NEW ZEALAND TELEVISION:
PUBLIC SERVICE & COMMERCIAL TELEVISION

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Total Duration: 123 minutes
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Public Service broadcasting is deemed to be a rather quaint concept in our individualistic and commercial age but is a concept worthy of study in order to understand key concepts in media education. Fragmenting markets and new delivery options challenge the very notion of broadcasting, although, given that people are slow to uptake new technology (as witnessed by the slow final demise of VHS), it will be a while yet before the majority of viewers disappear down the online rabbit hole to shape their own schedules. Until then, informed discussion of the issues and history of public broadcasting, which also serves a social function of a collective experience, will help debate the future and purpose of television.

Public Service broadcasting has its origins with Lord Reith, the first Director General of the BBC in the 1920s and 30s. ‘Reithianism’ is the notion that broadcasting is for the public good and therefore has an emphasis on ‘quality,’ informing and educating as well as entertaining. Commercial television, on the other hand, has an emphasis on entertainment first, in a market-centred approach. One view is to give the public what they should have, and is criticized as being elitist and boring, the other, to give the public what they want as measured by ratings. Detractors of the commercial approach say it ‘dumbs down’ content as broadcasters appeal to the ‘lowest-common-denominator,’ in an attempt to counter viewer boredom and the fear that they will change channels, lose ratings and advertising revenue.

New Zealand television out of necessity quickly became a hybrid of public service and commercial approaches to broadcasting. The financial burden of developing and running a television network in such a small and geographically challenging country meant advertising revenue was needed. Initially, this was limited to only a few nights a week but reached a crescendo in the 1990s, drowning out our living rooms ever since. Some of the costs were also directly levied from viewers who, until 2000, had to pay a public broadcasting fee. Nonetheless, being state owned, and without private competition until 1989, meant that a more public service orientated ethos prevailed. However political forces were always evident in the sometimes uneasy relationship between Government and television. The arrival of private competition with TV3 was well planned for by TVNZ and coincided with the Governments shift in the 80s to neoliberal market orientated policies (Rogernomics). The SOE (State Owned Enterprise) act of 1986 also applied to TVNZ, and meant that it too had to return a profit. With competition that profit was threatened and TVNZ did what it had to do to win the ratings war.

Following this path conflicts with a public service approach and much of this DVD deals with that tension. Pay TV, satellite and digital services, and convergence have fragmented the market and gone are the days when there was only one channel that all of NZ watched. What has not changed is the importance of the medium itself to convey a version of the world to its audience - to inform, educate and entertain New Zealanders.
TELEVISION, IT’S JUST A WASTE OF MONEY

CHTV3 Launch – 1961

**CHTV3 Launch (extract)**

NZBC 1961. Duration 1:10

State television broadcasting in New Zealand commenced in Auckland on June 1st 1960, and one year later in Christchurch and Wellington. Dunedin had to wait until July 1963. Often television staff were recruited from radio, and as the extract attests, presenters were still acclimatising to the medium. Perhaps this presenter had come from children’s radio? “We’re very glad that the boys and girls up in Auckland are remembering us tonight.”

OPENING OF BROADCASTING HOUSE 1963

**Broadcasting House Opening (extract)**

NZBC 1963. Duration 7:57

The Governor General, Brigadier Sir Bernard Fergusson, opens the purpose built, state of the art Broadcasting House and evokes the motto of the institution the NZBC was modeled on, the BBC, “Nation shall speak peace unto nation.” Prime Minister Keith Holyoake sits to his left. In Fergusson’s enlightened speech he gives a brief history of broadcasting and its power but is careful not to buy into the arguments blaming broadcasting (popular culture) for the problems in society.

“The importance for broadcasting and television and their potential for good or evil can’t be disputed, the responsibility of those in charge is enormous. At the same time it is all too easy to make broadcasting and television the scapegoat for all the shortcomings of our society.”

Fergusson also refers to programming conundrums around ‘low’ and ‘high’ cultural content, where there is, “A tug-of-war between those who want rugby and those who want [the composer] Rachmaninov,” and pays tribute to the inventor of television, John Logie Baird.

TV IS JUST A WASTE OF MONEY – 1965

**Survey: The First Five Years of Television (extract)**

NZBC 1965. Duration 1:23

It’ll be lovely. It’ll be gorgeous. We won’t have to go out. We can stay home and be entertained.” Will children stop playing sport? Will families stop talking to each other? Will delinquency increase? That was what New Zealanders worried about with the coming of television. It started very quietly in 1960 screening just two hours a night, two nights a week. Commercials started the next year and by 1963 they were on three nights a week. By 1968 it was estimated that more than 75 percent of New Zealand homes had a TV. And it crushed the movies. Between 1960 and 1966 a third of picture theatres closed as the audience halved. The new medium came with a heavy price tag with the black & white TV sets costing the equivalent of between $5000 and $7000 in today’s dollars. On top of this households had to pay the annual broadcasting licence fee that was the equivalent of $242.84. This extract from a 1965 documentary on the first five years of television uses a Calypso inspired song to explore some of the issues around the medium:

“Mr. general public do you realize that we’ve got a generation of staring eyes, the women never bother about getting housework done, they just sit around gawking at television [….] Videotape may help someone, but is it art, don’t make me laugh.”
VISION OF A WIDER WORLD – 1985  
**Network New Zealand – TVNZ (extract)**

Ian MacKersey Productions 1985. Duration 1:26

Television was, and is, an important medium, and in this extract the narrator refers to its educational benefits and its ability to show a vision of a wider world to children in the isolated Urewera’s. Because of reception problems the family built a television viewing camp high on a hill in order to receive the signal for both TV1 and TV2. The television viewing camp was not unlike other ‘television clubs’ that were set up in the 1960s in provincial areas outside the transmission reach of the four main centres.

GOODNIGHT KIWI

Television New Zealand. Duration 1:04

In the days before 24-hour television, transmission actually closed down for the night resuming again around lunchtime. The animated Goodnight Kiwi had a haunting organ version of Hine E Hine over images of a Kiwi and his cat shutting down the station for the night and going to bed in the transmission dish! After this there was a friendly voice from a continuity announcer reminding viewers to switch off appliances such as heaters.

STATE CONTROL

Government has always had a hand in television through ownership and regulation. State influence over ‘its’ television service fluctuated over the years as television moved from compliant mouth pieces of Government point of view to a critical force for change that reflected a changing society. Each new Government’s different ideologies were also reflected in broadcasting policy and the most far reaching effect of policy on Public Service Television was from Labour in the 1980s, and then National in the 1990s - commercialization and deregulation virtually removed Government from the equation. In the 21st century, the pendulum swung back towards State involvement with the TVNZ Charter, Maori TV and Freeview, but may now be at the peak of its arc.

TV WHEN AND BY WHOM?

**Survey: The First Five Years of Television (extract)**

NZBC 1965. Duration 3:25

In 1950, just as Cuba and Mexico started transmission, the New Zealand Government set up a committee to investigate the viability of television in New Zealand. The Government reasoned that caution and delay were needed because of the enormous cost, and to learn from other countries mistakes. In 1957 a select committee was set up to advise the government. Three years later, on June 1st 1960, Government transmission started. Prior to this, private groups like the Bell Radio Television Corporation transmitted TV in Auckland; providing “forbidden entertainment; under the guise of education material.” Bells success forced the Government, under Prime Minister Nash, to a decision whether to control and plan TV or let the market decide. The result was that:

“The Government is satisfied that it is in the interest of the people of New Zealand, and it is in fact their wish, that television be owned and controlled by the state.”
INDEPENDENT NZBC?

Survey: The First Five Years of Television (extract)

NZBC 1965. Duration 4:45

State owned television in New Zealand has always been accused of being beholden to its master. The shift in 1962 from a broadcasting service to an independent corporation was an attempt to mitigate this criticism. The old broadcasting service, the NZBS, a government department, became a corporation, the NZBC, ‘a theoretically independent body’ in 1962. Although:

“It should comply to any general or special direction given in writing given by the Ministry pursuant to the policy of the Government in relation thereto.”

In 1965, when this documentary was made, the Government had not given any special directions to the NZBC, which was still an uncritical mouthpiece; this was to change later. Furthermore, financial independence was to be an ongoing issue. As the decades went on Government meddling gave way to the invisible hand of the market.

NO MINISTER / INTERVIEWING STYLE

One Turns 40 (extract)

Television New Zealand 2000. Duration 11:00

The late 60s and early 70s saw TV journalists assert their independence rather than accept the status quo. This led to conflict with politicians who thought that because they owned TV they should control it. A shift in interviewing style from subservience to confrontation - asking questions that the interviewee did not like, found resistance with viewers, who initially found it rude but eventually said it was what they wanted. Sean Brown recounts an astounding example of government interference in news when the Minister of Defense, after a ‘fact-finding’ trip to Vietnam, came back of the opinion that the war was being won and that the media’s reporting to the contrary was wrong. He wanted to put this side of the story on the news but was refused. He was however able to give his views on television immediately after the news.

For almost a decade journalists struggled with the confrontational style of Robert Muldoon and this extract includes the classic Simon Walker interview where he is called “A smart aleck interviewer changing the rules of the game half way through.” The late 80s and 90s saw more media savvy politicians trained to make the most of ‘soundbites’ and a medium that changed with deregulation and competition. The Current Affairs show Holmes started in 1989 with an ambush on the American Americas cup skipper, Dennis Conner. Audiences were shocked, but as Holmes says, “By the next day there was no one in New Zealand who didn’t know about the Holmes programme.” He also reflects upon his influence on creating an informal style of television interviewing with an equal measure of controversy and a demand for concise answers.
BALANCED OR BANNED

25 Years of Television: NZBC Presents (extract)
Television New Zealand 1985. Duration 3:45
In this extract Gordon Dryden recounts the time, in 1962, when he conducted the first current affairs interview on New Zealand television. His interview with the Leader of the Opposition was supposed to be ten minutes but was reduced to two because he broke ‘the rules’ by asking political questions. Ian Johnston discusses how it wasn’t until 1966 that they were able to convince the directors and controllers of the NZBC that they really had to investigate political issues.

In 1966 the current affairs show Compass did a story on the claims that the impending change to decimal currency (pounds to dollars in 1967) would lead to price rises. Decimal currency board members were forbidden to appear on television, and the politician in charge, Robert Muldoon, was the only one allowed to discuss the issue. But because it was election year, and the NZBC had a policy of not allowing politicians on TV close to an election, the programme was banned. The Producer Gordon Bick resigned over this, although broadcasting news didn’t mention the controversy.

Politicians were wary of this powerful medium that could shape public opinion. One of the more influential compass programmes examined the case for liquor law reform and six o’clock closing. Dougal Stevenson states that the end to 6 o’clock closing was. “One of the most important changes of the 60s, and a change hastened by the arguments for reform presented on TV.”

BUY ME

25 Years of Television: NZBC Presents (extract)
Television New Zealand 1985. Duration 1:46
Some politicians adapted to the new medium more slowly than others and were either made, or unmade, on TV. Politics and television came of age in 1969. Political advertising sold politicians, while coverage of debates and the first network election allowed democracy to play out live on TV.

It’s worth recalling the famous 1960 American election debate between Kennedy and Nixon where a more photogenic Kennedy also wore make-up (as is the norm) to reduce shine under the harsh studio lights. Nixon refused, and came across as sweaty and therefore less trustworthy. Viewers felt that Kennedy won the debate. Radio audiences listening to the same debate thought that Nixon won.

TWO CHANNELS

PRESSURE MOUNTS

25 Years of Television: NZBC Presents (extract)
Television New Zealand 1985. Duration 1:49
By 1970 pressure for a second independent channel was growing. The NZBC’s total hold on broadcasting was broken by the granting of licences to private radio stations; spearheaded in 1966 by Radio Hauraki transmitting from onboard the ship Tiri in the Hauraki Gulf. The extract opens with an animated ad for Radio Hauraki. A broadcasting authority had been set up by the National Government removing the decision of the control of a second TV channel from the NZBC. In 1972 the authority supported a private application to run a channel but the election that year of Labour Government meant an end to that proposal.
AND THEN THERE WERE TWO

25 Years of Television: A Choice of Channels (extract)
Television New Zealand 1985. Duration 9:45
1975 was a huge year for TV in New Zealand with the establishment of two independent and competing state owned channels, as opposed to the single TV channel and radio network of the NZBC. In April 1975 Television One was launched from the first purpose built TV studio in New Zealand, at Avalon in the Hutt Valley of Wellington. The first night of programmes were not a success and, “Complaints poured in about its brash new style of presentation with its emphasis on personalities.” In the montage in this extract a strong Monte Python style pervades. Local production exploded and in its first year Television One produced more drama programming than the NZBC did in its thirteen years. In July 1975 TV2 was launched with a mandate for closer community involvement. Its main success in this area was the national Telethons; 24 hour fundraising events where anybody could perform something on the ‘telly.’ News and current affairs output also increased and, interestingly, TV One and TV2 had competing news services. TV2 struggled to compete with the larger TV One and re-branded to South Pacific Television. Part of TV2’s struggle centred around audiences single channel mindset - it also needs to be remembered that most TV’s at the time didn’t have remotes and it therefore necessitated a walk across the shag-pile carpet to change the channel.

RETURN TO GOVERNMENT CONTROL

25 Years of Television: A Choice of Channels (extract)
Television New Zealand 1985. Duration 1:59
Television One and TV2’s independence were relatively short-lived when a change of Government again returned broadcasting to the control of a single corporation BCNZ (Broadcasting Corporation of New Zealand) under (answerable) to a Cabinet Minister. Brian Edwards is interviewed saying that the restructuring was a form of punishment meted out by politicians for Television One getting out of line. It’s $1million budget for the drama series on George Grey, The Governor, was cited by the Prime Minister as an example of its “culture of extravagance.”

KEEP ONE SELL TWO?

25 Years of Television: A Choice of Channels (extract)
Television New Zealand 1985. Duration 1:59
“In the third restructuring in five years BCNZ Chairman set about achieving greater complementarity by merging the two channels” in 1980 to create TVNZ. Some also believed that the other reason for the restructuring was to prepare TV2 for sale to private enterprise.
COMMERCIALISATION AND COMPETITION

MONEY

25 Years of Television: A Choice of Channels (extract)
Television New Zealand 1985. Duration 2:53
Television, especially local content production, is expensive. Just who pays and what they get for their money are key issues. Until 2000, public broadcasting was partially funded by a licence fee that all TV set owners had to pay. Between 1974 and 1984 the fee remained unchanged taking the overall total contribution to the cost of broadcasting from 50% of revenue to 13%. The shortfall had to made up from an increase in commercial revenue. Dougal Stevenson eloquently frames this change in these terms, “The pressure to attract mass audiences at the expense of minority interests and quality programmes raises doubt whether New Zealand Television is a public service of a branch of the advertising industry.”

SPORT & SPONSORSHIP

25 Years of Television: A Choice of Channels (extract)
Television New Zealand 1985. Duration 1:25
The happy union between sport, sponsors, and broadcasters culminated in the success of Sky pay TV. Capturing sports fans as subscribers is a lucrative market. Sport in the age of professionalism is itself shaped for television, as the invention of one-day cricket will attest. Free to air broadcasters still compete for screening rights to attract the large audiences and therefore large advertising revenue. Sometimes that expense fails to reap full dividends; as was the case when the All Blacks were eliminated in the quarterfinals of the 2007 Rugby World Cup, leaving the New Zealand broadcaster, TV3, without its best draw-card for its New Zealand audience. We have certainly come a long way from the 1960s when the NZ Rugby Union refused TV coverage of matches fearing diminished gate takings.

COMPETITION

If it weren’t for a reneged agreement by the Government in 1972 NZ may have had a private channel by the mid 70s. Instead, the country got the experiment of two state owned networks competing with each other in 1975/76. After this competition between Television One and TV2 / South Pacific Television was changed to complementarity till the two were merged into TVNZ in 1980. In 1985 TV3 was awarded the warrant to operate a third channel and real competition finally started in 1989.

THE TURNING POINT

25 Years of Television: A Choice of Channels (extract)
Television New Zealand 1985. Duration 1:46
The chairman of BCNZ discusses the ‘reallocation of resources’ with three channels, “It’s like when you have two good cars and you want a third car, you will have to sell the two cars to buy three cheaper cars.” Bob Harvey speculates that with three channels it wont be highbrow, but it will be exciting. The documentary makers put forward a possible version of this future as they cut to a shot of jazzercise.
LAUNCH OF TV3

TV3 LAUNCH 26/11/1989 (extract)

TV3 Network 1989. Duration 10:16

TV3 was a long time coming and originally licenced to provide four regionally based services. However the 1987 stock market crash undermined TV3’s investment base and the deregulation of broadcasting also changed the broadcasting environment it was setting up in. Finally, in November 1989, it commenced broadcasting as a network broadcaster out of Auckland.

The launch itself is packaged as part of a ‘3 special presentation’, which consisted of Hollywood blockbuster style animation, music and voiceover. What follows is the television version of the Maori creation myth where lasers and smoke herald the separation of Rangi & Papa! Next, a montage of the history of communications technologies and events, including shots of the Tiri, the pirate Radio Hauraki ship that transmitted from international waters over NZBC controlled Auckland. TV3 was officially about to do the same over TVNZ controlled New Zealand. The final shot of the montage is of a foreboding black and white shot of the Avalon TV centre on a rainy day. Thunder completes the association with dark and sinister forces. TVNZ then spins off into the smoke, a fuse is lit, and a new network launches to the vocals of Dave Dobby in a quintessentially late 80’s big budget tv ad.

ONE IS # ONE

TVNZ Promo

Television New Zealand 2007. Duration 1:38

Television One's preeminence as the nations television channel is based on its direct lineage to the NZBS, NZBC, Television One, and finally, Television New Zealand. For 29 years it was the only television broadcaster and entrenched itself in the nations consciousness. This legacy also meant Government funding and infrastructure. The coming of competition meant TV One had to brand itself even harder by appealing to national sentiments that it alone represented and embodied “New Zealandness.” Egalitarian images of a cross section of Kiwis - Maori, Pakeha, Polynesian, Asian, blue and white collar workers doing Kiwi things - yachting, farming, floundering, rugby. They all direct torches and lights into the sky - illuminating life, and TV One as the brightest beckon of them all. Everermore’s lyrics imply that viewers will in turn be rewarded with new discoveries, “Cause I see the light surrounding you so don’t be afraid of something nu.” It is disturbing that the only shot of a TVNZ show is Dancing with the Stars!
THE COST OF AN ANCHOR

The shift from public service to commercial television meant a shift in the value of its human assets, especially the high profile figureheads of the network – the news anchor.

50 CENTS PER BREATH

*TV3 News 28/03/2004 (extract)*

TV3 Network 2004. Duration 4:56

TV3 has fun with the salary extravagance of its competitor and spends nearly five minutes on it as a lead story, “Why is Judy Bailey being paid a reported $800,000 a year to read the news?” TVNZ wouldn’t confirm the figure but said, “It had made a commercial decision in a competitive marketplace.” The shareholding Ministers (Broadcasting & Finance) were not convinced with these commercial reasons and were angry with the board of TVNZ who approved the deal and did not tell the Ministers. Although, the minister was happy with how the board was leading the SOE, making record profits and implementing the Charter.

NEWSREADER BECOMES THE NEWS

*One News 16/12/2004 (extract)*


One News treats the story more sensitively and Judy Bailey does well to remain professional and detached when she introduces a story about the scandal her salary increase caused. She is spared having to mention herself in the introduction but is clearly identified in the prerecorded item, including archival footage of her reading the news.

PROFITS

*One News 15/03/2003 (extract)*

Television New Zealand 2003. Duration 1:50

A record year for advertising has pushed TVNZ’s profit up despite the demands of its new public service Charter.

RATIONALISATION

*TV3 News 13/04/2007 (extract)*

TV3 Network 2007. Duration 2:22

Media companies are businesses, and this extract looks at TVNZ’s cost cutting / profit making efforts by cutting back on newsroom staff. “Staff cutbacks in two of New Zealand’s biggest newsrooms, APN who owns the NZ Herald, and TVNZ, have prompted claims that the media is in crisis.” Part of the criticism is leveled at why the TVNZ job losses are directed at experienced staff? Jim Tully says that, “It’s sad for journalism when you lose very experienced people who have judgment and nous. Young people can be very talented and hard working but they don’t necessarily have the judgment that comes with experience.”
FREEVIEW

TV3 News 14/11/2006 (extract)
TV3 Network 2006. Duration 2:38
Such is the mantra of the free market that a ‘subsidy’ towards providing public service orientated content is uncompetitive. The owner of TV3 and C4 says the Government funding for Freeview is unfair.

PUBLIC SERVICE TELEVISION AND THE CHARTER

PUBLIC TELEVISION DEBATE

One News Special: Public TV (extracts)
Television New Zealand 2001. Duration 9:12
In 2000 the new Labour Government announced its intentions to shift TVNZ from its solely commercial focus towards a more public service role. Its mechanism to do this was to develop a ‘Charter’ that spelt out the public service aims of the broadcaster. In 2001 the Charter was released and this debate is in response to that. Interested parties such as: politicians; broadcasters; advertisers; economists; media commentators and funding bodies discuss the issues.

MEMO LEAK

One News 13/12/2005 (extract)
Television New Zealand 2005. Duration 2:10
Having a public service Charter in a commercial organization expected to return a profit is difficult. The leaked memo from, the then departing head of TVNZ, Ian Fraser, outlines a series of problems with the business of running the broadcaster and its U turn on implementing the Charter.

FREE TO AIR DIGITAL

One News 14/11/2006 (extract)
Television New Zealand 2006. Duration 2:08
The Government gives TVNZ $79 million over six years to set up and run two free to air digital channels. The two channels will go some way towards fulfilling Charter compliance by the broadcaster but will not suffice due to the cost and limited take-up of the Freeview decoders. True public service broadcasting should be easily available to everyone.

LAUNCH OF TVNZ 7
Television New Zealand 2008. Duration 1:24
On 30th of March 2008 TVNZ launched on the Freeview platform its non-fiction channel TVNZ 7. The launch itself was very low key as the channel got down to business.
MAORI CONTENT

In the 1960's Maori were absent from the screens of New Zealand television and it wasn't until the groundbreaking 1974 series, *Tangata Whenua*, that screened on the nations only channel in primetime, that a genuine representation of Maori occurred. Nonetheless, Maori programming, even with regard to The Treaty, had always been seen of ‘minority’ interest and therefore could only survive in a Public Service model. TVNZ’s commercial imperatives consign ‘minority’ programmes to off peak schedules. The success of Maori TV in attracting ‘mainstream’ audiences certainly challenges that thinking.

PLASTIC MAORI

25 Years of Television: A Choice of Channels (extract)

Television New Zealand 1985. Duration: 4:06

Manu Paul, director of the first Maori journalism course said, “Maoris couldn’t see themselves as being part of New Zealand when they looked at television. In many instances all we could see was ourselves being portrayed in a negative sense and it appeared to us to be reinforcing the stereotype of about the Maori not being of much consequence at all.”

FAILED CHARTER COMMITMENTS

TV3 News 25/05/2007 (extract)

TV3 Network 2007. Duration: 2:22

Part of the State broadcasters Charter is to ensure that it has a Maori presence and voice. Other than Te Reo based shows in off-peak times, TVNZ’s CEO Rick Ellis, controversially cited programmes such as: *Shortland St; 10 Years Younger; Police 10/7* as examples of a Maori presence on TVNZ.

MAORI TELEVISION LAUNCH

TV3 News 28/03/2004 (extract)

TV3 Network 2004. Duration: 4:33

The Treaty guaranteed to the Maori people tino rangatiratanga, or absolute authority over all their resources, of which, the public broadcasting system is a vital present-day resource. “Broadcasting history was made today with the launch of New Zealand's first nationwide Maori Language TV service.”

THE HEART OF NZ TV

*Tatau Tatau* (extracts)

Landmark Productions 2004. Duration: 3:30

The Maori Television Service is now the (post)modern, post-colonial, post-Reithian Public Service broadcaster in Aotearoa / New Zealand. It's kaupapa of sharing programmes, stories and concepts of, and for, all peoples is indeed a service for the people and not just an entertainment business. It is embued with the generations of struggle and understanding of an indigenous culture proud at having a medium to assert and celebrate Maori and other identities. The closing comment in the extracts speaks of neocolonial influences, “We hear from schools and teachers that foreign ideologies create a lot of pressure for our Maori speaking children to conform. This service will try to change that and bring the two worlds in line.” At a time when the globalized mainstream media market is becoming more and more homoginized MTS is a welcome development and expression of Aotearoa / New Zealand identities.

New Zealand Television: Public Service & Commercial Television

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GOODBYE CHARTER

*Media 7 16/07/2008 (extracts)*

Top Shelf Productions 2008. Duration 6:30

Nationals broadcasting policy removes the $15 million of Charter related funding that TVNZ gets per year and gives it to NZ On Air to administer. The money is then contestable by all broadcasters and production companies, not just TVNZ. TVNZ’s failure to fully implement the Charter contributed to its future demise as spelt out in the form of this policy. Paul Norris, Head of the Broadcasting School, warns that public service broadcasting needs a broadcaster because it is the broadcasters who act as the gatekeepers and screen the programmes. If all broadcasters are commercial then they won’t screen public service orientated material.