars only for training a year. It should be a minimum, I believe, of 3,500 dollars a year per person. We should be investing in our own announcers”.*
- *“It’s no use training people into redundant technology. TMP has to look at where current stations are in regard to technology and there needs to be a huge upgrading of technology within those stations and then training will have some value to it. But to me, it’s a pointless exercise in training people in using equipment that is redundant - that does not produce quality on-air shows. The stuff we have got here Radio New Zealand was using 20 years ago despite the introduction of Codamation(CODA) we are still pretty much tied to a manual-based system”.*

Training is a particularly contentious issue. Stations managers all agree that training is an important aspect but one that is generally difficult to manage and finance.

Nonetheless, station managers agree that concessions must be made if it is to be done adequately and are willing to meet some of the costs.

Theme Four: Ten-minute blocks

Station managers had several difficulties with the way in which Te Mangai Paho develop, administer and police the measurement of Maori language and waiata over the airwaves. The most significant issue dealt with ten-minute blocks. In total, ten participants made negative responses towards this theme. Negative responses typifying this theme included:

- *“They claim we are not providing what we said we would. It’s the weekend when we hook up elsewhere which brings us down. When averaged out it’s below. I’d like to know what is pulling us down. Is it in the ten-minute blocks through Ruia Mai? Is there any flexibility to the ten-minute blocks? It has to be exactly ten, not nine and a half. It’s a teething problem. What we are hoping to provide is quality Maori rather than quantity. At the moment we have been focussing on the quantity”.*

- *“There is a problem with the ten-minute blocks. People are relying solely on Maori waiata for those ten-minute blocks. At the end of the day if we are about promoting the Maori language we should not be relying on the waiata to fill those ten-minute blocks”.*
- *“We have huge difficulties with the ten-minute blocks. By imposing that ten minute block on us interferes with our freedom as the broadcaster to develop the programme format and the programme content as we see fit because we are constrained by that ten minute block. Broadcasting is not about ten-minute or twenty-minute blocks it’s about shows that are 3 hours long. To comply with their criteria it interferes with the way in which you can develop a programme format”.*

Theme Five: Incentive Funding

Participants made ten responses on incentive funding. The majority of responses (8) were negative. Negative responses typifying this theme included:

- *“I can’t see the purpose of 30% in base funding if they have an incentive fund. The incentive money should be there for those stations who are really genuine about going for 75% or 80% Maori language so that there is a real incentive there, whereas being 30% into your base funding, I can’t see the point. But we’re not objecting to it because it doesn’t pose us any problems”.*
- *“Te Reo Maori funding incentive is a good idea but I just think that...its got nothing to do with how the stations might contribute to the development of the Maori language in the community. That’s where it really should be focussed on”.*

Theme Six: Funding

Participants made eight responses on funding. All responses were negative. The base funding iwi radio stations receive from Te Mangai Paho was considered by station managers as too little for what was expected. Many station managers cited the cost for the development of their own Maori language programmes and training needs for staff as reasons for increased levels of funding. The argument was also put forward that there were significant differences between what each station received from Te Mangai Paho for their yearly base funding. Historical precedent was proposed as the main reason for this inequality. Negative responses typifying this theme included:

- *“My general dissatisfaction with it is the level. The method of funding, we could be given bigger sums of money which would allow us to earn some interest off it or to reinvest it”.*
- *“The Government have looked at and reviewed and consulted but one of the issues I think that need to be looked at is equitable funding of iwi stations. We know that there are still two or three radio stations that receive two or three times more than we do and yet they do no more than what we do. So there is within the funding an inequitable distribution”.*
- *“I still want to know how TMP got 200,000 dollars. TMP came about because of continued lobbying. I am satisfied with having a separate Maori organisation or identity for Maori radio broadcasting. I am not satisfied with the funding from TMP. I agree with them offering more money for more language because that is their kaupapa. And I agree with that because it has been too willy-nilly prior to this. I know a lot of stations that aren't even reaching that minimum. How they are getting through is beyond me”.*

Theme Seven: Content Quota

Participants made eight responses on the topic of content quota. Seven of the eight responses were negative. Negative responses typifying this theme included:

- *“I think it should be 50% at least as a minimum. Stations are quite lazy to go out and find fluent speakers in Maori”.*
- *“(The funding) should be 80%. The vision was that Maori stations should improve the language. I have real difficulty in Maori people living in those areas and only hearing 30% te reo. If it is in a dead hour, if it's running from 1 am to 5 pm in the morning they are virtually not getting any te reo. We have no desire to promote English”.*
- *“TMP will only measure the amount of Maori language. I'm not too sure if they are counting Maori instrumentals as part of our Maori language quota too. Say we doing an hour from two till three, we have a situation where we have got say 58 minutes worth of programme. Now to take us up to the three o'clock we put an instrumental in there we don't know whether that two minutes has been counted as part of the Maori language quota because there is no music there. One of the things you do not do as a broadcaster is you do not cut a song off half way especially Maori songs, you do not carry a quota of the song into a new hour”.*

- *“We should all be given a crack at being a national Maori news provider. We should all be having a go at it. I don’t think that just by funding one national provider. I am happy with TMP is providing funds, I think the restrictions should be more strict. If we keep on doing 30% we are not going to get anywhere. We have to force the issue. Why fund a station when it is only going to give you 30%”.*

Other issues also arose in the course of the research and while not as significant as the themes already mentioned (in regard to number of responses), these are still important issues to discuss.

Theme Eight: Maori Music (Waiata)

There was some concern by station managers that too many stations were relying upon Maori waiata solely to fill those ten-minute periods and whether this was an appropriate way to promote the Maori language. Four responses on Maori music were noted - all four were negative. Typical comments included:

- *“Its not so much difficulties as such as a quality issue. Most stations are just playing music. If you listen to their Maori programming hours they are just playing Maori music and the same music every day and there are problems there too because there is insufficient funds to meet the development of Maori music. The same music plays every day or it’s lacking in quality”.*
- *“The other problem is that the amount of Maori music totally in Te Reo is not that great and the music rotates very quick which again is not good radio”.*

Theme Nine: Radio Coverage

Radio coverage was identified in three passages, two of which spoke on the problems the radio stations have with their signal. In particular, the two station managers were dissatisfied with the fact not all people within their tribal boundaries were able to receive broadcasts from their own radio station.

Theme Ten: Automation systems

Automation systems were identified as the major themes in two passages. One station manager indicating that they have difficulties with the compatibility between their software (CODA) and other stations (DALET).

Theme Eleven: Monitoring

Monitoring arose as an issue for two participants. One respondent felt that people within the industry should monitor radio stations while the other participant argued that Maori radio stations should be monitoring themselves.

Theme Twelve & Thirteen: Maori Radio Industry Commission & Maori Radio Network

Several broadcasters expressed the viewpoint that Te Mangai Paho staff were too detached from the industry in which it develops policy. Many participants called for industry representation on the board to provide broadcasting experience when unilateral decisions were being developed.

Two existing committees were identified by participants as possible templates for a Maori commission. The Maori Radio Industry Commission represents the broadcasting industry and provides industry personnel with a national body from which consultation between the purchaser and providers could occur. Unfortunately, this Commission is underfunded and has not been able to meet on a regular basis.

The other option promoted was the Maori Radio Network. The Network has been developed for the purpose of providing a centralised advertising network for subscribed iwi radio stations. Some station managers viewed this structure as a plausible model for a Maori Commission on broadcasting.

Theme Fourteen: Executive Boards.

Another issue that arose related to the involvement of the radio stations' executive boards in the funding of each radio station. Several station managers did not believe all of the funding for broadcasting was reaching the radio station and was being diverted elsewhere by the executive board. Their responses follow:

- *“The executive deals too much in the operation instead of governance of the radio station and I know that a lot of other radio stations have the same problems”.*
- *“There are controlling boards for the radio stations who are siphoning the funding off into different areas other than broadcasting. This could be a wonderful station if all the money set aside for the radio station came to the radio station. We could be accessible; we could have all these different things. That’s why funding agencies*

like TMP say, “we give them enough money to do these jobs how come they are not being done?” By the time we get to the board they say we haven’t got enough money”.

Theme Fifteen: Maori Language

Finally, one respondent discussed Maori language. Their comment was one of disappointment in the level of Maori language being transmitted on-air by iwi radio stations. They felt that the boards of iwi radio stations need to be more proactive on encouraging the use of the Maori language on-air.

7.2 Discussion

7.2.1 The need for improved consultation

There was evidence from participants that their relationship with Te Mangai Paho was strained, specifically, in Te Mangai Paho’s administration and monitoring of the content quota. As a result of this dissatisfaction with Te Mangai Paho, station managers have become highly critical of Te Mangai Paho personnel, citing their lack of industry experience as the cause for many of the present difficulties stations are now encountering.

It could be argued that many of the problems experienced by broadcasters are, to some degree, a result of poor communication between the purchaser and the providers. For example, many station managers were initially confused over what constituted Maori on the airwaves and whether Maori instrumentals could be counted within their ten-minute block as partial fulfilment of their Maori content quota. Several station managers were unaware they could record Maori programmes off the national Maori network (Starnet) and include this into their Te Mangai Paho funded hours as part of their content quota obligations. Participants were also surprised at the stringent nature Te Mangai Paho assumed in their monitoring of broadcasts into ten-minute blocks.

Judging by the number of participant responses indicating a lack of consultation between station managers and Te Mangai Paho, much of this dissatisfaction may be overcome through increased industry involvement, particularly in the development of

new policy. As indicated by some participants, this consultation should come from a dedicated Maori Broadcasting Commission.

7.2.2 Fulfilling content quota

The quality of the Maori language programming on-air has also been brought into question. There has been concern over the use of waiata as a means of promoting the Maori language particularly when stations rely heavily on Maori waiata to fulfil content quota requirements and that the number of Maori waiata is small and tends to rotate very quickly. (This is more pronounced with stations who have chosen to broadcast a larger percentage of airtime in the Maori language).

The high reliance on Maori waiata to fulfil content obligations is not a problem in itself for Te Mangai Paho. At the moment Te Mangai Paho's main focus is on providing an increasing quantity of Maori language on-air rather than stipulating the form in which the language must be broadcast. It is up to the programming of the radio station to determine whether interviews, archival recordings, sporting events, or community festivals are used as opposed to songs. Indeed, most stations are involved with the production of regional and national programmes. However, it is often costly and involves a great deal of time to produce.

The issue of music rotation, and to an extent programme production and programme variation, is heavily integrated with difficulties in staffing and training. In many ways it is a vicious cycle. Due to limited funding, stations are often unable to afford qualified broadcasters and as a result they rely upon unqualified yet highly dedicated staff. However, limited funding also means that training for staff is difficult if it is done at all. As has been shown in previous studies of indigenous radio stations, broadcasters prefer a role of disc jockey and steer clear of the more specialised fields, such as journalism, as they are untrained and possibly fear public criticism (Browne, 1996).

7.2.3 Recent developments in the industry

Recent developments have shown that Te Mangai Paho is attempting to rectify some of the problems identified by participants, particularly in regard to funding. Te Mangai Paho is seeking to ensure more equitable funding by providing all stations with \$200,000 annually and allowing stations to compete for further funds through the

incentive-funding scheme. However, not all the spin-offs from this development have been positive. One of the reasons Hone Kaa (Trustee) believed Aotearoa Maori Radio closed was due to a funding cut Te Mangai Paho instigated to bring this station in line with what other iwi radio stations received (Martin, 1998). Moreover, while Te Mangai Paho has attempted to disburse funds equitably, the adequacy of funding overall for iwi radio remains a major issue for station managers.

In an attempt to alleviate some of the pressure and promote better programming, Te Mangai Paho also introduced automation in 1997; the two main systems being CODA or DALET. Automation allows broadcasters to manage programmes through a computer software package. While station managers are pleased with the freedom these systems provide, there are both training and compatibility issues yet to be ironed out. In particular, the skills in operating the systems vary both within and between station staff. Further, due to compatibility problems, not all stations are able to share recordings.

7.2.4 An unexpected complication

The study's results also unearthed a new complication. Two participants identified the distribution and proportion of funds from the executive board to station management as one reason for their production and staffing difficulties. Further scrutiny into this issue through the course of the research has found that steps have been taken by Te Mangai Paho in the past to ensure the appropriate distribution of funds when investigating this complaint. Upon entering discussion with the stations concerned, Te Mangai Paho have been unable to identify any acts of misappropriation or diversion of funds.

CHAPTER EIGHT

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW RESULTS: THEMATIC CONTENT ANALYSIS

8.1 Results: Thematic Content Analysis

The following table provides the frequency of responses for themes collected by in-depth interviewing. It also indicates the direction of these responses into positive, negative or neutral sub-categories.

Table Eleven: Significant themes and direction of responses of in-depth interviews

Themes	Number of responses	Positive	Negative	Neutral
Maori Language (on-air)	17	0	10	7
Te Mangai Paho Management	13	0	10	3
Maori Radio Network	9	3	2	4
Programming on-air	8	0	3	5
Funding (Yearly)	8	1	6	1
National Provider	7	2	5	0
Maori Broadcasting Commission	7	4	0	3
Maori Television	7	1	5	1
Monitoring (Maori language)	7	0	3	4
Government Legislation	6	0	6	0
Training	6	0	3	3
Maori Radio Industry Commission	5	0	1	4
Incentive funding	5	1	3	1
Ten minute blocks	5	2	2	1
Maori Music (Waiata)	4	1	0	3
Executive Boards (Radio Station)	3	2	0	1
Staffing	2	0	2	0
Aotearoa Radio Station	1	0	1	0
Public radio	1	0	0	1
Station research	1	0	0	1
Content Quota	1	0	0	1
TOTAL	123	17	62	44

Theme One: Maori Language

Maori language was the most identified theme within the interviews. Participants made seventeen responses in relation to the Maori language use on-air. Ten responses were negative (59%). Negative responses typifying this theme included:

- *“If Maori radio is going to make a contribution, and it can, to the maintenance and revitalisation of the language, I think the important thing is that radios are another source of language in the homes...To me the importance of Maori radio is that it offers some assistance for those parents to establish a Maori language in their homes.....That, to me, is one of the most important things Maori radio can do and I don't think it has capitalised on that opportunity, on that contribution that it can make”.*
- *Of the Maori language that is spoken, 50% of it might be the language of introducing songs. Or giving the weather report. I think of the rich idiomatic phrases, te reo akiaki, te reo aroha, te reo tohutohu, te reo whakapati. All those sorts of languages that have different idioms and phrases that go with them. Encouraging, giving support, giving directions. The radio has the potential to provide exemplary models of those sorts of language”.*
- *“In some ways stations have taken to it. But people are not thinking about content. They are just talking about the medium that is Maori language that gets you the money. And the percentage – how can we get our percentage up to over thirty percent. Now with incentive funding – how can we get over another percent to get more money. But no one is thinking about the content. So the poor listeners don't always get the most scintillating, well thought out conversation. A lot of times it's a fill”.*
- *“Maori should be free to express their culture and promote their language with what ever means is possible. The reality is you have got to promote the Maori language through English sometimes because 90% of Maori are not fluent speakers of Maori. Now if we are going to turn this around you have got to get across to them and excite them. You are not going to excite them if you are talking in language all the time because they don't understand. There is going to be turn off. So you got to figure out ways to actually excite interest and you need everything at your disposal”.*

- *“Another failing is TMP have been increasingly committed to a language kaupapa. And TMP have increasingly made it an either- or scenario as if there is no room for a Maori radio system with a larger Maori language kaupapa and also a Maori radio system in which English is the medium. And quite clearly the need for New Zealand is for both. Instead of that you have got this sort of blind commitment to the Maori language kaupapa so that the other side of Maori broadcasting is sacrificed. Even if you could justify, which I don't think you can, this absolute commitment to the Maori language radio, it is utterly retarded to be pushing for Maori language development through broadcasting when there has been no studies to show how language is best promoted through broadcasting. And so all that TMP has been doing so far has been pushing quantity, as if somehow quantity is effective in broadcasting. That has not been demonstrated anywhere in the world that I am aware of. I mean what attracts listeners is quality of programmes. And so it really is quite sad that there has been a sort of lop-sided pressure on Maori language without knowing how it might best work”.*

Seven responses (41%) were neutral and related to language quality (4), the funding focus on the language (2) and industry standards for the language (1).

Theme Two: Te Mangai Paho Management

Te Mangai Paho was identified in thirteen passages, ten of which were negative responses. Negative responses typifying this theme included:

- *“Stations never really got a look in to say ‘well, hold on, do you want the money or Starnet?’ There was a chance there when they were renegotiating it but Starnet, what we are actually paying for doesn't do what we want. It's a stupid argument TMP are advancing because they don't give you a say and the rest they are spending on your behalf. And Ruia Mai is another case in point. It was their interpretation of what was needed. No one actually said we want Maori language and people not journalists. And we want you to spend a million a year on it. No one asked for that”.*
- *“I think the bigger issue is that Maori radio has become nervous and frightened of Te Mangai Paho. TMP does play hard ball. And it does get its own way and it has demonstrated that. There aren't many radio stations that will take them on. The*

Maori radio has become fairly pliable and operating a strong and vigorous Maori radio confederation and funding it well to take an activist line is not something that iwi has been prepared to do. In fact they have gone the other way. They have become fairly silent. They are anxious not to jeopardise their funding stream”.

- *“TMP is finding that almost all of the people that they are dealing with have not got a professional training in the professions that make up broadcasting. What is annoying is that this standard does not apply to Pakeha broadcasting. We still have good statute, which creates good control over television New Zealand, the SOE, in terms of its quality and breath of output, and we have even better control and quality standards over radio New Zealand and the national concert programme. None of these experiments of saying that the provision of funding will attract the best people have been applied to Pakeha broadcasting. But they have applied to Maori radio because we have been politically vulnerable. Although there has been resistance, at the end of the day the Government has had to flex their muscle... You just can't have an industry that has an almost 100% turnover in five years and claiming that it is developing a satisfactory level of skill, growth and development”.*
- *“A lot of TMP business is in introducing language broadcasting programming and I would say that for me the most significant quality decisions that they have to make that they have difficulty with are in grappling with the notions of the provision of quality journalism.... And what is missing in TMP are people who have come through a training in the profession of journalism - who have news editor experience and senior journalistic experience. That has led to them designing and imposing systems for Maori radio which treasury and the Crown have liked. They have proposed a stripped out system which is provided for by lay people and community which treasury and other departments explicitly describe as a kind of access radio system where there are no professionals and where there are no people with significant qualifications in journalism. And as you get towards the management end of running good broadcasting, especially the kind of public service broadcasting which the Maori broadcasting act is concerned with, that is the missing skill. The news editorial skill”.*

Theme Three: Maori Radio Network

The Maori Radio Network was identified as the major theme in seven passages. Three responses were positive, two were negative while four were neutral.

The three positive responses all expressed interviewee support for the venture.

- *“I think the Maori Radio Network is a positive move. I don’t know a lot about it. It is an initiative that has been organised by the stations themselves to help them become more self-sufficient. I think that is great. Its great where stations seek initiatives for alternative funding streams than from us”.*

Negative responses typifying this theme included:

- *“The MRN needs to be careful. Iwi radio is the network. This is the network. The new creature is a sales bureau, which is a good idea, but it is a sales bureau. The network needs to be careful about itself and its name as a network. I’d like it to change its name”.*

Theme Four: Programming on-air

Participants made seven responses on incentive funding. Three were negative while four were neutral. Negative responses typifying this theme were:

- *“The problem is how to reach young people and not abandon most of your speakers. If you listen to Kura Kaupapa kids they talk about weird things. Their language is different too and purists get a bit pissed off sometimes by saying they are not saying the words pure anymore. But you have got to get at the kids’ interests so one of the suggestions is getting the tape recorder out and taping them and using it on the air. Rather than looking at it from an adult’s point of view as to what you could do in the studio”.*
- *“There is a tendency in my view to look at current issues being replayed by Pakeha radio stations and to follow that line. I think the uniqueness has not been taken advantage of”.*
- *“One of the key areas to make any language exciting to the listener is to have a range of clear diction, clear dialect, interesting sounds, interesting speech, use of anecdotes and a natural voice, that is, native speakers. The framework is not*

established properly. It is such a powerful medium and I don't think the competence level is high enough. If we are using radio as a medium to promote and to encourage te reo Maori then we should be getting very good broadcast standard high quality language in there. I am of the opinion that it doesn't matter which tribe people are from as long as we have key people in there who can express the language and make it exciting and relevant as well".

Neutral responses included:

- *"It is not too difficult to provide some funding to appropriate groups to be trialing particular programmes. There are a whole bunch of things that are worth a trial and all of them involve attracting and holding listeners. Now that may mean for example that there needs to be trials in bilingual programming. You see, inevitably there are an enormous number of people that are going to tune out if they don't have the language to be attracted and stay with a programme. And so it may be that there is a new style of programme where the language moves in and out of both languages so that you can hold the people who are struggling to stick with an all-Maori diet. All we have had is three years of TMP pulling this quantity business".*
- *"If it got to that stage and they had to downsize the amount everyone got they would trim it off from somewhere else. That's held out as the apple stations are meant to go for. In some way they should have done that a long time ago. The incentive is to get stations to change on-air policies, which is take off a lot of the English on-air and replace it with Maori. But it's still up to Maori to choose how to promote Maori and some of it is to use a mixture of Maori and English. You have got to reward Maori listeners for the efforts they make. We still have yet to develop a type of Maori that has English within it so there is a context for people for learning the language".*
- *"I think we need to have room for a variety of different approaches. I think it is probably wrong to think that you can learn Maori over the radio. Or someone can learn Maori by just doing a course. I think there is probably a number of important ingredients that go into people being a successful Maori language learner. One of those ingredients could be the radio in that the radio provides linguistic input. How do you make that linguistic radio comprehensible to the listeners - to the learners of the language. And that is where I think a variety of approaches would come in.*

Another approach is that there is some English input. But I think that is only one focus for Maori language. The other focus is on entertaining. I wouldn't like to see all of Maori radio put into learning and teaching the language”.

Theme Five: Funding (Yearly)

Participants made eight responses on the topic of base funding. The majority of those responses were negative (75%). Negative responses typifying this theme included:

- *“There lies the real problem with Maori radio. One, they are underfunded. So it is difficult for them to attract and pay people who have the skills and ability to put programmes together that are entertaining, informative and educational all in one. So what we are getting are people who have energy and enthusiasm but perhaps are lacking the skills sometimes in looking at how to put things into a attractive package”.*
- *“I know that \$200,000 is not enough. I don't work for the station because the station can't afford my wage. I believe the station is only ten percent as good as it could be. We are only scratching the surface. I think we are delivering what we can. If there was the financial inducement there to attract fluent speakers, creative people who have been attracted into other fields, I believe our stations could be producing much better than they do at present. I think all our stations are second rate for that reason. It's dollars to buy in material. We know that human resources are the greatest expender of money in organisations. Maori radio is not a career choice, as it does not have the money to attract. If the financial inducement was there you could create the infrastructure”.*
- *“I think the big limitation is the putea from the government. I don't want to go down the road of advertising because I really believe that compromises the kaupapa. Thrashing the airwaves with advertisements. We consciously are anti-smoking, we don't let any booze ads go on our station. We like to think that we are here to be an exemplar. We are promoting positive messages. We don't want to be caught up in that whole commercial economy. As long as it was totally in te reo and the products we don't object to. We are very aware of the health message. We want good wholesome whanau wide radio in te reo Maori. Our main limitation is funding as well as that it is hard to get good speakers of te reo Maori and that is why it is all so urgent.*

- *“We are ten years down the track and there is more or less no difference. We have said things time and time again and we are still on \$200,000. In the end it’s a money thing. Its how much money is going to be available for us to deliver the services. We are sick of sending in submissions. They aren’t any different from year to year. Things are just getting glossed over. We are being ignored. That’s why people get sick of providing responses. It’s quite lengthy. We put a lot of thought into these things and a lot of time to respond and then it’s a waste of time”.*

Theme Six: National Provider

Participants made eleven responses on the topic of a national provider. Five were negative, two were positive. Negative responses typifying this theme included:

- *“The first thing is that it is a cop-out. It’s trying to sort of make one radio station and if you can’t get it then too bad. The other thing is that it creates a one level elitist type language. We should be looking for at least ten very good Maori radio stations not just one. Radio Aotearoa had some very good Maori announcers”.*
- *“Aotearoa was meant to do that job in 1989. Ten years ago. After six years in existence, in 1994-95, Aotearoa moved to a Western model. Had new management and new philosophy and had decided to become a commercial operation and didn’t do Maori. So Timoti moved with Hiwi to designing Ruia Mai. A national service. The problem is that Ruia Mai has been a part of the move by Te Mangai Paho to create the national Maori radio service but without any qualified people within it”.*
- *“I think there is some rationalisation occurring naturally with stations that are going out of business. The Crown has always proposed that there should be a single Maori radio station – said that Maori will love it and that it will be good and valuable. You have got to remember that Aotearoa radio is the Crown’s preferred single national provider – launched in 1986, had full resources of the state behind it to be a single provider on the basis that it would rationalise. The Crown provided the best equipment to it, it had the full range of talent in Auckland. It received over the decade about 21 million dollars. And recently it closed itself down and the trust liquidated itself. That is a complete absolute waste of effort and a total waste of 21 million dollars of scarce money. That money was poured in there by the rationalising brigade. Who argued that rationalising and operating a single national station would provide strength, better programmes and better long-term*

umbrella. Now, the iwi radio stations despite being strapped and facing significant problems with infrastructure looks to me like its in no danger at all of closing down”.

Positive responses typifying this theme included:

- *There could be an option where all of those programmes that are broadcast nationally from a range of different providers are issued through one broadcast schedule. You still achieve the same thing. The best of all iwi radio stations could be broadcast from a national provider with very little extra cost. Then the best of Maori language can be heard and you still maintain local input into radio.*
- *I have a lot of sympathy for Timoti Karetu’s point that we have too many radio stations. In some ways it may be better to cut them down. If you cut them in half it may be possible to look at more funding and a better quality of product.*

Theme Seven: Maori Broadcasting Commission

Participants made seven responses on the potential for a Maori Broadcasting Commission. The majority of responses (58%) were positive. Positive responses typifying this theme included:

- *“The big absence all through this decade and beyond that is the absence of something similar to a Maori media authority. Some organisation that represents Maori broadcasting expertise and is accountable back to and responsible to Maori so that it is calling the shots on the shaping on broadcasting. Because it really needs to be shaped according to Maori interests and Maori needs. And there has been no and is still no Maori structure that’s called the shots. It’s been shaped by the Ministry of Commerce which has been substantially deficient in Maori or broadcasting expertise. And its been shaped by Te Mangai Paho which was set up to be a funding agency but it has in fact exceeded that authority hugely just as NZ On Air did initially in the decade before Te Mangai Paho came”.*
- *“The receipt of funding and structures and personnel is all a bit of a red-herring. What we need is to establish a new Maori broadcasting act which removes Ministries and Crown agencies from the design job in broadcasting. They shouldn’t be having anything to do with Maori radio and television and with journalism. You*

don't have civil servants like Timoti Karetu running around picking and choosing news people. You set up decent structures under decent legislation which forever locates all control in the hands of broadcasters and journalists and senior editors who have got clear guidelines and are accountable to the broadcasting act. At the moment the field has been taken over by the civil servants who have got no role being out there picking and choosing. They should be called on once in a decade to give advice on the act".

- *"I think we have come to a time where the money that is given for kaupapa money needs to be controlled by a Maori organisation. I don't know if it would be much different and how you would establish such a group. I think there is nothing more sure that it would be a variety of opinions as to how money should be spent. At the moment because TMP is a Crown agency the people who work there can always fall back on the government and say we are controlled by the Crown. Once that is devolved to a Maori organisation the protocol and frailties, the government is no longer there to fall back on and we would end up having to work through a variety of opinions and come to a consensus on how that money is going to be spent. That's going to be faced over the next fifteen/twenty years by iwi who are receiving settlement packages. I think one of the gravest challenges for iwi is to retain unity within their iwi because nothing can be more divisive than having a million dollars to spend. I think the same challenges would be there for a Maori broadcasting group. And I think before that happens, possibly a constitutional change at a higher level would need to proceed. So that the devolution of that funding for broadcasting wasn't happening in an ad-hoc piece-meal sort of way but was happening as part of a planned and structured constitutional arrangement for Maori in New Zealand. I think if you said straight away that you were going to set up a Maori group to control Maori broadcasting with no ties with the Crown other than the money comes from the tax take then it may be being set up for failure again if we don't have the mechanism at place at a higher level".*

Theme Eight: Maori Television

Participants made seven responses on Maori television. The majority of responses (71%) were negative. Negative responses typifying this theme included:

- *“TV is such a different medium from radio and you are talking about one centralised channel rather iwi. And so immediately you have got a different kind of problem. And the problem partly relates to just how voracious TV is as a medium when it comes to the dollars to feed its habit. I don’t know what to think about the possibilities. Certainly largely because of Williamson, Commerce and TMP. They blundered ahead with that disastrous Aotearoa television network. And the number of mistakes they made there they may well avoid this time although they are probably hooked enough on the market- forces mentality that again they will seek competitors bidding for the operation. And right from the outset I am uneasy with that because again the reality is there is limited Maori expertise and what’s needed is largely co-ordination and co-operation not competition. And so there is a current market- forces mentality of the government is totally opposed to the reality and needs of Maori broadcasting. They have really got it fundamentally wrong there. The other thing that concerns me a lot is that gain if the commitment is just to Maori language programming, that can serve a purpose and that’s fine. But if it is done at the expense of English language Maori programming which is the programming that stands to reach one hundred percent of New Zealand audience as opposed to ten percent or less of the audience that Maori language programming will reach. The language kaupapa bulldozer the other programming needs aside I think is particularly sad. Its especially sad if English language programmes are sacrificed because that’s the programming that has got a chance to change the mindset to some extent of the politicians, of the power brokers, of the voters”.*
- *“The worrying thing most of all is the talk that radio is fixed. When this was brought up some months back, when the idea first came out. Why are we getting TV when we haven’t fixed up radio and Te Mangai Paho and the Minister said that radio was fine”.*
- *“Maori television will have a huge establishment debt after the first two years. And it will be carried by the private trust who have volunteered themselves to take over the responsibility of the Crown at arm’s length. That establishment debt will land squarely on the shoulders of those individuals who enter the trust. It will be tens of millions of dollars the establishment debt after the first three years”.*
- *“TV is really lucky because that third dimension is there and they can do things radio can’t. Value for money, I think radio has it over TV a thousand times. There is definitely a role for TV. I am just worried about the amount of money kept aside*

for TV and the amount of money not put aside for Maori radio. We operate continually in a mode of hand-to-mouth uncertainty. Funding on an annual basis rather than a tri-annual basis so there is a guaranteed income - guaranteed employment”.

Theme Nine: Monitoring (Maori language)

Monitoring as an issue arose for seven participants. Three responses were negative, while four were neutral. One negative response indicated dissatisfaction with the amount of monitoring being conducted by TMP and the subsequent time spent writing reports. Another comment related to the cost in conducting research and the lack of financial assistance. The final negative comment expressed disappointment with TMP in their monitoring of content quota.

Neutral responses all related to the issue of monitoring quality with expression of a lack of funds to conduct monitoring of the quality of Maori on-air, and discussion on who should conduct monitoring of quality with iwi and Taura Whiri (the Maori Language Commission) as likely candidates.

Theme Ten: Government Legislation/Judgement

Government legislation arose as a theme within six responses. All were negative. Negative responses typifying this theme follow.

- *“One of the really silly decisions, again going back to New Zealand On Air, because it was the political wisdom of the day, was that Maori radio should proceed largely by a process of devolution. Because back at the end of the 1980’s and into 1990 and 1991 the feeling was that iwi should call the shots, they should have the authority. And so NZ On Air opted for the idea of iwi stations. And that was really quite a retarded decision because there was barely enough Maori radio expertise for one station let alone twenty or more”.*
- *“The Crown is trying to limit its responsibility to fund. Specifically Maori broadcasting services will have to fall into criteria in which they are dealing primarily with the language on a programme by programme basis. And it will give the Crown very close control over the funding. It’s a way for the Crown to appear to be doing more for the language within the current parameters of funding without*

increasing funding, especially once they get to a television channel where there is going to be a lot of pressure to do bilingual programming. And they are trying to confine the funding criteria. They may say that New Zealand On-Air should do the general programme. The problem is the closing down of the leeway in the funding criteria”.

- *“Instead of having something that concentrated on the expertise that was available and that was centrally co-ordinated and that then in due course should provide the appropriate tentacles out into the provinces you have had an arse about face. The local stations could and should have followed the first central movements. We have proceeded with governmental direction rather than Maori, and secondly, devolution, when it needed to be centralised”.*

Theme Eleven: Training

Training received attention in six responses, three of which were negative, and three that were neutral.

The three negative responses follow:

- *“One of the things in the training area was training standards. Richard Jeffries' research looked at what stations said they wanted and then looked at what courses were being run from Polytechs. Surprisingly he came to the conclusion that there were heaps of courses out there which Maori stations could send their people to but there wasn't any money to actually pay them to go to the courses. And there wasn't any real agreement amongst the stations on what sort of training was needed. So, this brings up the idea of standards. The group that commissioned the report (FAME) said that what they need to do is put together a pilot training scheme over a two or three year period. And they want to use the standards from journalist training courses, ITO things and some from the radio school as well. Those are standards that have yet to be introduced and need to be introduced and need to be argued about their relevance and the level and those sorts of things. But the way the system runs you actually got to put a course in place first before you can have the argument with the NZQA about the relevance of the units. So that is still to be done”.*

- *“You have got so many different set-ups. So everyone has done their own sort of thing and it’s grown up in differing ways so it comes back to training. It’s quite difficult for people to move from one station to another if you haven’t had quite a bit of experience in getting used to things being wired up in different ways. But it’s unhelpful to have that sort of arrangement. You couldn’t change stations readily or go in and work in production in another station and help them out. It would take you some weeks some times for you to figure out how the station works”.*
- *“In terms of other broad-based standards like Broadcasting Standards in terms of liable, those sorts of things, stations are already meant to be adhering to them now. No one is actually teaching staff what liable and defamation are. It’s a remarkable sort of situation where there aren’t standards in terms of the training for people on air but they are meant to be adhering to ones in terms of their licence or else they wouldn’t be able to stay on air”.*

Neutral responses focussed on TMP’s position in relation to training. An example follows.

- *“There has never been a problem for us to fund projects where people use some of the money for training. The problem is that TMP is not a training organisation so we are not about providing training as such. In a contract situation anybody can provide some of their funds for training.....We monitor what people deliver not what the inputs are. So the price we pay for a product would assume it would include an amount which, if required, would train somebody to enable them to be able to actually make the programme”.*

Theme Twelve: Maori Radio Industry Commission

Five responses were identified for the Maori Radio Industry Commission. One identified as negative, while the remaining four were neutral.

- *“They are all we have got at the moment (Te Whakaruruhau/Maori National Network). Those two things that have come up have been initiatives from within iwi stations. But I’d just say they are very inadequate because if you don’t start from the base, from the manager, from people running the station, from the boards of the stations to know what they are focussed on and what their purpose is. When you get*

them in a bigger group you just get a bigger grouping of uninformed inertia. And that is all I see as actually happening - driven by so many different agendas and there hasn't been any one person who has actually even pulled it in one way themselves and actually unified it.... In some ways something is needed every couple of years because the funding agency has to try and relate to this great big blob of 22 stations. So that's one of the reasons why we keep coming back to something like Te Whakaruruhau because we all get so pissed off at times with government and Te Mangai Paho that they band together against a common enemy. But that is the only commonality they have at times and even then they disagree about things like automation and advertising”.

Neutral responses included:

- *“I suppose they are doing the best they can. There are several points to note. One is that inevitably all they can do is represent not non-Maori radio but Maori radio stations. And there is quite a substantial difference between the two. They are advocates. They have very vested interests. I would argue that it really is unfortunate this has been the sequence of events that we now have 20 odd iwi stations. All of them underfunded. All of them understaffed. All of them without the kind of professionalism, without the training support. Without any of the elements that can make them really successful.....They are desperate to keep alive and to serve their causes as well as they can. And so they certainly getting better at that. Although there has been quite a significant turnover of station managers, there are a number of quite sharp and experienced people at the helm. So Te Whakaruruhau now is more capable of being an advocate of its interests. Its interests aren't necessarily the interests of Maori radio as a whole”.*
- *“Money (for Starnet & Ruia Mai) should go into TMP subsidising a National Maori media organisation. Any Government agency needs a strong Union group of Maori broadcasting to do its job. The weaker the sector is the worse they look because they have got to pick up the tabs for things that aren't happening and they get the criticism. It's worth their while to actually properly resource (a) Te Whakaruruhau. Then they would have some buy-in to make sure it was accountable, because they are funding it, and that actually it was properly resourced and so it was made responsible for its decisions. TMP has got the worst of the worlds at the moment*

where it's not funded, it's an ad-hoc thing that limps together, usually in opposition to TMP. When it comes down to it TMP pays their air-fares to get to a place to get them together because they need to be seen to be consulting. So it makes some sense to actually codify/rationalise it and say a properly resourced two or three person executive which wouldn't have to be full-time, probably only need a full-time secretary for it, which would unite stations to talk about standards, training. But you can't if you have just got an ad-hoc organisation that is voluntary. And then TMP expects it to be something it can bargain with which is so unequal.....They need to have a look at what they are putting their money on. We have got more chance of things being brought together from a National media organisation. There is no place for this to rest”.

Theme Thirteen: Incentive funding

Participants made five responses on the topic of incentive funding. One response was positive, three were negative and the final response was neutral.

The positive response

- *“I am glad the incentive fund is there because we have operated on \$200,000 a year for the last ten years and there is no inflationary figures taken into account. It means that we have got some more money and we can pay our workers at a better rate. For me, that is the best thing. It means we can buy equipment. When you have operated on \$200,000 and potentially have another \$100,000 it's fabulous. I love the fact that it is available. I'm fearful it might be taken away. TMP needs to realise that we have real people in our stations and their involvement and their livelihood is resting on our shoulders. We have got very stable staff. With this additional money we can give them better pay”.*

Negative responses

- *“It's wonderful it's there but I am afraid it might be there now but gone tomorrow. I am just worried that we will become accustomed to spending at this new level and the next minute no it's not there anymore or the amount drops. When I read the latest thing they are talking about \$60,000 per station on average. If all stations did 100% Te Reo Maori they would each get \$60,000. Its like becoming accustomed to*

a new level of spending and then it's gone. I wish they would commit that \$100,000 to us every year and that it's part of the base funding. There should actually be no need for incentive funding. I do criticise some of the other radio stations who are not really on the kaupapa and I suppose that's where they miss out with incentive funding. All that base money was for the language and it disappoints me that some stations don't put their foremost into the maintenance of the language".

- *"I think the incentive fund should all be base funding. We need the incentive fund as base funding in its own right".*

Theme Fourteen: Ten-minute blocks

The issue of ten-minute blocks was identified within five responses, two of which were positive, two negative, and one neutral. The two positive responses made mention of the fact their stations had become used to broadcasting in periods of ten-minutes or more in Maori language and that this was no longer a problem for them. The two negative responses follow:

- *"Te Mangai Paho didn't have an idea as to how to sell this ten-minute block. They should have actually talked about interviews or called them islands of interest. But they didn't. So, it was quite a turn-off. They didn't sell it very well. But what they were trying to do was introduce Maori language into stations that weren't playing Maori language.*
- *"It made the job harder to sell. The ten-minute block was pretty clumsy. It wasn't put into broadcasting language that you would expect if you wanted to convince broadcasters. It wasn't. It was put in policy speak. You either have people employed in TMP with broadcasting expertise or else you realise how thick you are and get someone with broadcasting expertise on contract to sell those sorts of ideas. Well they did neither. Their thinking still is they do not want broadcasting expertise".*

Theme Fifteen: Maori Music (Waiata)

Four responses were noted for Maori music. One was positive while the remaining three were neutral. The positive response identified one of the beneficial spin-offs of Maori radio being the increased number of young songwriters and composers. Neutral

responses generally examined the importance of new forms of Maori music and the need to have quality Maori language used within songs.

Theme Sixteen: Executive Boards (Radio Station)

Participants made three responses on the topic of executive boards. Two responses were positive and mentioned the improved communication between the station and the board. One also mentioned the importance of board members having some broadcasting experience.

Theme Seventeen: Staffing

Staffing was identified in two responses, with both responses being negative.

- *“What you have got is 22 raggedy arse stations that can’t afford proper anything. They are not going to be able to recruit properly, train properly, ensure quality programming. Almost none of the elements of a career structure are there”.*
- *“You have been talking to station managers and I don’t know naturally who the individuals are, but there has been quite a turn-over with station managers so there is the possibility they could be quite limited of the understanding of the possibilities of radio, however committed they might to their particular project”.*

Theme Eighteen: Aotearoa Radio Station

One negative response was identified for the Aotearoa Radio Station. The response signalled the reason for Aotearoa’s demise was the fact they were unable to continue broadcasting when their funding was reduced in line with all other stations.

Theme Nineteen: Public radio

Public radio was identified within one neutral response. This response follows.

- *“Public service is seen in relationship to what a market can’t deliver as if Maori radio has got anything to do with the market. Listeners are your basic block. And listeners are not quite like a market that they can move around and make the market supply things that they are not getting because they don’t know what they are not getting. When Public radio was actually looking at supplying things which are lacking in terms of peoples’ basic ground knowledge of this country. That’s why I’m interested and that’s why I think iwi radio has got a lot to offer but it’s the basic*

knowledge which is not there across the spectrum and iwi radio unfortunately hasn't filled that gap either in terms of "what's New Zealand about New Zealand?" ... The Public radio thing seems to be a code word for non-Maori and non-commercial. And it seems to have to fight all the time against market forces which say "look if you give us the money from the broadcasting fee we can do it cheaply", as if it's all to do with a budget. It's a type of information and I guess entertainment but it doesn't go to the lowest common denominator the whole time like market forces. So it can actually be free to be discerning and look and examine. You need a whole range of skills to do that. Those of the sorts of things that are starting to be lacking in National Radio which is the only Public radio we have actually got in this country. And iwi radio is another smaller example of that public radio but it is public radio for rural people, like Ngati Porou, that's your public radio because you don't get the national radio. So it has to fulfil other functions there and really has to make the link for people there to this country and give them some entertainment and some information and keep them entertained. It's a tricky job. But iwi radio is not being helped by the lack of confidence in public radio at the moment because they are linked. But if you keep going on about budgets and markets and sponsorship and commercials you start getting driven off your track".

Theme Twenty: Station research

Station research was identified in one neutral response that primarily examined the role of the Business Development Board and the Community Task Force as funding avenues to assist in research surveys.

Theme Twenty-One: Content Quota

Finally, content quota was identified within one neutral response. The participant noting that content quota while no longer a problem for them, only becomes a difficulty to manage when broadcasting transmissions from other stations.

8.2 Discussion

8.2.1 The development of Maori language

The Maori language is pivotal to any discussion on the role of Te Mangai Paho and the stations that receive funding from them. It therefore comes as no surprise that this

issue should be the most recurring theme within the interviews. The issues around this theme are varied in topic and diverse in opinion. And while there is no dispute that the protection and revitalisation of the Maori language is crucial, there is also debate on the value of focusing singularly on Maori language quantity when establishing and developing Maori radio broadcasting.

Several issues are important to the debate. The first issue looks at the quality of Maori language broadcast on-air. Other issues of equal importance include whether funding based primarily on the language is actually providing Maori radio broadcasting with quality programming. Another is the need to determine whether the Maori language broadcast on-air actually encourages Maori language speaking in the community. And if so, what is the most profitable medium used to assist learners?

All these questions are, to varying degrees, intrinsically linked - or at least should be considered as intrinsically linked. Maori radio stations are expected to be the exemplars of spoken language on-air in Maori and English and this quality must be reflected in programmes broadcast. The programmes in-turn are expected to be part of a Maori language learning environment that engenders or assists individuals, households and communities to learn or sustain the Maori language.

Therefore, Maori radio broadcasting, while initially established with the revitalisation of Maori language as its primary focus, should now be considered to have 'several primary interests'. The first obviously remains the Maori language. The others relates to quality; quality in relation to programming, information, and entertainment (Walker, 1998).

However, at the moment TMP contribute funding based on language quantity that may or may not be suitable for language promotion and does not identify programming quality. Unfortunately, within this funding environment there is no actual measure taken of the degree to which the language is promoting language use in the listeners. Further, notice is not being taken of the diversity of approaches or the aspects of the language most useful for on-air presentations.

Understandably, this is a difficult task and would require quite costly and time-consuming research, something TMP could ill-afford within its present budget. However, understanding how the promotional qualities of the Maori language broadcast on-air can be best composed to assist language use within the community is important to the revitalisation of the language. Research would need to take into account the various needs of the listeners, the numerous ways by which subjects can be covered, and identifying topics of most interest to listeners. Understanding the consumption habits of listeners and their particular interests would also provide evidence for focusing on Maori language quantity as a proxy measure of language promotion.

For example, research may find that Maori radio broadcasting needs to be a mixture of Maori and English for the present time to reflect the range in ability of Maori language speakers in the community. Indeed, several noted commentators in the field of Maori broadcasting have all made arguments for balanced broadcasting in Maori and English (Fox, 1998; Walker, 1998). The New Zealand Maori Congress and Nga Kaiwhakapumau I Te Reo have defined iwi radio as “radio that uses the Maori language for 51% or higher of the stations/organisation’s output” (Walker, 1998, p.5) acknowledging, at least for the present, the need to provide information in both English and Maori.

The Maori Language Commission should have a vested interest with this research need, as could other organisations such as Te Puni Kokiri and iwi.

8.2.2 A single national provider: past and present

The issue of a single national provider is also a topic of varied opinion. Generally commentators felt there was a need for a national Maori provider established as the highest standard of Maori radio broadcasting with the best announcers, journalists, technicians, equipment and management in the country. There is also agreement that iwi radio should remain. Iwi radio stations are considered as community radio, informing their listeners on issues more related to their region than would a national broadcaster. However, much as in the case of iwi radio, the history of establishing a single national provider in New Zealand has been fraught with difficulty.

Aotearoa radio, launched in 1986 in Auckland (not to be confused with Te Reo o Aotearoa, a mainstream RNZ unit), was the Government's preferred single national provider in the developing stages of Maori radio. It received the best equipment, had the full range of talent in Auckland and was well funded. Aotearoa found it difficult to continue when NZ on Air shifted its focus in 1990, to support iwi radio. In 1994-95, after six years in existence, Aotearoa moved to a more Western model, had new management and a new philosophy and had decided to become a commercial operation that involved little Maori programming (Walker, 1998). In June 1998 Aotearoa radio decided to close. Station personnel cited reduced funding from Te Mangai Paho, which saw annual base funding lower from \$600,000 to \$400,000, to bring it in line with the funding received by every other station, as one reason for its closure. One trustee also noted that the fall-out from ATN causing a drop in advertising revenue as another reason for their demise (Martin, 1998).

Ruia Mai might be considered a more recent example of the difficulties involved in establishing a single national provider, in this case a national Maori news and current affairs provider. Te Mangai Paho funded, Ruia Mai has been ridiculed for their lack of qualified staff, many whom have had little or no broadcasting experience prior to their employment (Marae, 1998). It has also come under criticism for having a poor record of Maori language broadcasting, little experience in delivering Maori language and no experience in delivering news programmes (Seargate, 1996). Complaints have also been made over the quality of journalism and the amount and type of music played throughout broadcasts (Te Maori News, 1996).

The difficulties experienced by Ruia Mai are indicative of the problems experienced by many stations and reflect a system that does little to encourage the development of a Maori broadcasting infrastructure. For example, there is a lack of experienced personnel in the field that has led radio stations to hire inexperienced broadcasters and attempt to upskill them on the job. This becomes difficult as training opportunities are limited and funding is scarce. Kevin Rangi (manager of Aotearoa Radio) believed funding to be the major source of difficulty for Ruia Mai (for example, in 1996 Ruia Mai received \$1200 per broadcast per hour while the NZ National Radio received \$2400). Graham Pryor, general manager of Mai FM, believed the lack of experienced Maori broadcasters to be the most significant issue for Ruia Mai (Te Maori News,

1996). It is likely that they are both correct as funding and staffing are linked. The ability to attract qualified personnel, retain them and provide career structures for their development is intrinsically linked to the station's ability to generate the funds necessary to reward employees.

There is also the issue of Te Mangai Paho's decision at the time of tendering out the contract to go with the offer made by Mai FM rather than Mana Maori Media, the acknowledged flagship of Maori news journalism. This reflects the market driven approach taken by the Crown that has Maori competing against Maori for a product requiring highly skilled professionals but eventuating in contracts being awarded to a station lacking in experience but with the more attractive tender.

8.2.3 The need for journalism training

Even before Maori radio was being set up, largely by a process of devolution through iwi, few could be counted as having the necessary Maori broadcasting and journalism expertise to provide quality radio programming. It was possibly the expectation of the day that the necessary experience would be developed as Maori broadcasting continued. And to some extent that has occurred. However, either through lack of relevant training courses, loss of staff or an inability to attract qualified staff, there continues to be a need for people experienced in the field of journalism. Indeed the prerequisites for a position as a Maori journalist must be a balance of Maori language competency and journalism experience (Te Ua, 1998).

Attempts have been made in the past to provide journalism and broadcasting training appropriate for Maori. In regard to broadcasting, Nga Kaiwhakapumau I Te Reo (the Wellington Maori Language Board) started training young Maori people as early as 1988 (Galloway, 1988). In 1994, thirty trainees completed a three month Whakapakari Maori radio production course headed by Piripi Whaanga (Walker, 1998). There is also the training which occurs within each iwi radio station with estimates that over the last eight years at least 200 Maori people have received training in broadcasting (Walker, 1998). Most notably for journalism, a course was offered at Waiariki Polytech established and designed to reflect a tikanga Maori perspective (Whaanga, 1994). However, at this point in time, little is offered to Maori interested in training in journalism outside of the mainstream journalism courses.

If the Maori news media is to continue and develop then Maori-specific journalism training courses must be established. It is not enough to allow the general training and control of journalism courses to remain in the hands of mainstream media as Maori broadcasting differs from its mainstream media counterpart (Fox, 1992; Saunders, 1996; Whaanga, 1994). For example, Maori media is said to have a dual role, that of educational and informational rather than simply the informational focus of the mainstream media (Stuart, 1995).

The argument for Maori-specific journalism training is further strengthened by experiences overseas. For example, it has been noted in Native American radio that news and information services are the most important aspect in the development of indigenous communications. It is thought an entertainment focus alone will do little to “counter the dominant culture expressed everyday” (Gormack, 1991, p. 17).

However, it is likely that this problem will remain while iwi radio stations continue to find difficulties in identifying training opportunities appropriate to their needs and suffer from funding limitations that hinder their ability to afford training.

8.2.4 A Maori media authority

It has been argued that Maori radio has no vehicle at all “to prepare and promote Maori plans for broadcasting” (Fox, 1998, p.24). For instance, Te Mangai Paho is a funding agency disbursing funds for the primary purpose of promoting the Maori language. It is not set up to represent the views of Maori, nor negotiate between the Crown and Maori, or provide training programmes for Maori radio personnel (Walker, 1998).

To an extent there are organisations that can fulfil some of these responsibilities and have attempted to do so in the past. The Maori Radio Industry Commission (Te Whakaruruhau) represents iwi radio stations and does provide a voice for iwi stations. There is also the newly formed Maori Radio Network. However, it could be argued that their interests may not necessarily always be the interests of Maori Radio as a whole. Additionally, Te Whakaruruhau has, in the past, had difficulty with funding and as a result has not met or consulted as regularly as needed. The Maori Radio Network is still in its formative stages and at the moment its primary focus is in advertising.

Therefore, the major failing in this environment is a body that is well-funded, well-resourced and legitimately represents the views and concerns of Maori involvement in the broadcasting industry. There is no singular body which exists which is part of a consultation process whereby radio industry personnel can air their grievances and advance their opinions on policy being developed by Te Mangai Paho, and where Maori can negotiate directly with the Crown rather than limited by the fiscal and statutory limitations which govern TMP.

8.2.5 Integration

It must also be recognised that radio broadcasting is only one part of the push for Maori language revitalisation. It is unlikely, unless research proves otherwise, that someone will learn to speak Maori by simply listening to the radio. It therefore stands to reason that Maori radio must be aligned with other language initiatives to examine where it sits and how it can assist language promotion. Maori radio must not operate in isolation from other language initiatives but be incorporated into the equation. Moves to investigate the kind of structure that could help support the development of Maori language through broadcasting and co-ordinate that with education is pressing.

CHAPTER NINE

DISCUSSION

9.1 Introduction

In the 60s and 70s the only Maori spoken on the radio occurred on Sunday on the National channel from 6:00pm until 6:10pm. Maori language at secondary school was discouraged through a scaling system that allowed no more than 37% of students to pass, and Maori was not recognised as a national language. Today, there are Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa and Whare Kura, and most communities have the opportunity to tune into a Maori station that broadcasts at least 30% in te reo Maori.

At present there are 20 iwi radio stations, two national Maori news providers, a national network that connects all stations together (StarNet), an iwi station representative body in Te Whakaruruhau and the recently established Maori Radio Network, an advertising agency for Maori. The introduction of computer-generated playlists (CODA/ DALET) assist iwi radio stations in broadcasting longer hours without having to employ more staff. The system also assists in ensuring variety or at least less repetition by allowing announcers to manage playlists more efficiently.

Te Mangai Paho is continually developing and refining its functions, mechanisms and criteria for Maori broadcasting. Working under the regulations of the Broadcasting Act 1989, and within the limitations of its funding, Te Mangai Paho has recently introduced the incentive funding scheme resulting in increased amounts of Maori language spoken on-air.

Unfortunately, while advancements have been made, the potential of iwi radio has not yet been realised. Maori radio stations continue to suffer from problems identified a decade earlier and little progress has been made on developing the necessary infrastructure to establish a well resourced and adequately financed Maori radio broadcasting network.

9.2 Te Mangai Paho Directives

Stations have, in the fulfilment of their contractual obligations, encountered several problems. These have included difficulties with broadcasting in periods of at least ten minutes duration, disagreement over content quota management and contractual and monitoring disputes involving incentive funding. However, these problems have become less noticeable within stations as familiarity with the new responsibilities and processes have improved.

Most radio stations no longer suffer from difficulties with providing Maori language in periods exceeding ten-minutes, or at least to the extent they did when changes to funding were first introduced. Stations though initially dissatisfied with the need to provide quarterly reports have become more familiar with the process. Monitoring by Te Mangai Paho is still an issue for some stations, particularly when stations are unsuccessful in attaining incentive funding, but the majority of stations now understand the process better and are accommodating it.

It could be argued that many of these problems initially arose because of poor implementation. For instance, better consultation with stations may have alleviated some of the confusion station managers had about what could be included within their content quota and what could not. Further, contracts were written in technical and contractual language rather than broadcasting language, which may have led to further misunderstanding and confusion. Understandably, Te Mangai Paho is a funding agency and not a broadcaster and therefore more familiar with the development of policy than understanding the processes of broadcasting. Nevertheless, more appropriate consultation between parties would have undoubtedly overcome many of the misconceptions the station managers held.

The other possible cause for confusion with policy and contractual obligations may be due to the high turnover of radio station personnel, particularly station managers. New staff may not have the familiarity with policies and processes regarding TMP funding, and periods of training may impact upon fulfilling language obligations.

9.3 The Strengths of Iwi Radio

The major strength in iwi radio lies with its people. There are personnel who have been involved with iwi radio from its inception though staff turnover is high and career

prospects limited. There are staff members who are highly qualified and have come from the commercial sector to take up positions with a sacrifice in income. There are staff who have supported iwi radio by providing hours of voluntary assistance. And there are those people who have sought to promote iwi radio through lobbying Government to redress disparities and fulfil Treaty obligations. Maori have invested much in iwi radio over the years and it is testimony to the degree of dedication to the kaupapa of iwi radio that so many remain broadcasting today.

Another strength of iwi radio is the ability of stations to collaborate with educational initiatives. Some stations are linked to Polytechnics while others have close affiliations with Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa and Whare Kura. For example, Radio Kahungunu situated within the Eastern Institute of Technology in Hastings, encourages student participation in their broadcasting. This helps the students become confident in using the language and improves community awareness of language teaching. It also provides the opportunity to hear someone over the radio who may not have the fluency of native speakers but who is attempting to speak the Maori language.

Encouraging students to be involved in the media can have significant benefits for Maori including: heightening interest, sharpening skills, increasing listenership, and eventually increasing the pool of potential media staff (Browne, 1996, p. 91).

Iwi radio is also seeking economic independence or at least seeking to establish better ways of securing other sources of revenue. The establishment of the Maori Radio Network is a step in the right direction. This initiative is Maori controlled, and allows direct negotiation between advertisers and Maori from one centralised agency. Improving the contribution of outside sources of income is a necessity for an industry working within limited funding.

9.4 The Weaknesses of Iwi Radio

We have a significant infrastructure problem in Maori radio with lack of skills and lack of retention of good broadcasters. This results in a generally mediocre programme product, with a dependence on foreign music and music formats (Walker, 1996, p. 2).

As early as 1987 in the paper "A Global Approach to Maori Radio", Whatarangi Winiata outlined the blueprint for regionally based independent stations. The report emphasised the need for local radio based upon rohe, iwi and waka (region, tribe and canoe) and a ten-year progressive development period. Unfortunately, Maori radio did not develop in such a gradual and deliberate way but went from six stations in mid-1990 to 25 in mid-1993 (Browne, 1996, p. 115).

As a result of this rapid growth in iwi radio, increased demands were placed on both the Crown and iwi resources. While it may have been the fastest growing media sector between 1990-93 it lacked the necessary funding to match this expansion which has resulted in administrative, equipment, and personnel problems.

For example, stations have quite diverse opinions on issues of language quantity and quality, rely heavily upon Te Mangai Paho for funding, and for the majority of stations, advertising does not contribute greatly as a source of revenue. The numbers of staff between stations vary, as does the level of technical skill and programming experience. Stations are on one of two computer-generated broadcasting packages (DALET or CODA) and will often have different processes for managing accounts. Many experience difficulties with their accommodation, cannot afford research, and through either geographical isolation or sheer workload stations are unable to share resources as well as they would like. Training for staff was considered necessary but limited. For example, only one staff member from all the participating stations in the present study had received training in media journalism, an area later identified by participants as particularly necessary for the development of this medium.

These are not new issues for iwi radio stations. They are problems that have been part of the industry from as early as 1991 (Ministry of Commerce, 1991; Fox, 1993; Findlay, 1993, Joint Maori/Crown Working Party, 1996). Funding, high staff turnover (including station managers), difficulties in attracting qualified personnel and training are some of the reasons that stations have struggled to overcome these issues.

9.5 Funding the Airwaves

9.5.1 Public funding: Te Mangai Paho

In late 1996, a Joint Maori/Crown working group met to discuss policy surrounding Maori involvement in radio broadcasting (Joint Maori/Crown Working Group, 1996). The group consisted of representatives from the New Zealand Maori Council, the Maori Congress, Nga Kaiwhakapumau I Te Reo Maori, the Maori Women's Welfare League, the Department of Prime Minister & Cabinet, the Ministry of Commerce, Te Puni Kokiri and the Treasury. As a result of the meeting, it was concluded that Maori radio stations were lacking proper resources, both financial and personnel (p. 5). The Joint Maori/Crown Working Party concluded that the adequacy of funding for Maori radio should be reviewed, as should resourcing. The working group sought an average increase of \$500,000 per annum per station with total funding for Maori radio increased from \$10 million to \$20 million.

At present iwi radio stations receive the same level of funding from Te Mangai Paho that they had in 1994 (\$200,000). Taking depreciation into account this amount is considered to be worth \$160,000 by today's standards (Walker, 1998). Te Mangai Paho argues that financially stations are better off. Licence fees, transmission costs, satellite feed (Starnet), and news production (Ruia Mai and Mana Media) are provided to stations without charge, which would normally cost an additional \$92,000. Iwi radio stations can also increase their annual funding by an average of \$60,000 through incentive funding. Nevertheless, this still falls well short of the Joint Maori/Crown Working Group figure of \$500,000. Iwi radio stations and national Maori organisations continue to voice their concern over the lack of realistic funding from the Crown.

It is not a simple case of Te Mangai Paho being able to increase funding to stations because TMP itself works within a limited budget. As a result, should money be increased for incentive funding, then other services such as the national network may suffer. If iwi stations were to receive more funding within the present funding structure then Te Mangai Paho would need to be better resourced. However, on the basis of funding received by Te Mangai Paho in the past, and present economic conditions within New Zealand, this is unlikely to change.

The Courts also appreciate that Crown obligations to the Maori language exist within wider social and political issues that may present limitations on the level of assistance that can be offered. Justice McGechan, in noting the Crown's concern over the financial ramifications of Treaty obligations to the language, made the following statement.

The Treaty, as I have said, is not founded on a bottomless treasury. Under present economic conditions, with widespread social hardship amongst the needy, I am not prepared to rule the Crown must somehow find additional major allocation. The language is at risk, but in that it is not alone (Justice McGechan, Court of Appeal, 1991).

Further, there appears to be a changing Government philosophy moving away from the broadcasting for the public good towards more monetarist ideologies in spending of taxpayer money (Cocker, 1994). The change has come about through the perception that public service broadcasting goes against market forces and therefore is not good use of taxpayer money. Such services are "seen as harbouring an illegitimate special interest, and therefore need to be removed from the roster of public spending as quickly as possible" (Siegler, 1998, p.8). The view of several commentators within the broadcasting industry is that the Crown considers Maori radio as a form of access radio and therefore does not require, or should not expect, to receive equitable levels of funding to those of mainstream commercial stations (Walker, 1998).

9.5.2 Private radio: the commercial opportunities

Commercial radio stations rely on advertising revenue for funding. Advertisers are attracted to stations that can provide evidence of being able to draw large audiences. Iwi radio stations also have the opportunity to attract advertising revenue, though at present, advertising makes a minimal contribution to overall funding for the majority of iwi stations.

In many respects the difficulties with generating advertising revenue are partly because iwi radio is relatively new on the broadcasting scene. Few stations have dedicated marketing staff and may have difficulty identifying, affording or retaining such personnel. Stations may not have opportunity to devote time or capital to promoting their station to potential clients. Additionally, iwi radio exists within a highly

competitive environment whereby commercial stations may be able to provide better value for money, in regard to numbers of listeners, for advertising dollars. It is also likely that several iwi radio stations, due to their relative isolation and therefore limited commercial market, may remain dependent upon public funding for the bulk of their income.

In addition, stations have difficulty in affording audience research. It becomes difficult to attract advertising revenue when stations are unable to present reliable data that determines or predicts audience size.

To some extent difficulties in generating advertising revenue may also exist because few indigenous business enterprises are prosperous. Therefore iwi stations must attract business from non-Maori organisations that may stipulate programming which runs contrary to the philosophy of the station. For example, one station manager interviewed was against advertising the promotion of alcohol or cigarettes, as these are particular health problems for Maori, while another station manager would not promote the advertising of local Taverns for similar reasons.

The fact such sentiments are held by station managers reflects a social conscience on the part of iwi radio which runs contrary to commercial television and radio practise which is “primarily aimed to entertain, deliver audiences to advertisers and manipulate what comes to represent common sense” (Meadows & Morris, 1998, p. 68). It also provides an example of how iwi radio and Maori broadcasting differ from the mainstream. Indigenous values and community issues so important to the health, educational and social welfare of the people are an integral part of station and iwi philosophy.

However, this is not to say that Maori radio stations cannot become commercially viable within the private sector, though it can be at the consequence of loosing a Maori language focus. Mai FM in Auckland is an example of a Maori radio station able to generate considerable advertising revenue because of their ability to attract young urban Maori and non-Maori audiences through music (Brown, 1992). By becoming economically self-sufficient Mai FM were not under any pressure to continue receiving funding from Te Mangai Paho, and with increased criticism over the lack of Maori language spoken on-air, chose to become a commercial station in 1992-3.

9.5.3 Iwi radio: an integral part of iwi development

Iwi also have a part to play in the maintenance of iwi radio. In their responsibility as both kaitiaki (guardian) of the language and as a vehicle for Maori development, tribal committees must also value the opportunity and possibilities open to them through radio broadcasting.

As with advertising, it was found that iwi did not contribute significantly to the funding of the station. Only four participants noted financial contributions with two identifying minimal amounts of 8% and 4% of overall funding coming from iwi. However, while financial support was not often identified, iwi did contribute to the housing of many iwi radio stations and provided furnishings and equipment.

With the increasing number of Treaty settlements and proceeds from Maori fisheries, tribal trust boards are beginning to establish an economic base from which financial stability and self-sufficiency may eventually be achieved – for economic independence from the Crown is argued to be critical for Maori self-determination (Durie, 1998).

Iwi radio is an important part of iwi development and Maori self-determination. It is a vehicle for the dissemination of ideas (Joint Maori/Crown Working Group, 1996) and promotes understanding of the Maori culture to all members of its community (Hemi, 1994). It is the means by which tribal boards can communicate ideas and issues to its members and provides the Maori community an opportunity to discuss, inform and express their own opinions, thoughts, aspirations, disappointment, anger and grief.

Iwi radio has the potential to contribute to iwi development both regionally and nationally by virtue of creating wider understanding and appreciation within the community of the heritage and culture of Maori who reside there. If iwi value their station and view radio broadcasting as a focus for iwi advancement then they too have a role in providing support in its development.

9.6 Recruitment and Retention

The ability to recruit and retain staff is a major issue for iwi radio stations. This problem is closely related to funding. It is difficult for stations to attract qualified

personnel, as they are unable to provide adequate salaries. Furthermore, stations have difficulty retaining trained staff as commercial stations can offer career opportunities which Maori radio as yet cannot.

Of particular concern, although not surprising, was the turnover of station managers. Browne (1996) in his research of five indigenous radio networks found management turnover to be very high with most managers employed for an average duration of only two years. Mindful of the pressure, lack of financial incentives or training opportunities for managers, Walker (1998) argues that managers are the key to iwi radio and the identification and retention of good managers is paramount if iwi radio is to develop.

9.7 The Need for Training

Training has also been a problem for iwi radio stations from inception. Indeed, numerous reports since 1991 have all identified the necessity of training for staff (Ministry of Commerce, 1991; Joint Maori Crown Working Group, 1996, Walker, 1998). Problems with finding the finances to send staff to training programmes has been considerable, as have finding appropriate programmes for staff to attend. There is also the difficulty of having to locate staff to fill-in for those members who are away receiving training. Polytechnics and some stations have offered culturally appropriate training initiatives in the past, though few remain today. Particular reference has been made to the lack of people with journalist experience and Maori language proficiency within the industry.

The Waiariki Polytech in Rotorua offers an example of a culturally appropriate journalism training course. The aim of the course is to train journalism students from a Maori perspective. This training initiative can provide a template and framework on a possible curriculum for future courses in Maori broadcasting.

Te Mangai Paho is unable to provide training to stations though it is able to fund projects where money is used to train staff. However, TMP expect training to be built into each station's broadcasting contracts. Station managers on the other hand, argue that the funding they receive from TMP is inadequate and will often have difficulty finding funds for training staff once all overheads have been met.

9.8 Controlling Maori Broadcasting

The discontent within Maori broadcasters at the level of funding received from Te Mangai Paho could in part be the result of an absence of a Maori media authority or national Maori organisation to lead Maori broadcasting. This discontent has also been exacerbated by the irregular and often ignored input by Maori committees, working groups and submissions into policy. As a result, the Crown and Te Mangai Paho have been at the forefront of the development of Maori radio.

In May 1998, two amendments were proposed to the Broadcasting Act 1989. The first amendment saw the control of Te Mangai Paho “subject to the power of ministerial direction in relation to matters of general government policy” (Ministry of Commerce, 1998, pp.1-2). The second amendment was to clarify the purpose of Te Mangai Paho by changing the wording to of the Act from “for the promotion of Maori language and culture” to “for the promotion of Maori language and its culture” (Ministry of Commerce, 1998, p.1). This amendment in the Broadcasting Act brought the functions of Te Mangai Paho to closer reflect the rulings and judgements of High Court, Court of Appeal, Privy Council and Waitangi Tribunal hearings that specifically identify the Maori language, not broadcasting, as a ‘taonga’.

Te Mangai Paho’s Chief Executive Officer Mike Hollings believes the change in the wording is the result of ‘definitional problems’ in the past. The danger as Mike Hollings’ saw it was in the fact so little Maori was being heard on the airwaves and that the funding was limited. It was therefore necessary to focus efforts on the language rather than enter into debate on whether Rap or Hip-Hop sung in English by Maori musicians was part of the Maori culture. Indeed, this is a valid point considering the amount of Maori language that was being heard over the airwaves 20 years ago.

But it should also be noted that stations have a community focus. Iwi radio stations, some of which provide all the information needs to their respective communities due to their isolation, promote the language but are unable to provide total niche programming in Maori language for fear of totally alienating parts of their community. This is why there are varying amounts of content quota limits managed by stations. There is no question of the commitment to the language and culture from iwi radio stations. The

question lies in the interpretation of how it should be done in each station's respective community.

For instance, while Mai FM has may not be considered 'Maori enough' to be judged a Maori radio station it certainly made an impact on the Auckland radio scene. Indeed, Mai FM captured such a following that Auckland's most powerful radio cartel, the Independent Broadcasting Company (IBC), protested to the Minister of Communication over the inequitable playing field since Mai FM was publicly funded and received a free frequency. Mai FM would argue that contemporary dance music was the way to attract Maori youth, their target audience. They also argued that no other private radio station in Auckland at the time had policy on promoting Maori employment within the radio industry (Brown, 1992).

Browne (1996) when investigating indigenous radio found common criticism levelled at new forms of music. More often criticism came from fears that indigenous forms would "lose power, meaning, and respectability"(p. 69). Indeed, without an appropriate cultural framework from which media production can be designed, indigenous cultures are often left to mimic mainstream styles (Meadows and Morris, 1998). If the argument is taken a step further to include training, then the model of mainstream programming is likely to be the benchmark in the absence of culturally appropriate industry standards and training curriculum.

It is also important that the language is not divorced from the culture in which Maori reside. In many cases this may be urban Maori youth who have a limited understanding of their culture and language and therefore may require quite different types of programming to attract and retain their attention. Mai FM fulfilled such a niche. Moreover, the real concern is that a framework for Maori radio is being created by the Crown that may not be entirely appropriate to the needs of the entire Maori community at this time nor reflect any real consultation in the process of its establishment.

9.9 The Need for Research

Research is in short supply within the industry to draw any conclusions on the make-up of listeners or the effectiveness of broadcasting on language promotion. Audience research, which forms the basis of mainstream audience profiles, is expensive, complex,

and time-consuming. Iwi radio stations are likely to be hesitant about circulating research as well, particularly if it is found they had not reached their intended target group. There is also the fact indigenous broadcasters, especially in the wake of the Aotearoa Television Network experience and the recent closure of Aotearoa Radio in Auckland, do not wish to provide ammunition to critics of Maori broadcasting.

Nonetheless, there is a need for research to continually assess and re-assess iwi radio's place within their community, Maori broadcasting and Maori society. Stations must become more involved in conducting research to better appreciate audience habits. The point could be made that stations that strive for the highest professional standards in their broadcasts may sacrifice the amount of locally produced material. On the other hand, some stations may feel "something is better than nothing" and ensure their listeners have broadcasts in the Maori language to listen to, but may not be producing the most informative, titillating or investigative material. The advantage of research in this situation would be to match audience desires with programming. If the station's audience prefers listening to waiata in Maori and English, or prefer news and current affairs to sport coverage, then programming can be designed to attract and retain listeners.

9.10 A Future Direction

Participants argued that within the broadcasting environment there appeared to be a total absence of a Maori led media authority - an organisation that represented Maori broadcasting expertise, was accountable back to and responsible to Maori, and controlled how Maori broadcasting would be shaped.

However, the call for a Maori Authority is not a new concept. And it should not be forgotten that there have been national Maori organisations that have been advocates for iwi radio and Maori broadcasting in the past, for example, Te Whakaruruhau, Nga Kaiwhakapumau I Te Reo, and the Maori Congress and individuals such as Piripi Walker, Piripi Whaanga and Derek Fox among others.

The importance of establishing a Maori Media Authority with the appropriate expertise, is that such an organisation could negotiate funding between the Crown and Maori, and

assist in the development of career training programmes and promote collaboration between education, health, business and social initiatives.

A Maori Media Authority would not usurp Te Mangai Paho and funding would continue to be received by iwi stations from TMP. The Maori Media Authority would sit independent from Crown agencies and would provide direction within a culturally appropriate framework and guide indigenous media into more productive networking, information gathering and research. Rather than iwi radio being directed by policy through Crown agencies, a Maori organisation would be in control of shaping Maori broadcasting.

The role of such an organisation could also include:

- providing advice to iwi radio stations on management and programming;
- providing development and co-ordination of national radio, television and broadcasting networks;
- investigating entrepreneurial avenues for funding.

Maori must determine the shape of a Maori media authority. It is not the responsibility of the Crown, nor should Maori wait for the Crown to consider the shape of such an organisation. However, establishing a national organisation will be fraught with difficulty. Indeed, the Maori capacity to organise outside of the Crown in the past has been very limited. As Durie (1998) noted:

at present, the exercise of tino rangatiratanga at national and international levels is compromised because there is no Maori body politic. In its absence, policy making for and on behalf of Maori assumed by the Crown, with irregular Maori input and, inevitably, increasing Maori discontent (p. 237).

A Maori Media Authority would primarily focus upon national policy and its role and functions would need to be clearly outlined so that it did not undermine the autonomy of iwi. Obviously, to be a representative agent for Maori, the Maori Media Authority would need collaboration from broadcasting personnel, academic researchers, teachers, and representatives from iwi, national Maori groups and government departments.

An example of such an organisation is the National Indigenous Media Association of Australia (NIMAA). Established in 1993, the NIAMAA represents indigenous media associations' nation-wide. From January 1996, the association launched the Indigenous Radio Service linking 200 indigenous communities and is at the moment investigating the potential of other technologies for indigenous purposes (Meadows & Morris, 1998).

It is important that Maori control the formation of Maori broadcasting in New Zealand, be it Maori broadcasting in English for the purpose of educating the New Zealand community, or Maori broadcasting in te reo Maori, for the purpose of protecting and promoting the indigenous language.

CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSION

10.1 Introduction

The central question in this research was identifying whether iwi radio stations receiving funding from Te Mangai Paho had any difficulties in fulfilling contractual obligations. Further, the research would also attempt to identify where the strengths and weaknesses within iwi radio are located and draw from the results to examine how iwi radio might best serve its community within present constitutional and economic climates.

The methodology has unearthed a number of significant findings. Specifically, the research points to difficulties with funding, staffing and training. While iwi stations on the whole were able to fulfil contractual obligations to Te Mangai Paho, limitations with infrastructure have hindered development.

In general, the results confirm the findings of earlier studies conducted on indigenous radio (Gormack, 1991; Jacka, 1992; Leslie, 1997) and of earlier writings by local commentators on the problems associated with the development of iwi radio (Fox, 1992; Findlay, 1993; Kennedy, 1997). More importantly, the data suggests that the types of difficulties experienced by iwi radio stations in the past continue to feature as concerns.

For example, like public broadcasters in Canada (Leslie, 1997), iwi radio stations suffer from a lack of funding. This lack of funding affects both their training of staff and retention of trained personnel. A theme that echoes the situation in non-commercial Native radio stations in the United States of America (Gormack, 1991).

The present research identified problems with accommodation and a need for increased technical assistance and training for staff. These problems are not new; the same points were made by participants attending four hui in New Zealand in 1991 (Ministry of Commerce).

There are those who believe funding is the main cause for the difficulties experienced within Maori radio and feel increased funding will provide the necessary panacea. Others believe difficulties with training and long-term design issues are the cause of problems rather than funding. They believe difficulties can be overcome through focussing attention on quality (Walker, 1996). This research suggests that iwi radio broadcasting will be better able to develop with improvements in funding, staffing and training and with the establishment of a national body to represent, advocate and advise iwi radio stations, iwi, and the Crown.

10.2 Research limitations

Several limitations with the research project need to be considered. First, problems encountered by the iwi radio stations that took part in the research should not be generalised to iwi radio stations outside the study. Second, interviews were only conducted with station managers. Staff perceptions as well as those of the trustee(s) were not collected. Information gathered from general staff and the listening audience may provide a different perspective in future studies. Third, the information was gathered through means of a semi-structured interview. Future research may use more observational methods to collect data that overcomes the high reliance on the structure of the questionnaire and participant responses for the formation of significant themes.

10.3 Areas of further study

It should be noted that this study provides preliminary data. While the background, literature review and study results provide a substantive information base, further research is required and should examine the perceptions of key informants and policy developers.

The following areas were also unearthed through the research process as suggested topics for future research.

- Investigating audience awareness and consumption habits with the intention of understanding the promotional qualities of radio broadcasting for language.
- Investigating the development of Maori journalism and broadcasting training courses.
- Investigating the appropriateness of mainstream industry programming for Maori.

- Research to investigate how radio broadcasts can be better designed to assist language learning in the classroom and in the home.

10.4 A Final Note

In conducting this study the researcher became aware that considerable debate had been conducted over the years on the difficulties experienced by iwi radio stations. To a great extent what has been uncovered within this study has already been identified or voiced by the many hui and submissions which have marked the development, or lack of development, of iwi radio. However, the fact this report provides substantive evidence that problems have existed within iwi radio for several years is in itself real cause for concern.

It is also worth noting that the Crown is pursuing a similar philosophy with the establishment of the Maori Television channel. Several commentators within this study have noted that such a venture is likely to fail as there is limited Maori expertise and that what is required is greater co-ordination and co-operation rather than the competitive tendering process practised by the Crown. One commentator believed that Maori television would have an establishment debt after the first three years of tens of millions of dollars. In such a case the liability for the establishment debt will land squarely on the shoulders of trust members who, having volunteered themselves, take over the responsibility for the operation of the channel from the Crown.

It is not enough for research to be continually conducted, for working groups to be repeatedly assembled, or for hui to be annually called if the same themes arise as issues in need of attention. It is time for the partners to the Treaty of Waitangi to make genuine inroads into establishing a co-ordinated strategy for Maori language and cultural revitalisation through among other things, the means of radio broadcasting.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

RECOMMENDATIONS

11.1 Short Term Recommendations

This research suggests that in the short term there is a need for the following:

1. That Te Mangai Paho and iwi radio stations review their process of consultation with the aim of improving relations and identifying and clarifying points of misinterpretation or misunderstanding.
2. That Te Mangai Paho, iwi radio stations and iwi collectively explore the possibility of a salary scale that acknowledges and rewards staff on the basis of qualifications and experience to assist in the retention of top-level management and broadcasting personnel.
3. That Te Mangai Paho, iwi radio stations and iwi collectively promote the level of professionalism within Maori radio through supporting training initiatives and investigating how funds might be generated or attracted from entrepreneurial activities or sponsorship.
4. That better data on audience awareness and consumption habits be gathered. Research should be targeted at improving Maori language announcing and improving commercial opportunities through examining ways to attract audiences.

11.2 Long Term Recommendations

This research suggests:

1. That the Maori broadcasting industry, Te Whakaruruhau and iwi begin consultation on the design and establishment of a national Maori Media Authority to represent and consult with the Crown over the shaping of Maori broadcasting in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

2. That the Maori Media Authority consult with the Crown over the appropriateness of present funding arrangements with the intention of promoting a more effective partnership role in decisions regarding its allocation.
3. That the Maori Media Authority review the appropriateness of mainstream industry training courses for Maori broadcasting with the intention of outlining a culturally appropriate curriculum for industry personnel.
4. That the Maori Media Authority reviews the process by which an increased collaboration between education, broadcasting, and health initiatives can be developed.

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APPENDIX ONE
QUESTIONNAIRE

QUESTIONNAIRE:
“The Voice of Iwi Radio in New Zealand”

Researcher:

Grant Allan

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RADIO STATION

1. What year did your radio station first start broadcasting? _____

2. How many hours of local radio programming does your radio station broadcast per day? _____

3. Is your radio station transmitting on an AM or FM frequency or both?
(please tick the relevant box)

AM []
FM []
BOTH []

4. Thinking about how your radio station is funded we would like you to indicate:

(A) whether you receive funding from any of the sources listed below:
and

(B) the percentage of overall funding you receive from the sources noted in (A).

(For example; Te Mangai Paho [] [50%])

	A	B
Te Mangai Paho	[<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>]	[]
Iwi/hapu contributions	[]	[]
Te Puni Kokiri (TPK)	[]	[]
The Business Development Board	[]	[]
The Lotteries Board	[]	[]
Advertising	[]	[]
Voluntary contributions	[]	[]
Programme sponsorship	[]	[]
Organised fundraising	[]	[]
Other: please specify _____	[]	[]
_____	[]	[]

PROGRAMME MIX

- 5. Is the radio station involved with the production of any programmes?** (E.g. in the voicing, recording and assembling, researching, interviewing).

YES []

NO []

If **NO**: please go to question 6.

If **YES**: please indicate which programmes by ticking the relevant box. (You may tick more than one box)

News and current affairs (iwi, hapu, whanau concerns). []

Information (community notices). []

Educational (language teaching and learning). []

Sport. []

Special interests (panui, religious services etc). []

Archival. []

Music. []

Other (Please specify) _____ []

_____ []

_____ []

_____ []

- 6. Do you or your programme staff make a point of listening to other stations to improve broadcasts?**

YES []

NO []

AUDIENCE

7. What is the approximate size of your listening audience? _____
8. Has the size of your listening audience increased, decreased or remained the same since the station began transmitting? (Please tick the box)
- Increased []
- Decreased []
- Remained the same []

9. Do you survey listeners' views and needs?

YES []

NO []

If YES: how is this done?

If NO: how do you gauge consumer satisfaction?

10. Do you have difficulties retaining audience numbers? (e.g. poor signal strength, cost of site)

YES []

NO []

If YES: what difficulties have you experienced?

How, if at all, have you overcome this/these problem?

If **NO**: Why is retaining audience numbers not a problem? _____

MAORI LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

11. What percentage of your broadcast time is in Maori language only?

12. Do you agree with the requirements for 30% Maori language content quotarequired for funding from Te Mangai Paho?

YES []

NO []

If **YES**: go to question 13.

If **NO**: do you think 30% is too high or too low?

TOO HIGH []

TOO LOW []

Why do you feel the quota is too high / too low?

13. Do you experience any difficulty meeting the required 30% Maori language content quota required by Te Mangai Paho?

YES []

NO []

If **YES**: please identify the difficulties you have experienced?

How, if at all, have you overcome these difficulties? _____

If **NO**: why is the 30% content quota requirement not a problem for your radio station?

STAFFING

14. How many staff do you have in total? _____

15. How many of your staff have on-air duties? _____

16. How many of your staff are:

paid full-time []

paid part-time []

volunteer []

17. How many of your staff use the Maori language as their main presentation language on air? _____

18. Have you experienced any difficulty in attracting experienced personnel to your station?

YES []

NO []

If YES: why do you think this difficulty exists?

How, if at all, have you overcome this problem? _____

If **NO**: why is this not a problem for your radio station? _____

- 19. Have you experienced any difficulties in retaining staff within the organisation?**

YES []

NO []

If **NO**: go to question 20.

If **YES**: why do you think this problem exists?

How, if at all, have you coped with this problem? _____

TRAINING

- 20. Has your staff received any training on broadcasting? (e.g. production, voicing, Maori language, sales, management, administration and accounting)**

YES []

NO []

If **NO**: go to question 21.

If **YES**: please specify the type of training _____

21. Do you experience any difficulties in planning staff training?

YES []

NO []

If **NO**: go to question 22.

If **YES**: please specify the types of difficulties experienced.

How, if at all, have you coped with this problem? _____

22. At what level do you think staff training programmes should be carried out?

By station (trainers coming to your station) []

Regionally (trainers coming to your region) []

Nationally []

Other (please specify) []

23. Who, in your opinion, should fund training programmes for iwi radio staff?

24. **Would your radio station be prepared to contribute to the expense of the training? (e.g. accommodating and feeding trainers)**

25. **If specific training programmes are necessary, what should these programmes emphasise? (e.g. managerial, administration, accounting, monitoring).**

FACILITIES

26. **Are there any limitations with the present equipment and accommodation used by your radio station? (eg. broadcasting studio, transmitter, announcers room)**

YES []

NO []

If **NO**: go to question 27.

If **YES**: please specify.

How, if at all, have you overcome these problems?

How, if at all, do these limitations affect the programmes on air?

GENERAL

27. What are the fundamental aims that you are trying to achieve with iwi radio?

28. What would help you to achieve these goals?

29. How would you know when you had achieved those goals?

30. Are you satisfied with the present way in which Iwi radio stations are funded? (Eg. Minister of Communication, Ministry of Commerce, Te Mangai Paho)

YES []

NO []

If YES: go to question 31.

If NO: how should Iwi radio be funded? _____

31. Are you satisfied with the present way in which the policies governing Iwi radio are developed and administered? (E.g. Minister of Communication, Ministry of Commerce, Te Mangai Paho, Licence Holder)

YES []

NO []

If YES: go to question 32.

If NO: what arrangements would you prefer for the development of policy?

32. Has your Licence Holder ever intervened in your programming on air in the past?

YES []

NO []

If **NO**: go to question 33.

If **YES**: how have you dealt with this issues in the past?

Has this intervention proven beneficial?

33. Do you think there is a need for a national Maori Board/Commission /Agency to lead Maori Broadcasting?

YES []

NO []

If **NO**: go to question 34.

If **YES**: how would such a body contribute to the advancement of Iwi radio?

34. Are there any comments you would like to add?

These are all the question I have to ask. Thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire. Would you like a summary of the final report when it is completed?

YES []

NO []

APPENDIX TWO
INFORMATION SHEET

INFORMATION SHEET: “The Voice of Iwi Radio in New Zealand”

Who are the researchers?

Grant Allan is an Assistant Lecturer in the Department of Human Resource Management, College of Business Studies, Massey University. He is of Ngati Whatua and Te Uri-o-Hau descent. He has a Bachelor of Arts degree in psychology and has completed a Diploma in Maori Development. He is at present studying towards a Masters of Philosophy (Business Studies) at Massey University with this study as his thesis topic. The research is being supervised by Prof. Judy McGregor and Prof. Mason Durie and is being funded by Massey University.

Where can the researchers be contacted?

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What is the study about?

The purpose of this study is to (a) examine the level of Maori language and culture broadcast against Te Mangai Paho’s guidelines, and (b) identify the strength and weaknesses of iwi radio. It is important to investigate options on how existing resources and funds may be better targeted to maintain and/or increase services already offered to the community.

What will the participants have to do?

Answer some questions about your organisation. It doesn’t matter if you think you have nothing to contribute, I would still like to talk to you. Interviews can be at your home, workplace or any other venue convenient to you, at a time suitable to you.

How much time will be involved?

The interview should not be any longer than forty-five minutes (45 minutes).

What can the participants expect from the research?

The significance of the study will be its potential in providing a basis for operational and future planning decisions for iwi radio stations, by informing funding bodies, and by contributing to wider societal awareness. Further, it is intended that the study will give direction for future policy development.

If you take part in the study, you have the right to:

1. refuse to answer any particular question
2. decline from having the interview audio taped,
3. ask any further questions about the study that occur to you during your participation,
4. provide information on the understanding that it is completely confidential to the researchers,
5. withdraw from the study at anytime,
6. be given access to a summary of the findings from the study when it is concluded.

APPENDIX THREE
CONSENT FORM

CONSENT FORM: "The Voice of Iwi Radio in New Zealand"

I have read/have had read to me the information sheet for this study and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions about the study have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask more questions at any time.

I understand that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time, and answer any question about the study. I also understand that I have the right to decline from the interview being audio taped. I agree to provide information to the researcher on the understanding that my name will not be used without my permission. *(The information will be used for this research and publications arising from this research project).*

I agree/do not agree to the interview being audio taped. *(Please circle).*

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out on the information sheet.

Written Consent

Signed:.....
Name: (please print)
Date:.....
Address:.....
Phone:..... Fax:.....

Verbal consent

(Fill in section below if only verbal consent is given)

Interviewers signature:.....
Interviewers name: (please print).....
Respondents name:.....
Date:.....

APPENDIX FOUR
CODING INSTRUCTIONS

THE VOICE OF IWI RADIO

Grant Allan

Department of Human Resource Management

College of Business Studies

Massey University

Overview of research

With the recognised commitment by the Government in 1988 to the Maori language, New Zealand on Air was charged with the responsibility of establishing Iwi radio. In 1995, Te Mangai Paho (TMP), The Maori Broadcasting Commission, was given the responsibility of maintaining and funding iwi radio stations.

Te Mangai Paho's purpose "to foster Maori language and Maori culture through quality broadcasting" (Te Mangai Paho, 1994, p.4). Its principal goal; "to promote funding policies and to allocate funds to stimulate the growth and development of Maori language and Maori culture in the broadcasting industry" (p.4).

Iwi radio stations are licensed broadcasters who face no restrictions on the hours of broadcasting, or on the amount of advertising which they may broadcast. The only conditions for the use of the broadcasting licence are that: the primary objective of the radio station is for the promotion of Maori language and culture; and, the primary audience must be a Maori one.

TMP purchase from these 22 radio stations 9 hours of broadcasting per day, of which 30% must be in Maori (162 minutes of Maori language) between 6:00am and midnight. The Maori language broadcast must be in ten-minute blocks to count as part of the 30% time requirement. These hours are Te Mangai Paho funded hours. TMP also provides financial incentives for people to increase the percentage of broadcast time conducted in Maori on air. For each extra hour broadcast in Maori per week the station receives an extra \$110 dollars. For 162 minutes of Maori language a day the stations get 2000,000 dollars per year.

Purpose of present research

The aim of the research is to identify whether a gap exists between the policy directives of Te Mangai Paho and the actual performance of iwi radio stations. Further, the research hopes to describe the types of obstacles which are hindering iwi radios from fulfilling those directives and provide avenues to overcome them.

Role of coders

Fifteen interviews with iwi radio station managers were conducted and the recordings of each interview were transcribed. Coders will be asked to identify and allocate themes within the transcribed discourse into 12 set categories. Coders must then assign the theme to one of two further rankings; positive response or negative response. The information that follows defines the categories and sub-categories, and explains how to code information.

Definitions for primary categories:

- A Funding:** refers to the \$200,000 total funding received by each iwi radio station from Te Mangai Paho per year. Does not include funding for training or staff.
- B Maori Language:** refers to the level, amount or quality of spoken Maori on-air. Does not include reference to ten-minute blocks, incentive funding, Maori waiata (songs) or training.
- C Content Quota:** refers to the TMP purchasing criteria of 30% minimum Maori (162 minutes of Maori language) broadcast between 6:00am and midnight each day.
- D Ten-minute blocks:** to count as part of the 30% time requirement, the Maori language broadcast on-air must be in ten-minute blocks.
- E Incentive Funding:** refers to the funding iwi radio stations receive for every extra hour broadcast in the Maori language per week. This incentive funding is over and above the content quota minimum of 30%. This category does not include reference to content quota, ten-minute blocks or funding.
- F Staffing:** refers to staffing issues within iwi radio stations including staff wages/salaries, staff employment, staff funding and staff working hours. Does not include staff training issues or funding for training.
- G Training:** refers to the training of staff who work within the radio stations, including the station managers themselves. This training may include management, secretarial, announcing, voicing, archival, programming, accounting, copywriting, marketing, advertising etc. Also includes any reference to funding for training.
- H Te Mangai Paho (TMP):** any comment that relates to Te Mangai Paho specifically. Includes reference to TMP policy, TMP staff, TMP administration, TMP structure, & TMP consultation.
- I Radio Frequency Coverage:** refers to radio transmitters, radio coverage, radio frequency (AM or FM) and signal strength. Does not refer to material used on-air.
- J Music (waiata):** refers to Maori music generally, the amount of Maori music available to use on-air and the level of Maori music presently being used on-air.
- K Automation systems:** refers to CODA or DALET, the two forms of programme automation (computer software packages) used by iwi radio stations.
- L Other:** any theme that does not fit within any the above categories is to be placed within this final grouping. Coders are asked to provide a category for the passage as well as assign sub-category rankings of positive, negative or neutral.

Definitions for sub-categories:

The 12 categories used in this thematic content analysis also have sub-categories. The purpose of this further classification is to provide directional cues to the responses being analysed. Following the identification and allotment of passages within the discourse to categories, coders must then assign the category to one of three further rankings; positive response, negative response or neutral.

1. **Positive response:** any response that shows some satisfaction or agreement with the category being mentioned within the discourse.
2. **Negative response:** any response that shows some dissatisfaction or disagreement with the category being mentioned within the discourse.
3. **Neutral:** for any passage which has been classified within a category but which does not indicate a particular opinion or which cannot be confidently defined as positive or negative.

Instructions for using coding sheets:

The coding sheets are divided into three columns. The column on the left indicates the number of each response to be classified. (Please note: the numbering system has no purpose other than identifying one passage from the next). The centre column displays the passage to be analysed. The column to the right displays two boxes in which codes are allocated.

Coders are asked to put the letter that represents each primary category into the first box (e.g. A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L). Coders are asked to place in the second box the number (e.g. 1, 2 or 3) for the sub-category (positive or negative response or neutral).

For example:

1.	The state of Maori radio is continually changing so it is very difficult to conduct staff training...I am unable to provide any training as I just don't have the funds.	[G] [2]
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In the centre we have the passage to analyse. The passage looks at staff training. (It must be reminded that staffing issues and training issues are separate categories). In this instance it is the training aspect which is the primary theme.

To the right is the coding column. As training has been recognised as the major theme it is classified in the first coding box as [G]. Next, the passage is analysed for direction. The response talks about a lack of financial resources to afford the training, a negative response to the issue of training, thus making it a [2] for the sub-category.

Coders please note that the discourse needs to be coded for each theme that features in the passage and the direction of that theme for all responses.

CATEGORIES

<p>A Funding</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Positive response 2. Negative response 3. Neutral 	<p>B Maori Language</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Positive response 2. Negative response 3. Neutral
<p>C Content Quota</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Positive response 2. Negative response 3. Neutral 	<p>D Ten minute blocks</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Positive response 2. Negative response 3. Neutral
<p>E Incentive Funding</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Positive response 2. Negative response 3. Neutral 	<p>F Staffing</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Positive response 2. Negative response 3. Neutral
<p>G Training</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Positive response 2. Negative response 3. Neutral 	<p>H Te Mangai Paho management</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Positive response 2. Negative response 3. Neutral
<p>I Radio Frequency Coverage</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Positive response 2. Negative response 3. Neutral 	<p>J Music (waiata)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Positive response 2. Negative response 3. Neutral
<p>K Automation systems</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Positive response 2. Negative response 3. Neutral 	<p>L Other</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Positive response 2. Negative response 3. Neutral