Kia hiwa rā! The influence of tikanga and the language revitalisation agenda on the practices and perspectives of Māori journalists working in reo-Māori news

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Abstract

Many aspects of Māori society, both public and private, are structured and influenced by tikanga, a system of values, beliefs, rituals, obligations and cultural practices developed and reinforced through intergenerational transmission and social validation (Mead, 2003). Tikanga – which we can describe as Māori ways of seeing, being and doing – shapes the outlook of Māori working as news and current affairs journalists in te reo Māori, who, like indigenous journalists in colonised countries elsewhere, have adapted the Anglo-American journalism tradition to reflect indigenous perspectives (Grixti, 2011; Hanusch, 2014). However, there is limited evidence on the ways in which tikanga manifests in journalistic practice and output.

In addition, Māori journalism is funded as a vehicle for language revitalisation under a national strategy to rejuvenate and protect te reo. This strategy views reo-Māori news as an important component of the languagescape, and requires journalists to broadcast stories that are 70-100% in te reo. This presents a challenge for reporters when just 10.6% of the Māori population, or some 50,000 people, speak te reo "very well or "well", but many more are learning (Statistics New Zealand, 2014, p. 8).

This study, which combines video ethnography with semi-structured qualitative interviews and document analysis, examines the interplay of newswork, tikanga and the language revitalisation agenda to explicate what Māori journalism is. It is novel, ethnographic, qualitative insider research rooted in a Kaupapa Māori paradigm (Cram, 2001; L. T. Smith, 2012; Walker, Eketone, & Gibbs, 2006). Analytical approaches were drawn from thematic and textual analysis, critical discourse studies, conversation analysis and non-verbal analysis.

The findings are that tikanga, newswork and the language revitalisation agenda are indelibly entwined. Tikanga forms an important part of these journalists' toolkits for life, and they carry cultural practices into their professional lives as much as they are able, particularly in spaces where tikanga governs practical and spiritual activities. Given the necessity to maintain relationships in an interrelated community, manaakitanga, or care and concern for others, and whanaungatanga, or building and maintaining relationships, appear to have the most wide-reaching influence. Language and tikanga go hand-in-hand, and this study details the extent to which journalists

weave aspects of Māori oral culture, such as oratory, proverbs and figures of speech, into their newswork.

However, the time-bound, output-oriented nature of news and the human-centred, process-oriented nature of Māori life exist in tension at times; journalists may find themselves making compromises between what they would normally do as Māori and what they have to do as journalists, producing cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1957). Journalists often feel the need to take personal responsibility for assuaging this dissonance, often through incantations called karakia.

Tension also arises between the need to find a balance between quality information to serve journalism and quality language to help meet revitalisation goals. Journalists are realistic about the quality of language they are able to secure, and often help interviewees to use what reo they have. They prioritise the conveying of information over linguistic perfection, presenting te reo as living language in which to discuss everyday subjects.

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Attestation of authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements) nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

Signed: Atakohu Middleton

Date: November 13, 2019

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sometimes isolating road. He encouraged and supported me the whole way. E kore e mimiti tōku aroha ki a koe, e te tau.

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Te reo Māori in this thesis

There are numerous bilingual passages in this thesis, mostly reo-Māori text taken from news stories, with the subtitles reproduced below. However, no translation can substitute for the original text; it can only ever be an approximation. Some of the translations from Māori to English will appear stilted, which underlines the different origins of each language and the distinct worldview each encodes (Roa, 2003).

This thesis follows the advice of the statutory national Māori language organisation, Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, in its book *Guidelines for Māori Language Orthography* (2012). Macrons mark long vowels, and names are spelled as supplied. The titles of programmes and publications from the pre-macron era are reproduced as originally written. As Māori is an official language of Aotearoa New Zealand, words are not italicised or put between quote marks unless necessary for readability. Individual Māori words and phrases are translated in square brackets immediately following their first appearance, but are otherwise in the Glossary below.

Although tribal dialects of te reo Māori are mutually intelligible, there are differences (Keegan, 2017) and these distinctions are preserved in direct speech. Otherwise, the words used will reflect the writer's Waikato dialect.

Glossary

The glossary contains Māori words and phrases used frequently. The source is
Moorfield's *Te Aka* dictionary: https://maoridictionary.co.nz

Atua	Māori god, supernatural being, ancestor with continuing influence
Hapū	Kinship group, clan, tribe, subtribe
Hoa	Friend, ally
Hui	Meeting between people
Hunga mate	The dead
Hunga ora	The living
Iwi	Extended kinship group, tribe, nation, people, nationality, race
Kāinga	Home, settlement
Karakia	Incantation, ritual chant
Kaumatua	Elder, elderly man, elderly woman, old man: A person of status within the whānau
Kaupapa	Topic, policy, matter for discussion, plan, purpose, scheme, proposal, agenda, subject, programme, theme, issue, initiative
Kawa	Customs of the marae, particularly those related to formal activities
Kuia	Female elder
Koha	Gift, present, offering, donation, contribution
Kōrero	To tell, say, speak, read, talk, address; news, account, discussion, information.
Koroua	Elderly man
Manuhiri / manuwhiri	Visitor, guest
Manaakitanga	Hospitality, kindness, generosity, support – the process of showing respect, generosity and care for others
Marae	Open area in front of the whare nui, where formal greetings and discussions take place. Also designates the complex of buildings around the marae
Mauri	Life principle, life force, vital essence, special nature, a material symbol of a life principle, source of emotions – the essential quality and vitality of a being or entity
Mātauranga Māori	Māori knowledge
Mihi	Greeting, acknowledgement
Mihi mate	Greeting to the dead
Mihi ora	Greeting to the living
Noa	To be free from tapu (see below), unrestricted
Pākehā	English, foreign, European, exotic – introduced from or originating in a foreign country
Papatūānuku	The earth mother

Pepeha	Tribal saying or motto
Poroporoaki	Eulogy or farewell to deceased
Pōwhiri / pōhiri	Rituals of encounter
Rāhui	Temporary ritual prohibition
Rangatira	Chief, master, mistress, boss, supervisor, employer, landlord, owner, proprietor
Ranginui	Sky father
Tāne	Atua of the birds, forests and man
Tangi / tangihanga	Rites for the dead
Tapu	Sacred, prohibited, restricted, set apart, forbidden, under atua protection
Tāwhiri-mātea	God of winds, clouds, rain, hail, snow and storms
Te Ao Mārama	World of life and light, Earth, physical world
Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori	The Māori Language Commission
Te wao nui a Tāne	Native forest
Tūmatauenga	God of warfare
Tikanga	Correct procedure, custom, habit, lore, method, manner, rule, way, code, meaning, plan, practice, convention, protocol – the customary system of values and practices that have developed over time and are deeply embedded in the social context
Tūpāpaku	Corpse, deceased
Tūpuna	Ancestors, grandparents
Waiata	Song, chant
Wairua	Spirit, soul, spirit of a person that exists beyond death
Whaikōrero	Formal speech, oratory
Whakanoa	To remove tapu
Whakapapa	Genealogy
Whakataukī	Proverb
Whānau	Extended family, family group; people united in a common enterprise
Whanaungatanga	Relationship, kinship, sense of family connection
Whare nui	Meeting house

Acronyms

BSA: Broadcasting Standards Authority, a national media monitor
MTS: Māori Television Service, a state broadcaster
RNZ: Radio New Zealand, a state broadcaster
SNZ: Stats New Zealand, the national data agency
TMP: Te Māngai Pāho, the Māori Broadcasting Funding Agency
TPK: Te Puni Kōkiri, the Ministry for Māori Development
TVNZ: Television New Zealand, a state broadcaster

Chapter 1: Introduction

Te reo Māori is the language of the indigenous Māori of Aotearoa New Zealand. However, owing to the effects of colonisation, the language is now "somewhere between definitely endangered and severely endangered" (Te Māngai Pāho [TMP], n.d., para. 17). The country has a national language revitalisation agenda and ring-fences state funding for reo-Māori news programming on Television New Zealand (TVNZ), Māori Television Service (MTS) and Radio Waatea.

Māori-language journalists have adopted the British journalism tradition introduced alongside colonisation (Grixti, 2011; Hanusch, 2014). Māori journalism employs the tenets and news values of that Anglo-American tradition, but applies them through a lens informed by different cultural norms and preoccupations to those of the dominant culture, with a Māori audience in mind (Te Awa, 1996).

However, the values embedded in Anglo-American journalism practice can conflict with the cultural values, called tikanga, by which many Māori structure their lives and activities (Hanusch, 2014; Mead, 2003; Stuart, 2000). There is limited research into the ways in which tikanga, here defined as Māori ways of seeing, being and doing, influences Māori journalists' newsgathering.

In addition, there is no research on the ways in which the funding regime and its constraints influence and intersect with newswork. The funding structure posits journalists as, primarily, agents of language revitalisation, and their work must achieve prescriptive language-quality and quantity goals. However, this is a challenge in a country where te reo has become so degraded that just 10.6% speak te reo "well" or "very well", but many more are learning the language (Statistics New Zealand [SNZ], 2014, p. 8).

Māori journalism has attracted little academic study. While the expression of oral tikanga in 19th-century reo-Māori newspapers has been researched (McRae, 2002), there have been just two academic papers on tikanga in Māori journalism practice (Hanusch, 2014, 2013a). They are useful, but they rely on interview only and their outsider perspective on indigenous culture limits their scope. The lack of local research

into Māori news practice reflects the dearth of academic enquiry into journalism in Aotearoa New Zealand generally (Maharey, 2012; Matheson, 2010).

This research represents the first in-depth empirical analysis of how tikanga informs and influences journalistic practice in Māori-language newswork. It is also the first study to examine how reo-Māori newswork intersects with a funding model that prioritises language revitalisation rather than news content, while still valuing news as a necessary part of the reo-Māori 'languagescape' in Aotearoa New Zealand.

1.1 Approach

This study initially focused on the interplay of tikanga and newswork, with the influence of the funding regime somewhat secondary, and this is evident in the participant information sheets in appendices 2 and 3. However, as fieldwork progressed, it became clear that the news funding regime played just as important a role as tikanga in the interplay of forces shaping Māori news journalism, and the study's focus was consequently widened.

The primary research question is broad:

RQ1: What is the influence of tikanga and the language revitalisation agenda on the practices and perspectives of Māori journalists working in reo-Māori news?

Two sub-questions lead us to greater detail:

RQ2: In which situations does tikanga most influence decision-making about newswork?

RQ3: What are the tensions between the tenets of tikanga, the requirements of the language revitalisation agenda and the demands of news production?

The research required a method that put researcher and researched in the field together, and video ethnography (Cottle, 2001, 2007; Sissons, 2014, 2016b), essentially using a digital camera to film reporters as they worked, was considered the most effective approach. Film provided robust and dense data (Jewitt, 2012; Schaeffer, 1995) and allowed deep examination of the research questions as it provided complete capture of journalists' entire workdays, including story discussion, preparation and

execution; formal and informal interactions during newswork; and negotiation between reporters and subjects.

Film data totalled 227 hours over 32 days. Eleven individual journalists were recorded in the field, immersion lasting two to six days. One day was spent recording the production of an in-studio current affairs show. Film data were complemented by qualitative semi-structured interviews with 35 people, which included the 11 participants that were filmed. Film data was bolstered by scripts, finished stories, and handwritten field notes.

The investigative approach is ethnographic communication analysis (Sissons, 2014, 2016a; 2016b; Theunissen & Sissons, 2018). 'Ethnographic' reflects the culturally-situated nature of the study both in terms of tikanga Māori and journalism culture. 'Communication' reflects the fact that interaction is accomplished in a variety of ways, among them speech, writing, gesture, gaze, music, and typography (Jewitt, 2009; Machin, 2018; Norris, 2004, 2011, 2012; Sissons, 2012b). Data analysis used approaches from thematic and textual analysis, critical discourse studies, conversation analysis and non-verbal analysis to build a rounded picture of the dynamics at play as journalists went about their work. Within the interpretivist stance that underpins this study (Bryman, 2012; Davidson & Tolich, 2003; Tolich & Davidson, 2011), the researcher is a "journo-linguist" (Cotter, 2008, p. 419), whose newsroom experience and linguistic expertise come together in the exploration of journalistic practice.

It is important to note that as there is sparse academic literature in this field, the author at times sought information from relevant non-participants and/or made requests under the Official Information Act 1982 to establish facts that had not been formally published. These are noted as personal communications in the text.

1.2   Researcher background and motivation

The researcher is a 49-year-old woman whose identity comprises the two cultures on which modern Aotearoa New Zealand was founded, both represented in my father. His lineage is Māori, of the tribe Ngāti Māhanga, and Pākehā, a word widely used in Aotearoa New Zealand to describe non-Māori inhabitants of European descent. My mother is of Irish stock from another settler culture, Australia.

I was raised in the English language and in Pākehā values in the 1970s, a time when indigenous issues and local history were barely addressed in schools and Māori language, culture and identity had been eroded (King, 2003; Te Rito, 2008; Walker, 1979; Williams, 2001).

However, protest pushed successive governments to make meaningful efforts to redress the injustices of 150 years (Walker, 2004), and one of the results was the widespread introduction of Māori-language courses (Spolsky, 2003; 2005). Like many of my generation, I learned te reo Māori and tikanga as an adult and found my way back to my tribe. I see myself as bicultural, able to carry two different worldviews at once and move comfortably within each world. I have tertiary qualifications in journalism, te reo Māori and Māori advancement.

This study was motivated by my personal identity as a product of both indigenous and settler cultures and my professional identity, honed during more than 20 years working as an English-language journalist. A keen consumer of reo-Māori news, I have long been curious about the ways in which tikanga influences reporting. It gives great pleasure to hear, for example, a journalist cleverly rework an ancient proverb to illuminate a contemporary topic. However, protocols apply to many of the places and events at which Māori journalists gather news, and as Māori, we have culturally-specific ways of interacting with people and processes. I wanted to find out how cultural forces shaped newswork.

This thesis assumes that the reader is familiar with journalism practice in developed Anglophone countries. However, no assumption is made that the reader is familiar with the Māori world. This thesis does not aim to be a cultural primer, but does offer basic explanations about the tikanga discussed, and points the reader to further information.

1.3   Structure of this thesis

This thesis falls into nine chapters. Following this introduction is **Chapter 2,** the literature review, which contextualises the research by briefly describing the Māori worldview. It then outlines how oral expression was transferred into 19th-century Māori newspapers. The chapter summarises the history of reo-Māori news in the 20th and 21st centuries and identifies the current challenges in the field. Following is a

discussion of the mechanism that funds reo-Maori news. We then turn to what the academic and non-academic literature records about tikanga in Māori-language journalism. This is followed by discussions of the news values common to developed democracies and the Māori perspective in news (p. 42), which sets the scene for the analysis of news values in a Māori paradigm in Chapter 4 (p. 84).

Chapter 3 (p. 56) introduces the Kaupapa Māori paradigm that underpins this thesis and explains why it was the most suitable approach for Māori-led, Māori-focused research. The tools of visual ethnography and multimodal analysis are discussed and justified.

Chapter 4 (p. 84) is the first of five chapters of analyses and findings. It begins by looking at the output of Māori journalism, demonstrating how news values common to the Anglo-American tradition are interpreted through a Māori prism.

Chapter 5 (p. 108) analyses the ways in which the ancient art of whaikōrero, or oratory, has permeated reo-Māori news communication.

Chapter 6 (p. 146) explores the intersection of tikanga and journalistic practice in a range of situations in the field.

Chapter 7 (p. 169) discusses tapu, a state of being set apart, and noa, to be free from restriction, and how these forces influence journalistic practice.

Chapter 8 (p. 232) explores the role of reporters as agents of language revitalisation, a position forced on them by the realities of the state-funded language regeneration model. The chapter explores how policy, tikanga, and the pragmatic decision-making necessary in newswork influences how journalists handle a key challenge – a landscape in which there are more learners than fluent speakers.

Chapter 9 (p. 274) presents a discussion of results and conclusions, including the significance of the study, its potential practical applications and recommendations for future research.

Chapter 2: Literature review

2.1   Introduction

This literature review places the study in its wider context by describing the interwoven social, cultural and political forces that have led to the current reo-Māori "news ecology" (Cottle, 2007, p. 11). The review first describes the principles of the Māori worldview and explains how these were expressed in 19th-century Māori-language newspapers. The development of Māori-language radio and television news follows, with a discussion of the challenges Māori-language journalism faces. We then explore the slender academic and non-academic literature on the expression of tikanga in reo-Māori news. The final part of this chapter explores the construction of news values and how these relate to the Māori perspective in news, providing a platform for understanding Māori news output as described in the following chapters.

2.2   The Māori worldview

To be a fluent speaker of te reo invariably means a good understanding of tikanga; the two are learned together. Indeed, in the Māori world we often use the phrase "te reo me ngā tikanga", meaning language *and* culture, reflecting that language and cultural practices are holistically and simultaneously learned and performed.

In Māori thinking, the natural and the spiritual are one; our cosmology and our lives are framed by an interconnectedness that dictates our relationships, whether with humans, the environment, or the gods (Janke & Taiapa, 2003; Marsden, 2003; Mead, 2003; Pere, 1997; Shirres, 1997; Walker, 2004). This is whakapapa, which means descent in the linear genealogical sense, but also encompasses the many layers of stories that map the nature of the unseen and seen worlds, and explains the nature of the relationships within them and between them. Whakapapa provides

> explanation for existence and also articulates the human role within that existence. Within whakapapa there are origins and explanations for trees, birds, parts of the human body, words and speaking, the cosmos, the gods, karakia [incantation], the moon, the wind and stones. All life is connected and interrelated (Smith, 2000, p. 45).

The stories embedded in whakapapa also define the parameters of human behaviour, either literally, metaphorically, or through value judgements, while acknowledging that

desired standards are not always met. Walker (1978) wrote that stories about the ancestors provided "myth-messages ... to which the Māori people can and will respond today" (p. 19). Space prevents a lengthy discussion of the many stories handed down and how they are reflected and recontextualised in our present. However, to illustrate, I will briefly describe the best-known creation story[1] and describe several ways in which it serves as a template for life, followed by examples of how the perspectives it encodes are expressed in reo-Māori newswork.

2.3   Creation, its messages and journalism

Although creation stories are broadly similar across all iwi [tribes], there are differences and even contradictions (Reed & Calman, 2004). What follows is, necessarily, a condensed narrative. Most accounts of creation derive the cosmos from an energy that evolved through various stages from Te Kore, a primal void, to Te Pō, which means darkness or night, to Te Ao Mārama, the world of light (Salmond, 1991). In Te Pō, Ranginui, the male essence, and Papatūānuku, the female essence, were locked together in a tight embrace (Walker, 1978).

Between them in the darkness were a number of male children. These would become atua – gods, guardians and guides of the natural world. They included Tāne, the god of birds, the forests and man; Tāwhiri-mātea, the god of winds, storms and rain; Rongo, the god of cultivated food plants and peace; Haumia-tikitiki, the god of uncultivated food plants, such as fern root; Tangaroa, the god of fish and reptiles; Rūaumoko, the god of earthquakes, volcanoes and thermal activity; and Tūmatauenga, god of war (Jones, 2013).

The brothers were unhappy about being wedged in the darkness, and a fierce discussion resulted about how they could get to Te Ao Mārama. Tāwhiri-mātea objected to separation, fearing the consequences, and Tūmatauenga suggested that the brothers kill their parents. Various of the brothers tried to push their parents apart without success, until Tāne lay on his back on his mother and used his legs to thrust his father upwards, allowing Te Ao Mārama to flood in. Above, Rangi showed his love and

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[1] The creation story in my tribal area, Waikato, is a little different, with celestial beings named Hani, who was the male essence, and Puna, the female essence, playing a major role (Jones, 2013). For the purposes of this thesis, I am using the most widely known creation story.

yearning for Papa by weeping rain upon her, and below, her distress rose in mist (Reed & Calman, 2004; Salmond, 1991; Walker, 1978).

Tāwhiri-mātea was so angry that he flew to support his father and waged war on his brothers with his winds, storms and rain. He snapped the branches of Tāne's children, lashed Tangaroa's oceans, forcing some of his lizard-children onto land, and made the helpless Rongo and Haumia-tiketike cower in their mother's belly. Only Tūmatauenga stood firm, and in disgust for his elder brothers' weakness, chased and caught all of them except Tāwhiri-mātea. He debased them by eating them or turning them into implements such as spears and sinkers (Salmond, 1991).

Tāne then created the ira tangata, the human element. He used red earth to fashion the first woman, Hineahuone, and they had Hinetītama. Tāne later slept with Hinetītama, who was unaware that Tāne was her father, and they had a child. When Hinetītama learned the truth, she fled to her grandmother, Papatūānuku, and descended to the world of darkness where she transformed into Hine-nui-te-pō, the goddess of death (Mead, 2003; Reed & Calman, 2004).

An important message in the creation story is the necessary complementarity of male and female for life to thrive – but the narrative also sets limits. The principle of balance between female and male is foundational in the Māori world (Mikaere, 1999, 2011; Salmond, 1991).[2] The creation story also introduces the dichotomy between tapu [sacred] and noa [profane or everyday] so central to Māori thinking. Tūmatauenga's actions in eating his brothers and turning some of them into tools for everyday use describes the ritual and cultural significance of cannibalism as the ultimate humiliation of the conquered (Walker, 1978).

Te reo Māori, the Māori worldview and reo-Māori reporting are intimately connected. In journalism, the earth is routinely identified as Papatūānuku; native forest as te wao

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[2] Early visitors to New Zealand documented the great influence of women in ritual and practical affairs (Mikaere, 2011; Salmond, 1991). Settlers brought with them "an ideology of male dominance" that eroded women's standing (Salmond, 1991, p. 353); non-Māori ethnographers subordinated Papatūānuku to Ranginui and female deities to male ones (Mikaere, 2011). Note also that Māori has no sex-specific personal pronouns nor possessive pronouns: ia means him or her and tana his or hers (Mikaere, 1999).

nui a Tāne, or the great forest of Tāne; and plants and trees as the children of Tāne. As an example, all three are used in a news story on endangered native plants (Te Karere, 2009). The sea is often personified as Tangaroa, and sea life as ngā tini a Tangaroa, the many children of Tangaroa (Te Karere, 2010). Weather reports are often titled ngā tohu a Tāwhiri-mātea, the signs of Tāwhiri-mātea, the god of wind, storms and rain.

Various proverbs and metaphors arise from the Māori worldview, and they are widely used in journalism. For example, a common phrase in reporting the death of a leader is kua hinga te tōtara o te wao nui a Tāne, or the tōtara in Tāne's great forest has fallen ('Behold the falling of a great tōtara', 2008). A tōtara is a sturdy giant often referred to as a rākau rangatira, or chiefly tree (Orbell, 1985); as Tāne is the god of the forests and of man, "the metaphor is particularly apt" (Mead & Grove, 2003, pp. 153-154).

2.4 Māori ways of knowing and doing

From the creation story extends Māori epistemology or the Māori theory of knowledge, or mātauranga Māori. However, mātauranga Māori is not neatly defined in English. Wiri (2001) described it as encompassing:

> Māori epistemology; the Māori way; the Māori worldview; the Māori style of thought; Māori ideology; Māori knowledge base; Māori perspective; to understand or to be acquainted with the Māori world; to be knowledgeable in things Māori; to be a graduate of the Māori schools of learning; Māori tradition and history; Māori experience of history; Māori enlightenment; Māori scholarship; Māori intellectual tradition (p. 25).

The wide range of skills and activities within these headings also form part of mātauranga Māori, among them carving, weaving, house-building, genealogy, oral narratives, proverbs and song (Wiri, 2001). In short, mātauranga Māori tells how we got here, who we are, and gives us guidance for the future (Marsden, 2003; Mead, 2003).

While mātauranga Māori is carried in the mind, tikanga Māori puts that knowledge into practice (Mead, 2003). Tikanga are the protocols and processes, rituals, obligations and behaviour in public and in private, for the individual and the group, based in mātauranga Māori and reinforced, validated and modified through

intergenerational transmission (Ka'ai & Higgins, 2004; Marsden, 2003; Mead, 2003; Shirres, 1997).

Tikanga has a variety of meanings in te reo Māori, which is a polysemic language; depending on context, a single word can have a variety of meanings (Keane-Tuala, 2013). As a noun, tikanga means rule, plan or method; custom or habit; anything normal or usual; reason; meaning or purport; authority or control. The root of the word is tika, which as an adjective means straight or direct; keeping a direct course; just or fair; right or correct (Williams, 1971). The word embeds notions of doing the right thing *in a Māori paradigm.* Mead (2003) summarised thus:

> Tikanga are tools of thought and understanding. They are packages of ideas which help to organise behaviour and provide some predictability in how certain activities are carried out. They provide templates and frameworks to guide our actions and help steer us through some huge gatherings of people and some tense moments in our ceremonial life. They help us to differentiate between right and wrong in everything we do and in all of the activities we engage in. There is a proper way to conduct one's self (p. 12).

In earlier times, following tikanga was critical: "In a world where survival was a major consideration, there was little room for actions, practices or behaviours that compromised safety or wasted precious time, hours of sunlight or energy" (Durie, 2012, pp. 77-78). We will look at what tikanga means in the modern day in the section Tikanga in journalism: What the literature records (p. 23). However, we first traverse the earliest expressions of tikanga in the media.

2.5   The 19th-century Māori newspapers

Missionaries keen to spread their faith spurred the development of a reo-Māori orthography in the early years of the 19th century, and Māori were keen to learn to read and write (McKay, 1940). In 1840, the year the country's founding document, the Treaty of Waitangi, was signed between the Crown and Māori, there were approximately 2000 European settlers against a Māori population of up to 90,000 (Pool, 2015). Māori was necessarily the language of daily life, particularly for traders (Moorfield & Johnston, 2004; Waitangi Tribunal, 1986). It was inevitable that the settler government would use newspapers to push its assimilationist agenda, and te

reo Maori was initially the only language with which it could exploit the power of print (Rogers, 1998).

From the 1840s to the early 1930s, more than 40 Māori-language newspapers debated ideas, reported news, advertised goods and services, and generally recorded Māori life, traditions, opinions and language use (McRae, 2014). They were produced by four groups: The colonial government; the rapidly-expanding churches; businessmen; and iwi groupings (Curnow, 2002). All the papers, regardless of ownership, were propaganda organs. Still, Māori were keen on them as most of the literature available then was religious (Paterson, 2004).

Māori were also keen contributors to the papers. Publishers between 1840 and 1860 had a small population from which to raise subscriptions, minimal staffing and a shortage of advertising (Curnow, 2002), and their call for contributors was enthusiastically received. Māori wrote in all genres: Editorials, letters, articles, obituaries, and reports of meetings and events (McRae, 2002). Many of the contributions were straightforward and journalistic (Curnow, Hopa, & McRae, 2006), but many seamlessly transferred oral culture to the page (McRae, 2002). Anything that could be said, or sung, or chanted could make its way to a newspaper page, including genealogies, songs, sayings, incantations and narratives.

However, the heyday of Māori-language newspapers was destined to be brief, as English settlers were pouring into the country: "The dominance of English would help spell the end for publishing in Māori" (Head, 2002, p. 147). By 1858, the two populations had reached parity. By 1874, Māori were just 16% of the total population (Pool, 2015).

2.6   The suppression of te reo and tikanga

Churches and the colonial government made concerted efforts to dilute and denigrate te reo and tikanga. This was effected primarily through assimilationist education policies that tied education funding to English-language instruction and later removed Māori language from the classroom altogether (Biggs, 1968; Kaʻai-Mahuta, 2011; Walker, 2004; Williams, 2001). To access an education in the Māori-only native schools, children had to board away from home, distancing them from natural

transmission of their parents' tongue and tikanga (Walker, 1979). This deculturation, wrote Marsden, was "cultural genocide" (2003, p. 130).

The result was irreparable damage to Māori identity, with the new arrivals normalising destructive hierarchies, concepts of dominance and subservience, and upending the imperative to strive for balance. Many people, both Māori and Pākehā, believed that progress meant eschewing Māori culture and accepting the 'proper knowledge' of the colonisers (Mikaere, 2012). Some of that negative thinking persists (Mead, 2003).

Anglo-centric education led to diminishing numbers able to write and read well in te reo (Curnow, 2002; McRae, 1983). In 1913, a survey found that 90% of Māori children starting at a native school spoke te reo as their first language, learning English at school. A decade later, that figure was 82% (Dale, 1931). In 1950, a survey suggested that just 54% of Māori children spoke "some" Māori at home (Parsonage, 1952, p. 192). In 1975, fewer than 5% of Māori schoolchildren could speak their heritage language (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986). By then, English-language newspapers, radio and television created an "incessant barrage that blasted the Māori tongue almost into oblivion" (Waitangi Tribunal, 2012, p. 10).[3]

The press reflected and reinforced "the hierarchy of Pākehā domination and Maori subordination" (Walker, 2002, p. 218). The subject of anti-Māori themes in the media has been well-traversed and will not be detailed here. Numerous authors, among them Abel (1997); Archie (2007); Fox (1992); Kupu Taea: Media and Te Tiriti Project (n.d.); McGregor (1991); Spoonley (1990); and Walker (1990, 2002) have documented the impact of a monocultural media with little understanding of the Māori world.

2.7 Māori-language news on state radio

Radio began in Aotearoa New Zealand in the 1920s, but Māori were heard at that time as singers only (Lemke, 1995); there was no Māori-language talk programming (Matamua, 2009). However, in World War II, an estimated 15% of the Māori population joined the armed forces (Soutar, 2015), and this created huge demand for

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[3] For more detail on the factors that underpinned the precipitous decline of te reo Māori, there is no better resource than the *Report of The Waitangi Tribunal on the Te Reo Maori claim* (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986). See also Chapter 5 of *Ko Aotearoa Tēnei: A report into claims concerning New Zealand law and policy affecting Māori culture and identity* (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011).

information in te reo (Te Ua, n.d.). Elders made a successful request through their parliamentarians for state radio to provide it (Matamua, 2009).

In 1942, civil servant Wiremu Parker (Te Ua, 2005) presented what is believed to be the first programme entirely in te reo, broadcast from the capital, Wellington (Day, 2000; Lemke, 1995). Parker, like his English-language counterparts, could provide only items supplied by the government, which he translated (Day, 2000). Still, listeners flocked to his broadcast (Fowler, 1974; Perkins, 2000).

Parker had to devise war-related words for which there was no Māori equivalent (Fowler, 1974), among them waka-ruku-moana for submarine: waka for vessel, ruku for dive, and moana for sea (Nixon, 1986). After the war, the bulletins broadcast general news (Day, 2000), with Parker presenting until 1972 (Nixon, 1986). In the post-war period, regional stations far from the capital's bureaucratic oversight created news programmes to reflect Māori life in a way that Parker's government-supplied city bulletins could not (Matamua, 2006; Te Ua, n.d.; Walker, 2014). The Gisborne station established a 10-minute nightly radio news programme, all in te reo, and also a magazine show. The station also broadcast tangi [funeral] notices for free, at a time when this was unheard of in Pākehā society. For iwi, however, this was news, as tikanga required them to turn out in numbers (Beatson, 1996).

The Napier station in 1957 began a 20-minute reo-Māori news programme, *Te Reo o Te Māori*, on Saturdays; it was eventually broadcast by seven other stations (Lemke, 1995). This show was later networked throughout the country, running under various names until 1997 (Ngā Taonga Sound & Vision, n.d.).

To better serve Māori and Pacific Island peoples living in Aotearoa New Zealand, Te Reo o Aotearoa [the voice of New Zealand] was set up in 1978 as a unit of state-owned Radio New Zealand (RNZ) (Matamua, 2009; Te Ua, n.d.). In its 20 years on air, the unit produced shows in te reo Māori and some Pacific languages, and also produced a range of reo-Māori shows for state radio (Browne, 1996). However, there was still considerable pressure on the government to fund a Māori-run radio station.

That aspiration was realised in 1988 with the creation of Irirangi Aotearoa, or Radio Aotearoa. Funded by RNZ, it aimed for 70% reo-Māori broadcasting. Māori was the

primary language, with a "natural flow between Māori and English" ('Māori radio begins in Auckland', 1988, para. 14). All news, weather, time checks and traffic reports were bilingual. The guiding principle was tikanga Māori (Tamihana & Kipping, 1990). However, the station struggled to find both staff and interviewees with the necessary language skills, and the amount of te reo decreased over time. This led to a dispute with the funder, and the station closed in 1998 (Day, 2000; Kennedy, 1997).

2.8   Iwi radio

The roots of iwi radio lie in Māori Language Week 1983. The Wellington Māori Language Board, called Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i te Reo, took over the student station at the city's university and renamed it Radio Pōneke for the week. The programming, mostly in te reo, was "amateur but gripping" (Whaanga, 1990, p. 67), and included current-affairs discussions and storytelling (Walker, 2014).

In 1985, Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau lodged a successful Waitangi Tribunal claim (Wai 11), asserting that the Government was obliged to protect te reo as it was a cultural taonga, or thing of value, just like tangible assets such as forests and fisheries (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986). The claim had arisen from a 1979 court ruling that Māori could not speak te reo in the courts if they spoke English. Subsequently, in 1987, the Māori Language Act, which made te reo an official language of New Zealand, was passed. It conferred the right to speak Māori in legal proceedings and set up Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, the Māori Language Commission, with a mandate to promote and preserve te reo (Benton, 2015; Middleton, 2010).

In 1987, Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau gained a temporary licence and some public funding to establish Te Reo Irirangi o Te Upoko o Te Ika,[4] which ran for two months (Galloway, 1988; Matamua, 2014; Whaanga, 1990). Among the offerings was news on the hour and headlines on the half-hour (Whaanga, 1987). Positive listener feedback and fundraising saw the station become permanent in April 1988 (Browne, 1996; Matamua, 2014).

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[4] Te Upoko o te Ika, the head of the fish, reflects a Māori worldview in which the demigod Māui fished up Te Ika a Māui, the North Island, with present-day Wellington the head of the fish (Reed & Calman, 2004).

Staff members without Māori language skills wrote their news in English, which was translated into Māori. Interviews were in Māori or English, depending on interviewees' abilities (Whaanga, 1987). The station's journalists didn't dodge contentious issues, said station manager Piripi Walker, but eschewed the scoop mentality of mainstream media:

> We can't be excitable … we'll try to resolve a problem before running with it. There's a responsibility attached when you're in such intimate contact with the audience. They take things at face value and respond with the heart (Bourke, 1990, p. 88).

Inspired by Te Upoko, other part-time and temporary stations were set up. Whaanga (1994) described their style as tikanga in action:

> Maori people crossing over into radio work tend to bring with them a formality that appears to be born of tradition ... what is expected in ritual situations. Commonly this shows itself in interaction with others, the introductions, the formal talk and the outroductions. A lot of time is taken up establishing one's credentials, then making the links to the manuhiri (guest or guests) for the listeners and then examining the kaupapa [topic], the reason for the guest being on air and then saying goodbyes (p. 142).

More court action by Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau, this time alongside the pan-tribal Māori Council, secured the future of the iwi stations and laid the foundation for Māori-run television. This action came about in the 1980s when the government decided to deregulate broadcasting (Horrocks, 2004). Māori saw that this would limit indigenous access to the airwaves, and the government was charged with reneging on its obligations to te reo under the Treaty (Matamua, 2009; Middleton, 2010; Pihama & Mika, 2013; Vercoe & Williams, 1994).[5]

The government was eventually permitted to deregulate, but only after pledging to do something concrete to safeguard Māori language and culture through broadcasting (Horrocks, 2004). Frequencies were reserved for Māori radio and television and the Crown laid out a timetable for developing special-purpose Māori television (Horrocks, 2004; Middleton, 2010; Mill, 2005; Waitangi Tribunal, 1999).

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[5] For detailed information on these claims related to Māori radio broadcasting, see Beatson (1996); Matamua (2006, 2009, 2014); Mill (2005) and Pihama and Mika (2013).

In 1989, a national broadcasting funding agency called New Zealand on Air (NZOA) was established; it had specific duties to Māori language and culture. Four years later, under the Broadcasting Amendment Act 1993, a Māori language-focused broadcasting agency was split off from NZOA and named Te Māngai Pāho (TMP) (Dunleavy, 2008; Mill, 2005).[6] At the time of writing, in 2019, this autonomous Crown entity bulk-funds the operational costs of 21 iwi stations. The stations must be owned and controlled by recognised Māori tribal interests, be aimed primarily at a Māori audience within a specific tribal area, and promote Māori language and culture. They must broadcast at least 10 and a half hours a day in te reo (TMP, 2018).

Since 1995, TMP has funded a reo-Māori news contract for the iwi stations. At the time it was first made available, a news agency named Mana Māori Media was dominant in Māori news in both English and te reo, having made the most of available public funding to that point from NZOA and the newly-established TMP (Watkin, 2000). The people behind Mana were all experienced journalists: Māori broadcasters Derek Fox and Piripi Whaanga and a Pākehā print journalist, Gary Wilson. They had attracted the best of the small crop of bilingual journalists (Walker, 1997), and Mana had been successful. From 1990, it had provided Māori-focused news in English to RNZ (Fox, 2000); from 1993, it had supplied weekday news in English and te reo to the iwi stations and Aotearoa Radio (Wilson, 1994). In 1992, the company had launched a glossy, English magazine called *Mana* that billed itself as "the Māori news magazine for all New Zealanders" (Cohen, 2000). At its height, Mana had more than 20 journalists (Nichol, 1993).

Given this track record, the company might have reasonably expected to get the contract to deliver radio news to the iwi stations. But Auckland iwi Ngāti Whātua owned a commercial music station, and, with an eye on the news contract, set up a 100% reo-Māori station, Ruia Mai Te Ratonga Irirangi o te Motu (Ruia Mai) in May 1996.[7] Although the station's staff were, primarily, young people lacking journalism

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[6] Known as Te Reo Whakapuaki Irirangi for legislative purposes.

[7] The name reflects the proverb E kore au e ngaro; he kākano i ruia mai i Rangiātea, which translates as the seed that was scattered from Rangiātea, the legendary homeland, shall never be lost. It refers to the importance of whakapapa and identity to one's well-being (Mead & Grove, 2003).

training, Ruia Mai controversially won the news contract ('National Māori radio service hits the airwaves', 1996; Searancke, 1996). Ruia Mai offered five-minute, on-the-hour, reo-Māori news and sports bulletins from 7am-5pm seven days a week, as well as a daily, 35-minute round-up of the day's news at 6pm seven days a week. It also had a breakfast current affairs show (McGarvey, 1997).

Initially, the iwi stations took what they wanted, but there were complaints about the quality of both the language and the journalism (Sarney, 1996). However, Ruia Mai persevered. With TMP's support, it built the capabilities of its journalists and the service improved (Knight, 1997; Norris & Comrie, 2005; TMP, 1998). It also won several national journalism awards (Campbell, 2004).

The year 2004 brought more change. The news contract again came up for tender and Ruia Mai lost to Te Reo Irirangi o Waatea, an Auckland-based pan-tribal station (Norris & Comrie, 2005). In losing the news contract, Ruia Mai lost its main source of income and closed (Perrott, 2004). The closure left bitterness in its wake. A number of observers felt that the Māori news sector was so small that constant competition for both experienced reporters and funding was damaging to the development and maintenance of quality journalism (Norris & Comrie, 2005).

2.9 Māori-language news on state television

The country's first reo-Māori television news bulletin aired in 1982 on TVNZ, and was intended as a one-off, week-long effort to acknowledge Māori Language Week. Derek Fox, a TVNZ reporter at the time, was asked to present a nightly two-minute news programme in te reo just before the main 6pm news. Fox ignored the brief to translate and present the day's general news, and with some helpful friends but no other resources, collected Māori-focused stories. The bulletins were popular among Māori, and the broadcasting minister of the time, as well as mainstream media, asked why there wasn't more reo-Māori news (Fox, 1990). The result was *Te Karere,* which means the messenger. It started in February 1983 and for five minutes before the network news. Initially, the presentation was "straight down the barrel", reading news without film clips (Walker, 1984, p. 150). Some bulletins appeared little more than community news, wrote Stephens (2014), "but they constituted hard news for iwi and hapū [sub-tribes]" (p. 373).

Since 2009, *Te Karere* has been 22 min 30 s long. Like its radio forebear in the 1940s (p. 12), the five-day bulletin has expanded reo-Māori vocabulary. Reporter Wena Harawira said:

> We drew on words like manu aute to describe a satellite – the name of a traditional Māori kite. The shape resembled a satellite and it floated in the air, so it seemed appropriate to use something traditional and give it a modern twist (Harawira, 2008, p. 2).

For a short time, in 1996 and 1997, there were two sources of reo-Māori news on television, *Te Karere* and the services offered by a short-lived pilot Māori television station. Aotearoa Television Network was available in the evenings in Auckland and aimed to be 70% in-Māori; it provided a seven-day, 30-minute news show in te reo (Hubbard, 1996). However, the network folded in early 1997 amid allegations that the whole exercise had been doomed to fail by poor planning and underfunding on the government's part (Burns, 1997; Horrocks, 2004; Middleton, 2010).

2.10 Māori Television

A sustainable Māori channel was finally realised in 2004, with the birth of Māori Television Service (McCurdy & Kiriona, 2004; Middleton, 2010; Smith, 2016). From 2004 to 2018, its flagship Māori language news show was *Te Kāea,* which means the leader. In the period covered by this thesis, September 2016 to February 2018, there were three other news and current affairs shows on MTS: *Native Affairs* (2007-2018), which was primarily in English but which also aired reo-only stories; a bilingual commentary show, *Kawe Kōrero* (2016-2018); and a short, online-only bilingual news show, *Rereātea* (2015-2018)*.*

In February 2019, all of MTS's news products were rolled into one brand, called *Te Ao,* which means the world. News in te reo and English is pushed out on digital and social media platforms during the day, with a half-hour 6.30pm wrap in te reo on television (RNZ, 2018). At the time of writing, there is no dedicated reo-Māori current affairs programming on Māori Television.

2.11 What about print?

There have been no fully reo-Maori print media since the early 1900s, at the time the reo-Maori newspapers were petering out. However, over the last 70 years, various

Māori print media in English have published articles in te reo to support the language. Among them was the landmark magazine *Te Ao Hou* (1952-1975), published by the Department of Māori Affairs and billed as "a marae on paper" (Schwimmer, 1952, p. 1).

In the 1980s and 1990s, as Treaty of Waitangi settlements between iwi and the Crown gathered pace, tribes produced magazines to keep their members informed. Among the bilingual examples still available are *Te Hookioi* (1997-present, Waikato-Tainui); *Tūranganui-ā-Kiwa Pīpīwharauroa* (1993-present, Te Rūnanga o Tūranganui-ā-Kiwa), and *Nati Link* (1998-present, Ngāti Porou). As with mainstream print products, iwi publications are migrating to the internet for reasons of costs and accessibility (J. Dodd, personal communication, March 18, 2019; M. Taare, personal communication, March 20, 2019).

2.12 Te Māngai Pāho and Māori news funding

The remit of news funder TMP (see p. 16) is to promote Māori language and culture through the provision of funding for Māori initiatives in music, radio, television and new media.[8] TMP bulk-funds Māori Television, which produces its news and current affairs in-house, and funds TVNZ's *Te Karere,* which re-applies for funding every year (TMP, 2018). Radio Waatea, the urban, pan-tribal station in Auckland, has held TMP's three-year news and current affairs contract continuously since 2004 (Radio Waatea, 2004). The 21 iwi stations funded by TMP are not obliged to take Waatea's news and current affairs service; however, all 21 take some or all of the output (Bernie O'Donnell, personal communication, August 1, 2016).

To receive funding from TMP, all shows must provide a language plan that aligns with the agency's funding and policy framework, itself informed by a language revitalisation model called ZePA (Higgins & Rewi, 2014; TMP, 2013). This model acronymises three positions on the Māori language continuum, reflecting the attitudinal and

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[8] While TMP's key governing document is the Broadcasting Amendment Act 1993, it is also named in Te Ture mō te Reo Māori 2016 (The Māori Language Act 2016), which replaced the Māori Language Act 1987. The newer law, in which the Māori version takes precedence, created a partnership between the Crown and Māori for revitalisation of te reo and created various entities, roles and responsibilities. The new law affirmed TMP's role and broadened the types of promotional activities it can undertake (TMP, 2017, 2018).

psychological stance people hold towards it: Kore, or zero interest; pō, or passive engagement; and awatea, or active use.
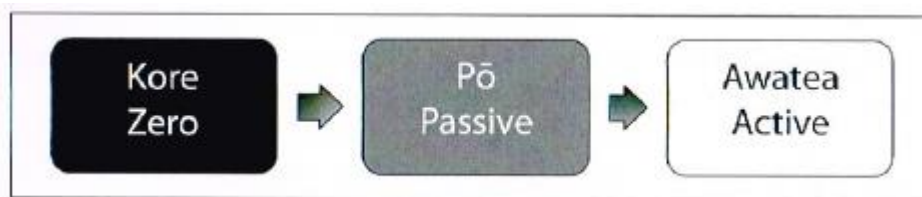
Figure 1: The ZePA model

Source: ZePA – Right-shifting: Reorientation towards Normalisation (p. 25) by P. Rewi and R. Higgins, in R. Higgins, P. Rewi & V. Olsen- Reeder (Eds.), *The Value of the Māori Language Te Hua o te Reo Māori*. Wellington, New Zealand: Huia and Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga. Reprinted with permission.

Language plans must demonstrate how a show will help "right-shift" people along the continuum (Rewi & Rewi, 2015, p. 142).[9] *Te Karere*, *Te Kāea*, *Waatea News* and *Manako* serve consumers who are active users of te reo or want to be, which requires their shows to be 70%-100% in te reo and at a level "that permits the presenter and participants to express simple and complex ideas on diverse topics in a wide range of social domains" (Smith & Piripi, 2012, p. 16). The extent of variation between episodes may be only plus or minus 5%, and this is assessed (TMP, 2018).[10] Language quality is also assessed, with consultants marking shows for pronunciation, vocabulary, grammar, euphony (an appealing sound), captions, and strategic consistency, described as the production's identifiable contribution to revitalisation (Smith & Piripi, 2012; TMP, 2017).[11]

However, TMP policy is silent on what constitutes quality news and current affairs. As earlier stated, it is not charged with assessing the quality of the journalism it funds; the problematic assumption made is that news staff will be appropriately qualified (Middleton, 2019). This issue is further discussed in Chapter 8 (p. 232).

TMP has to stretch limited funds, and it has tried several times to rationalise its news budget. In 2009, an attempt to encourage discussion about amalgamating the two reo-Māori television news shows came to nothing (Tahana, 2017). In late 2017, change was

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[9] The requirements are at https://www.tmp.govt.nz/maori-language-plan.

[10] *Marae*, a bilingual, Sunday current events show on TVNZ that started in 1990, is required under current TMP policy to broadcast 30-70% in te reo. Private channel Three broadcasts *The Hui*, which bills itself as "Māori current affairs for all New Zealanders" (Great Southern Television, n.d., para. 1). First aired in 2016, it is partially funded by TMP, which requires the show be up to 30% in reo (TMP, 2018).

[11] A precis of the assessment framework is in Appendix 6, p. 338.

again raised, by which time co-productions, converged newsrooms and the transmission of news via social media were common features of news media in Aotearoa New Zealand. TMP head Larry Parr felt that the Māori news industry might be ready to have "a sensible conversation" about the situation (Tahana, 2017, para 10). However, TMP's plans were put on hold in October 2018, when the Government announced a review of the entire Māori broadcasting sector. The review, the first in 20 years, aims to ensure that the sector is "future-proofed and fit for purpose" (Mahuta, 2018, para. 2).

2.13 Finding fluent speakers for interview

Although the funding for Māori-language news is secure, it is limited, and the sector faces other challenges. Journalists struggle to find Māori-speaking interviewees who can comment with authority on an issue; the latest figures show that around 50,000 adults, or 10.6% of the Māori population, claimed that they "speak te reo Māori very well or well; that is, they could speak about almost anything or many things in Māori" (SNZ, 2014, p. 8). There are ways around this: *Te Kāea* and *Te Karere* can use short grabs (soundbites) in English, with the journalist's reo-Māori script redressing the balance, and radio journalists can read a story without audio (Hanusch, 2013a).

However, live studio panels are a challenge for those who are not fully fluent. In 2014, it emerged that *Te Karere* gave all in-studio guests their questions in advance; it wanted to help people who were less fluent to prepare, but to be fair, had to extend the courtesy to all panellists. This insight, however, emerged in a roundabout way after rival broadcaster TV3 alleged that staff of TVNZ's Māori and Pacific programmes unit had used TVNZ resources to carry out activities in support of the Labour Party, which was then the Opposition in Parliament. TVNZ's subsequent investigation found that while staff had used company resources to campaign for Labour, that there was no evidence of bias towards the party in their programmes. Giving questions in advance did not constitute bias because the circumstances of the bulletin's production – that is, the shortage of fluent speakers – were unique and created "severe constraints" (McAnulty, Francis, & Price, 2014, p. 9).

2.14 A shortage of bilingual reporters

The demand for fluent speakers with journalism skills far exceeds supply. The shortage became acute from 2013, with the closure of a journalism programme at Waiariki Polytechnic, Rotorua, that had trained Māori journalists for 30 years (Johns, 2013). Then, in 2014, TVNZ closed its Māori and Pacific Programmes unit (Pullar-Strecker, 2014), which had trained a generation of bilingual journalists. A compounding factor is the dwindling number of young people, both Māori and Pākehā, choosing to study journalism in mainstream institutions, and as a result, several journalism schools have closed (Middleton, 2019; Nielsen, 2019).

The funding requirements mean that people are, increasingly, appointed to reporting roles for their reo skills alone (Edge, 2013; Hanusch, 2014; Middleton, 2019). However, once they enter newsrooms, training is piecemeal and subsumed by the need to fill bulletins every day (Hanusch, 2012). The skills deficit can be apparent, and over the years, has led to the perception that Māori news does not always display the depth and rigour required (Rakuraku, 2011; Taumata, 2018).

2.15 Language quality concerns

Concerns have also been raised about the quality of language displayed on television news programmes. Academics Pou Temara and Rangi Matamua described the language of some *Te Karere* and *Te Kāea* reporters as "simply diabolical", adding that some journalists weren't making enough effort to fix entrenched errors and improve their language (Matamua & Temara, 2010, p. 41). Language quality was also raised in a 2009 review of the law that established Māori Television. The review noted that the Act didn't define what was meant by quality, noting the "inadequate language proficiency of some on-air presenters" and "recurring grammatical mistakes by some journalists and narrators" (Stephens, Edwards & Hūria, 2009, p. 13). Some of the language patterns reflected English-language constructions and Pākehā worldviews, which risked diluting the "Māoriness" of the language: "To lose these insights into our singular Māori thought processes would be a tragedy" (Stephens, Edwards, & Hūria, p. 14). In response, TMP commissioned a language assessment framework to emphasise the standards broadcasters had to reach (Smith & Piripi, 2012); an edited version is in Appendix 6 (p. 342).

2.16 Clarity of te reo versus extension of the language

Since the early 2000s, native speakers, who are an older age group, have periodically complained that the language used on reo-Māori television news uses too many unfamiliar words and is incomprehensible to them (Fong, 2014). Broadcasters defend themselves by pointing out that these words come from two sources, both legitimate. One is Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, whose role includes coining words (see some of them on p. 268). The other is the influential 1844 dictionary by Williams from which journalists are re-introducing words that have fallen into disuse (Ihaka, 2014; Winitana, 2011). Much of the latter has been driven by the many broadcasters who have attended the elite Māori-language school Te Panekiretanga o te Reo Māori, the Institute of Excellence in the Māori Language; collectively, these graduates have had considerable influence on the language heard on air (Temara, 2016; Winitana, 2011). The school ran from 2004 to 2019 under academics Tīmoti Kāretu, Te Wharehuia Milroy and Pou Temara, its aim to produce "graduates who are excellent in the Māori language, who are equally proficient in the English language and are able to perform the customary practices of their marae to the highest level" (Temara, 2016, p. 3).

2.17 Tikanga in journalism: What the literature records

We now turn to specific aspects of tikanga that have arisen in relation to journalistic practice. There is scant information on how journalists have practised on a daily basis throughout the development of Māori media; what little exists was cited earlier. There are just two published academic works that address the subject. A pilot study by German researcher Folker Hanusch employed qualitative interview to explore the impact of cultural values on Māori journalists' professional views (Hanusch, 2013a, 2014). Although it is useful introductory work, the author acknowledged the weakness of relying on interviews only: What journalists say they do and what they actually do may be different (Hanusch, 2013a). In addition, the perspective is that of the cultural outsider, which can be problematic (Janke & Taiapa, 2003). Absent is discussion of the principles on which tikanga rests, leaving the behaviours under discussion adrift from their context, and, in general, un-named, which makes it difficult to draw connections to the growing literature on tikanga.

Additional information comes from academic studies that touch on Māori reporting practice as part of a broader investigation of Māori media. Among them are Adds et

al., (2005); Comrie, (2012); Edge, (2013); Macdonald (2008), Stuart (1997, 2002) and Te Awa (1996). Given the paucity of peer-reviewed work on this topic, I will also make some use of non-academic literature written by pioneers in reo-Māori news, such as Derek Fox (1990; 1992; 1993) and Tainui Stephens (2004; 2014).

A further source is a handbook for non-Māori journalists covering Māori issues (Archie, 2007). The author, Carol Archie, is Pākehā and worked in English-language Māori news for many years. The book, which aims to give reporters the basic information they need to operate in Māori spaces, is informed by interviews with Māori reporters. However, it also omits a description of the Māori worldview and the reasons why certain tikanga exist.

The academic literature on tikanga is becoming increasingly developed, with important contributions from Marsden (2003); Pere (1994); Rewi (2010) and Salmond (2004), among others. The subject of tikanga is vast. However, for the purposes of this study, I will focus on those aspects of tikanga that have already been identified in the journalism-related literature. They are, by no means, the only aspects of culture that intersect with journalism, as will become evident in Chapters 4-8.

Several caveats apply to what follows, principally that the worldview encoded by English cannot perfectly translate tikanga. As Metge (1996) noted, "it is necessary to recognise that Māori concepts hardly ever correspond exactly with those Western concepts which they appear, on the surface, to resemble. While there is a degree of overlap, there are usually divergences as well" (p. 2). Further, tikanga adapts with the times, but is always founded on the concepts passed down by our ancestors (Marsden, 2003; Mead, 2003; Metge, 1996). Finally, although the practice of tikanga is often broadly similar across tribes, there are differences (Pere, 1997; Shirres, 1997; Stokes, 1985; Walker, 2004).

2.18 The Māori approach to talk

Several Māori broadcasters, notably Māori documentary-maker Barry Barclay, have identified Māori communication styles as circular and those of Pākehā as linear. He wrote:

Māori people are said to talk in circles. Outsiders say such talk is imprecise and time-wasting. It is not, of course. It allows many perspectives to surface, and to die, too, should the substance not be appropriate at the time. There is a feeling that you have had a chance to hear everybody's voice, and nobody can complain that there was no opportunity to voice his or her mind. This process is used not just for idle things, but for debates of great consequence (Barclay, 2015, p. 9).

On the other hand, he said, Pākehā communication "seems based on thrusting yourself forward, of butting in to keep the conversation sparkling … it is alien to Māori ways of exchanging thoughts. That system makes for vigorous linear debate, whereas Māori debate tends to be cyclic". Barclay identified an important corollary: "You do not interrupt a person who is talking, no matter how humble that person may be" (Barclay, 2015, p. 14). For the same reason, veteran reporter Derek Fox was reluctant to interrupt Māori interviewees. Instead, he said:

I've developed ways of leaning forward slightly or using my eyes or a movement of the hands to indicate that I wish to ask a question and move on. This usually encourages the person to bring the answer to a close (Archie, 2007, p. 64).

2.19 Time, ceremonial events and meetings

Many newsworthy events take place during or after formal ceremonies of encounter called pōwhiri, which can take several hours, and their less formal, shorter counterpart, the mihi whakatau (for more information on both, see Mead, 2003, and Tauroa and Tauroa, 2009). These welcomes follow spiritual protocols that all present are expected to follow. In these settings, we see most clearly the Māori attitude to time, which prioritises correct processes over timetables. Walker (1983) wrote, "In authentic Māori settings, the attitude to time slows down the rhythm of life. Measured time becomes meaningless as the values of relating to people, discussion and the arrival of consensus take over" (para. 8). The time commitment can be frustrating for reporters. One said:

As journalists, we need to go through that process as well. We started to skirt them because it takes so bloody long, so that by the time you got your story, you almost missed your deadline. But I think there is a way to be able to do it with respect, with dignity; and not be too much of a journalist where you ignore all those things (Hanusch, 2013a, p. 199).

2.20 Aroha and whanaungatanga

Aroha is, as Barlow (1991) wrote, "an all-encompassing quality of goodness, expressed by love for people, land, birds and animals, fish, and all living things" (p. 8). It is, ideally, a compassion and concern for all, without discrimination, and is essential for community cohesion (Pere, 1997). An important aspect of aroha is whanaungatanga, which focuses on links between people and building respectful relationships. Whanaungatanga recognises that relationships can be fragile and need nurturing, and that this is best effected face-to-face (Mead, 2003). Māori journalists aim to meet their interviewees in person as much as is practicable, and the importance of whanaungatanga means that the organisation a journalist represents is less important than their whakapapa links to the interviewee. One said that "where a Māori reporter comes from is absolutely vital. You have no choice but to know the connections of your people to the people you are visiting" (Archie, 2007, p. 60). Another journalist explained:

> In mainstream media, your credibility often comes from the organisation that you work for. You simply identify your news organisation and then get on with the interview. In Māori media, that's not enough. It's more important to 'hook up' or acknowledge any whakapapa connection. Some people want to know that I am so-and-so's mokopuna [grandchild] or cousin and that I come from Rotorua. In a Māori situation, that will often determine if your interview will go well or not (Archie, 2007, p. 64).

Māori journalists accepted that this took time (Archie, 2007; Wright, 1999).

Journalists often named people's iwi in their stories (Macdonald, 2008), which Fox, (2002) described as important as it allowed viewers or readers to make their own connections and assess the validity of what was being said. Interviews might start with a mihi [acknowledgement] or a karakia (Fox, 2002; Hanusch, 2013a; Harawira, 2008); the word karakia is often translated as prayer, but is more accurately an incantation "to enfold forces (bodies, spaces, ancestors, earth, and sky) into productive engagement" (Hoskins & Jones, 2017, p. 54).

Issues arise here that are not answered in the literature, such as who initiates the concerted expression of tikanga in an interview situation, and to what extent the

setting for the interview has an influence. These are addressed in Chapter 6: The influence of tikanga in newswork (p. 146).

2.21 Mana and manaakitanga

Mana as a concept, wrote Pere (1994), "is beyond translation from the Māori language" (p. 36); many writers opt for prestige and authority (Duncan & Rewi, 2018b; Marsden, 2003; Mead, 2003; Pere, 1994; Tauroa & Tauroa, 2009). Mana has several forms. The primary form is mana atua, the power that extends from the atua of each domain. As the creators of nature, each atua gave their spiritual power to human agents who carried out the activities necessary to maintain and protect that domain. Mana, then, was bestowed by the gods, and man was merely a conduit, "never the source" (Marsden, 2003, p. 4).

Everyone is born with an increment of mana and this must be upheld in the sense that everyone deserves to be respected and their qualities and contributions valued (Duncan & Rewi, 2018b; Mead, 2003). Great achievement increases one's mana in the eyes of the iwi. Conversely, as Mead (2003) wrote, "thoughtless, crooked and evil actions" will diminish it (p. 52).

From the word mana is derived the closely related manaakitanga; Mead (2003) described it as "nurturing relationships, looking after people and being very careful about how others are treated" (p. 29). Journalists said they aimed to uphold people's mana through manaakitanga, regardless of who they were; Māori culture was generally intolerant of disrespect. As a news manager observed, the small world in which Māori journalists live and work made maintaining good relationships critical:

> You have to be very conscious that access is considered as a hard-earned right … and so quite a lot of care has to be observed around those relationships ... In mainstream situations the idea that you burn a bridge or two is completely acceptable. If you burn a bridge or two within the communities or among the communities that we're serving, we may not be able to have access to people there again (Edge, 2013, p. 66).

Research has identified a lack of sensationalism in stories from Māori newsrooms, as well as an avoidance of story structures that pit people against each other (Archie, 2007; Hanusch, 2013a; Te Awa, 1996). While it is essential to report the different

viewpoints of an argument, wrote Archie (2007), "the approach is often less adversarial ... opposing opinions are not positioned so that they will be perceived as one putting another down" (p. 66).

Indeed, research that explored the ways in which mainstream news and *Te Kāea* handled pre-election political coverage found that *Te Kāea* "eschewed the mainstream's concentration on scandals and gaffes" (Comrie, 2012, p. 14), avoiding framing that emphasised competition, winners and losers in the game of politics. A total of 31% of MTS coverage was strategy-framed, compared with 57% on TVNZ and 56% on TV3.

Elsewhere, a study of how various media handled the contentious foreshore and seabed issue[12] noted that on the TVNZ programmes *Te Karere* (reo-Māori) and *Marae* (bilingual), respect and courtesy were shown by anchors and reporters to the interviewees and to each other:

> They did not interrupt or talk over another person as is often seen on mainstream programmes. Respect and humility are qualities admired by traditional Māori society. In *Te Karere* interviews, the anchors greeted the interviewees and thanked them at the end … the anchors and reporters, coming live from either the Wellington studio or phoning into the programme, greeted each other warmly and ended the link with a short mihi. This pattern was repeated throughout these types of stories (Adds et al., 2005, p. 85).

Research has found that interviewees spoke for longer in Māori news stories than in mainstream, allowing a more nuanced perspective to surface (BSA, 2006; Te Awa, 1996). The mean length of a soundbite in *Te Kāea* stories was 15.9 s, while *1 News* (TVNZ) soundbites were 8.2 s (Macdonald, 2008). This will be partially due to the structure of te reo; a sentence in Māori takes roughly one and a half times longer than the equivalent in English (Archie, 2007).

Manaakitanga applies particularly to interviewing kaumātua [elders], who hold a special place in Māori society: "They are respected for their life experience; they are

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[12] The Foreshore and Seabed Act was passed in November 2004 and vested ownership of the foreshore and seabed in the Crown. Many Māori argued that the legislation ignored customary rights and breached the Treaty of Waitangi, leading to a protest march to Parliament in May 2004. In 2011, Crown ownership of the foreshore and seabed was replaced with a 'no ownership' regime (Hill, 2009; Kalderimis, 2011).

respected for knowledge; they are respected for their wise counsel ... they are sometimes figuratively referred to as precious taonga of the marae, the hapū, or the iwi" (Tauroa & Tauroa, 2009, p. 146). Cultural knowledge is revered, and those willing to share it are treated carefully (Archie, 2007).

2.21.1 Challenging Māori institutions and leaders

Younger journalists, in particular, felt pressure to avoid asking hard questions of their own (Hanusch, 2014). Challenging relatives and elders, especially by young people, could be seen as a breach of manaakitanga or a trampling of mana. "It goes back to Māori belief that the older you are, the more right you have to speak," one journalist said. "So obviously the younger you are, the less right you have to speak, let alone ask me questions" (Hanusch, 2013a, p. 201). This is the tuākana/teina or older child/younger child principle, a system of social stratification in which older ranks above younger, with different rights and responsibilities ascribed to each (Mead, 2003; Pere, 1994). In effect, interpersonal relationships are not on a level playing field (Mead, 2003). Self-censorship was a consequent risk and could be driven by the desire to present a positive image of Māori, with the attendant hazard that issues important to Māori were either not aired or inadequately covered (Stuart, 2007).

2.21.2 The Kōhanga Reo National Trust and *Native Affairs*

To explore this issue of Māori challenging Māori leaders, it is instructive to revisit a story that gained national attention in 2013. Although it was presented in English, it was produced by bilingual Māori Television journalists and concerned a central institution in Māori life, raising important issues about tikanga, journalism and the relationship between the two. Most of the sources in this section are media reports.

Kōhanga reo are Māori-language preschools. Current affairs show *Native Affairs* investigated the concerns of a kōhanga reo collective in the Bay of Plenty about its governing body, the Kōhanga Reo National Trust (Forbes & Langston, 2013a, 2013b; Forbes, Anderton, Stevanon, Langston & Lee-Harris, 2013c, 2013d). The trust is a charity that disburses funds to more than 400 kōhanga reo, and at that time, its board was run by eight venerated elders who held office for life.

The collective, which represented 60 kōhanga reo, alleged that their schools were starved of cash and their buildings below legal standards while the trust and its wholly-

owned commercial arm, Te Pātaka Ōhanga (TPO), made questionable purchases, stockpiled cash and refused to answer questions. The collective felt it had no option but to take its concerns to *Native Affairs* (Drinnan, 2013; Forbes & Langston, 2013a, 2013b; Wichtel, 2014).

The ensuing story, A Question of Trust,[13] outlined the collective's concerns and used publicly available information to show the trust had $13 million in reserves. However, the board refused to engage with journalists, despite repeated requests and written questions. The board also unsuccessfully tried to injunct transmission of A Question of Trust. However, it was forced to provide financial information in making its bid to prevent broadcast, and *Native Affairs* successfully applied to use this information in a subsequent programme, Feathering the Nest.[14] This show was based on records of credit-card transactions made by a board member and her daughter-in-law, the general manager of TPO, and showed lavish personal spending (Forbes & Langston, 2013a, 2013b; Forbes et al., 2013c, 2013d; Steward, 2013; Wichtel, 2014).

A Serious Fraud Office investigation concluded that while there were issues with credit-card use and general governance, there was no criminal wrongdoing. However, a review of TPO, the commercial arm, under the Charities Act 2005 found serious wrongdoing and it was given a formal warning (Potaka, 2014). The trust board was required to make substantial changes to its staffing and procedures (Forbes, 2015; Small, Kirk, & Watkins, 2013).

This was investigative journalism that brought positive change. However, principal reporter Mihingaarangi Forbes said that from the beginning of the investigation, she and colleagues were pressured from within Māoridom to drop it. "We all got emails and calls saying, 'just leave it alone' and 'why is a Māori organisation investigating

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[13] Forbes, M. (Reporter), & Langston, R (Producer). (2013, September 9). A Question of Trust, part 1. Retrieved from https://www.maoritelevision.com/news/national/native-affairs-question-trust-part-1
Forbes, M. (Reporter), & Langston, M. (Producer). (2-13, September 9). A Question of Trust, part 2. Retrieved from https://www.maoritelevision.com/news/education/native-affairs-question-trust-part-2

[14] Forbes, M. (Reporter), & Anderton, C. (Editor), & Stevanon, A. (Co-Producer), & Langston, M. (Co-Producer), & Lee-Harris, A. (Co-Producer). (2013, October 14). Feathering the Nest, part 1. Retrieved from https://www.maoritelevision.com/news/national/native-affairs-feathering-nest-part-1
Forbes, M. (Reporter), & Anderton, C. (Editor), & Stevanon, A. (Co-Producer), & Langston, M. (Co-Producer), & Lee-Harris, A. (Co-Producer). (2013, October 14). Feathering the Nest, part 2. Retrieved from https://www.maoritelevision.com/news/national/native-affairs-feathering-nest-part-2

another Māori organisation?' We should be able to put the microscope on our own" (Steward, 2013, para. 7). The facts had to be established, she added, and a Māori organisation was best-placed to do so: "We understand what they are trying to do, and often have sympathy for their aims. But we won't let them hide behind tikanga if they're not tika [acting appropriately]" (Steward, 2013, para. 12).

After the allegations were first broadcast, the Kōhanga Reo National Trust Board complained to the MTS board in a bid to appeal to their peers. Jim Mather, then MTS chief executive and editor-in-chief of the show, rejected the approach and directed the trust to the BSA, which is the most muscular of the watchdog agencies that hold the media to account (Peacock, 2019).[15] The trust board complained to the BSA that the broadcast was inaccurate, unbalanced and unfair. The BSA, whose members are experts in journalism, broadcasting and the law, rejected the assertion, saying that the story had high public interest and was a legitimate investigation into a publicly-funded body (BSA, 2014).[16]

Still, some quarters of Māoridom said that the approach *Native Affairs* took was "Pākehā-fied", bashing Māori and lacking respect. It was not, they said, tikanga Māori (Drinnan, 2013, para. 1). The reporters disagreed, saying that citing a breach of tikanga was a defensive smokescreen; they had tried to meet with the board. Mihingaarangi Forbes said:

> Tikanga Māori is kanohi ki te kanohi – face-to-face. So if that's the case, they should have met with us. They ignored us from the beginning and went to court. So this whole tikanga thing is easy to throw up in the air. Throw your arms in the air and talk about tikanga when it's not suiting you (Wichtel, 2014, p. 32).

One commentator wrote that sexism was part of the dynamic:

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[15] The BSA is an independent Crown entity set up under the Broadcasting Act 1989 to oversee the broadcasting standards regime, and all broadcast media are subject to it. The BSA's purpose "is to oversee New Zealand's broadcasting standards regime so that it is fair to all New Zealanders, by balancing broadcasters' right to freedom of expression with their obligation to avoid harm to individuals and society" (BSA, 2018, p. ii). It is essentially an appeals body; complaints generally go first to the broadcaster, with the exception of privacy issues and election advertisements. BSA decisions can be appealed in the High Court (BSA, n.d.).
[16] https://bsa.govt.nz/decisions/7351-te-kohanga-reo-national-trust-board-and-maori-television-service-2013-071

> The young, many of whom were female, journalists had the temerity to challenge the behaviour of the older, many of whom were male, members of the Māori establishment. The message from some disgruntled elders to the stroppy wāhine toa [warrior women] of *Native Affairs* seemed to be loud and clear: 'You be quiet, girlie!' (Armstrong, 2015, para. 5).

Jim Mather left MTS in late 2013, and his successor, Paora Maxwell, was reported having concerns about the tone of the approaches to the trust board. "When you challenge the establishment, you are going to get kickback," he said. "If there was any criticism from me, it is about the tone. Tone is difficult to balance and it is difficult whenever a younger person is inquiring about an older establishment person" (Drinnan, 2014, para. 26).

MTS was subsequently blocked from covering kōhanga reo-related stories, and this remained the case five years later, when Keith Ikin started as MTS chief executive in early 2018. In an attempt to clear the impasse, he met with those who were on the Kōhanga Reo National Trust board at the time the scandal erupted:

> We sat down and I saw the hurt that they beared (sic) through the telling of that story and the way that story was told and the impact that it had on them. And so the issue around us ensuring that we have balance is important ... as Māori, yes, we hold decision-makers and we hold people in positions of power and positions of authority ... to account. But we have a wider responsibility in terms of tikanga Māori, whakaaro ki te tangata [considering the people involved] and in that circumstance ... I believe we got it wrong. I believe ... we lacked balance (Ikin, 2018).

As noted above, the BSA, whose findings bind all media in Aotearoa New Zealand, found that the reporting was not inaccurate, unbalanced, and unfair. Still, two out of three Māori Television CEOs had concerns about tone and balance. There is no evidence, however, that either publicly questioned the approach of the trust board in refusing to answer legitimate concerns and then seeking an injunction. None of the CEOs are, or have been, professional journalists. However, they are Māori leaders in a small pool of Māori who may be related, and with whom they may have longstanding relationships (Forbes, 2016a). We don't know how influence and relationships behind the scenes may have played out in public pronouncements.

We do know, however, that the political environment around Māori Television is affected by "the highly complex Māori politics surrounding the appointment of the Māori TV board, and the close and interwoven politics of whānau [family], tribal allegiances, and personal friendships" (Drinnan, 2015, para. 33). There were allegations of editorial interference at MTS while Paora Maxwell was CEO (Grant, 2015; McAllen, 2015).

The above suggests a fundamental misunderstanding in some quarters of Māoridom about the role of journalism in a democracy. As I will argue throughout his thesis, Māori journalists see their role as do their mainstream counterparts: To deliver truthful, fair and balanced information to their community of interest and monitor those in power (Archie, 2007; Forbes, 2016a; Hanusch, 2014). Tikanga and the Māori worldview informs the subjects chosen, the way in which newswork is carried out and how it is presented. However, as veteran reporter Tāwini Rangihau has said, "the ethics of journalism are the ethics of journalism in whatever language you're reporting in" (BSA, 2006, p. 65). Such a role conception is reinforced and supported by a regulatory regime that applies to all news media (BSA, 2018; New Zealand Media Council, n.d.), and the same role conception has been noted in indigenous journalism elsewhere (Markelin, 2017).

Critics of the *Native Affairs* reporters also ignored the fact that Māori culture has long valued open and robust public debates. As Parliamentarian Metiria Turei wrote at the time, "There is nothing un-Māori about confronting a misuse of power or asking questions of public figures. The open airing of issues is supposed to be a hallmark of hui [meetings] and kōrero [discussion]" (Turei, 2013, para. 7). Indeed, Māori media speaking truth to the Māori powerful is not a new issue. In 1994, Ripeka Evans, then chief executive of TMP, said that critical reporting was necessary:

> To question the Minister for Maori Affairs and his policies is not to attack Maori. To look critically at the structures of Maori organisations – such as Maori trust boards and other trusts and incorporations, or at the performance of some Maori leaders – is not necessarily to be hostile to Maori interests. Sunlight can in fact be a very good disinfectant. This comment is particularly true of ministers, bureaucracies and political organisations. However earnestly they believe they are doing their best, they are not themselves the clients (Evans, 1994, p. 6).

2.22 Reporting on your own community

Māori society is tightly intertwined, and journalists may find themselves reporting on their own iwi or hapū. News organisations commonly send journalists to cover stories about their own iwi because they are deemed to have inside knowledge and good contacts. But journalists were divided about the wisdom of this. Whereas some felt that they were quite capable of covering stories about their own iwi, others thought it constituted a conflict of interest and that it was better to send an outsider (Hanusch, 2013a, 2014). However, there were advantages to bearing the dual identity of reporter and iwi member, said one journalist: "Do I go into a hui when there is a media ban? I can go in as a member of an iwi. So what do I do? I go, and write about it later" (Archie, 2007, p. 64).

2.23 Tapu and noa

Tapu is a multi-layered concept often translated as sacred, prohibited, restricted, set apart, forbidden, or under the protection of a departmental god; Rewi (2010) described tapu as "an intimate connection with the divine" (p. 70) and also as "unparalleled respect for something because of its significance" (p. 105). Activities that take place "under the patronage of the gods" (Marsden, 2003, p. 6) are tapu, such as pōwhiri, tangi and karakia; to break the conventions of formal ritual is to invite misfortune (Manihera & Pēwhairangi, 1992; Marsden, 2003; Shirres, 1997).

For example, at marae-based events, the space between hosts and guests is tapu while orators are speaking; it is the domain of Tūmatauenga, the god of war, and strong words are permitted (Duncan & Rewi, 2018a; Tauroa & Tauroa, 2009). A journalist walking across the area at that time would be breaching tikanga (Archie, 2007), and to a Māori way of thinking, would be placing themselves in spiritual and/or bodily danger (Mead, 2003).

Extensions of tapu exist in order to keep oneself safe, physically and spiritually (Shirres, 1997). For example, to sit on a table where food is prepared or eaten is tapu, because your bottom is unclean (Mead, 2003; Tauroa & Tauroa, 2009). Places can be made tapu by rāhui, or bans on access; for example, rāhui are placed on waterways where someone has died, due to the extreme tapu that accompanies death. Rāhui are also

placed on areas where natural resources, such as shellfish beds, need time to replenish (Marsden, 2003; Maxwell & Penetito, 2007; Mead, 2003).

Closely related to tapu is noa. When a situation moves from the realm of the sacred to the realm of the everyday, it has become noa (Shirres, 1997). For example, a formal pōwhiri moves from tapu to noa when the visitors move from outsiders to insiders with the hongi, the pressed noses and the exchange of breath, and shared, cooked food (Duncan & Rewi, 2018a).

2.23.1 Negotiating breaches of tapu

The human body is tapu, and a corpse highly so (Mead, 2003). However, in rare circumstances, tikanga can be flexible if there are overriding issues of political or social importance, as *Native Affairs* chief Julian Wilcox found in 2011 after the fatal police shooting of a man named Anthony Ratahi. The victim's family felt the shooting was unjustified and wanted his body filmed as it lay in the morgue. The tapu of death would generally preclude filming, but the family was insistent.

At the time, Māori Television had an independent council of elders, the Kaunihera Kaumātua, to give advice on matters of tikanga (MTS, 2014). The elders' guidance was to go ahead, given that the family had made a clear request (Wilcox, 2013).[17] However, other Māori journalists had reservations. In response, Parliamentarian Metiria Turei said that she didn't feel that tikanga had been breached. The fact the family had suggested filming showed "the high level of trust Māori whānau have in the Māori media to treat our issues and our people with sensitivity and openness. Mainstream media would never have gotten so close" (Turei, 2013, para. 4).

2.24 Features of te reo Māori in journalism

The Māori language is inextricably woven into Māori identity and tikanga, and journalists often cited a desire to use, normalise and revitalise te reo Māori as the impetus for a career in Māori journalism (Hanusch, 2013a; Stuart, 2007). Reo-speaking reporters often employed sayings and metaphors to illuminate concepts in their stories (Stuart, 2007). As an example, the anchor of *Te Karere* greeted viewers with "e

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[17] See further discussion of the role of Kaunihera Kaumātua on p. 249. The reporter involved discusses her response to the tikanga issues in this story in The role of karakia on p. 165.

ngā tuhi mareikura o te ao Māori, tēnā koutou" (Adds et al., 2005), which translates, on the surface, as "esteemed friend, I greet you". But there is a deeper layer of meaning: Tuhi mareikura are horizontal lines of red ochre on the face, an ornamentation reserved for chiefs (Williams, 1971, p. 449). Its use here ennobles the viewer and is a poetic and appealing turn of phrase to the Māori ear.

Reporters also used sayings from the tribal areas on which they were reporting. A story about the Waikato tribal region used the saying I riro whenua atu, me hoki whenua mai, which means: As land is taken, so land must be returned (Adds et al., 2005). It refers to the widespread confiscations that Waikato tribes suffered in the 19th century (Mead, 2003) and was the catch-cry of 18th-century Waikato leader Tāwhiao and his successors. The phrase remains widely used. For an in-depth demonstration of the ways in which the tenets of formal oratory have transferred into news stories and settings, see Chapter 5, p. 108.

2.25 Anglo-American news values

In this section, we explore how standard news values in the Galtung and Ruge (1965) tradition are expressed in a Māori paradigm and discuss the Māori perspective in news, as an understanding of both is necessary to grasp the chapters to come. We begin by surveying the literature about news values, exploring the relationship between culture and news values. This is followed by a description of the social, historical and cultural components that create the Māori perspective.

Influential sociologist Stuart Hall (1981) described news values as "one of the most opaque structures of meaning in modern society". Although all "true journalists" were supposed to possess a sense of what news values are, few could or were willing to define them: "Journalists speak of the news as if events select themselves. Further, they speak as if which is the "most significant" news story, and which "news angles" are most salient, are divinely inspired" (p. 234).

Research has clarified that news is a social construct, with journalists creating and curating news stories according to the cultural values most familiar to them (Bell, 1991; Hall, 1981; Hall, Critcher, Jefferson, Clarke, & Roberts, 1978; Schudson, 2011). Hall wrote that newsrooms operated on three planes: Those of formal news values, which belonged to the world of the newspaper with its rules and deadlines; inflection,

governed by the paper's policy, political orientation, its presentational values, its tradition and self-image; and ideological value*s* that belonged to the "moral/political discourse of the society" (1981, p. 231).

The reporting of Māori issues by Pākehā-dominated media, particularly from the 1970s to the early 2000s, saw these three planes operating in concert to marginalise and misrepresent Māori, with many journalists unaware of the ways in which their monoculturalism intersected with their framing of stories. As Tremewan (1986) wrote:

> Many Pakeha don't understand their own conditioning. They're so monocultural that they don't realise they have a culture and that the values of that culture at the core of their work are culturally based, not some universal, divinely ordained law (p. 42).

Journalists are socialised by an editorial pecking order into reproducing the values of their newsroom, which in turn reproduces the values of the dominant culture (Gravengaard & Rimestad, 2012, 2014; McGregor, 1991, 2002; Thomas, 2008). The values reporters reproduce are viewed as an expression of collective common sense rather than a set of ideological values that might be damaging to certain sectors of society (McGregor, 1991).

News values have received a great deal of attention over the last century. Following Bell (1991), and my own professional experience, I group news-value criteria into three classes, each with a particular role in the newsroom "corpus of occupational lore" (Golding & Elliott, 1979, p. 114). They are

- Values in the **news text itself**, such as clarity and brevity;

- Values in the **news process**, such a story that will meet the deadline and/or is an exclusive; and

- Values in **news actors and events** – the qualities of the event or the people involved in it, such as proximity to the audience and relevance to their lives. These are the most important of the three in terms of how media re-present the world.

Academic assessment of newsworthiness gained prominence after Norwegian sociologists Johan Galtung and Mari Holmboe Ruge (1965) published a "famously

perceptive" paper (McGregor, 2002, p. 112) on news values.[18] To answer the question "how do events become news?", they examined 1262 Norwegian press cuttings, including news stories, features, editorials and reader letters about crises in the Congo (1960), Cuba (1960) and Cyprus (1964).

They found that the more clearly an event could be understood and explained unambiguously, the more likely it was to become news. The more of the below factors that the event satisfied, the higher the probability that it would become news. Galtung and Ruge's newsworthiness criteria were:

1. **Frequency.** The time needed for an event to unfold and how well that fits with the production cycle. A murder or a spectacular car crash is more likely to get coverage than a slowly-unfolding social trend.
2. **Threshold.** The size of an event. Events have to pass a certain threshold before being recorded.
3. **Unambiguity.** The more clearly an event can be understood and described.
4. **Meaningfulness: a) Cultural proximity and b) relevance**. For a), events that are perceived to be culturally similar are more likely to be selected because they are familiar to a gatekeeper's ethnocentrism. Similarly, events from countries perceived to have a similar culture are seen to be more relevant than stories from elsewhere. For b), events in culturally distant places may still be loaded with implications. For example, civil war in a country that supplies oil to Aotearoa New Zealand will make the news.
5. **Consonance.** Whether the event is something we expect – that is, something news outlets are prepared for.
6. **Unexpectedness.** Surprising or rare events that occur while still being culturally familiar and/or consonant.

The next two values related primarily to newsroom processes:

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[18] Galtung and Ruge had an agenda – they wanted to propose better ways to report conflict, and their paper was published in the *Journal of Peace Research*. As fellow Norwegian and media theorist Sigurd Allern (2002, p. 141) wrote, "their article ended in a scathing critique of the news practices of western media, and a call for a new kind of journalism that focuses not on discrete events, but on longer-term processes and that pays attention to other phenomena than the affairs of big powers and elite politicians." This call, of course, did not take into account the realities of newspaper production as outlined by Tuchman (1980) and others.

7. **Continuity.** Once an event has become headline news it may remain in the media spotlight for some time – even if its amplitude or relevance has been greatly reduced – because it has become familiar and thus easy to interpret.
8. **Composition.** News aims for a balance between significant and less significant stories.

These factors, noted the researchers, were not independent of each other: There were inter-relationships between them.

Despite the fact that this study was rooted in north-western European values and could not test intercultural factors, Galtung and Ruge claimed that the first eight factors on the list were universally applicable. They identified another four values that they said were culture-bound in developed democracies. They were:

9. **Reference to elite nations.** The activities of powerful nations are seen as having more consequence.
10. **Reference to elite people.** The actions of those with power or profile are assumed to be more consequential.
11. **Personalisation.** Telling an event through the eyes of a witness.
12. **Negativity**. Bad news sells; it is often unexpected, unambiguous, and happens quickly.

This typology has attracted criticism. For example, the study was narrow, focusing on news relating to three foreign crises; relied on source data emanating primarily from four foreign press agencies; and looked at just four newspapers. It took no account of photographs and paid no heed to the day-to-day or entertainment-oriented events that make up most of the news diet (Tunstall, 1971). Nonetheless, it has proved an enduring benchmark (Caple & Bednarek, 2013; Harcup & O'Neill, 2001; McGregor, 2002). Ethnographic study in newsrooms yielded comparable results; see, for example, Golding and Elliot's 1979 study of television newsrooms in Ireland, Sweden and Nigeria.

Much research since has attempted to refine our understanding of news values. See, for example, Masterton (1990) for a comprehensive review of news values research in the three decades to 1990; Gans (1979) on American evening news and news

magazines; Schulz (1982) on newspaper and TV news in Germany; Allern (2002) on commercial news criteria in Norway; and Schultz (2007) on news decision-making in Denmark. Caple & Bednarek (2013) provide a useful cross-disciplinary overview of the ways in which news values have been studied.

Allan Bell, a "journo-linguist" from Aotearoa New Zealand (Cotter, 2008, p. 419) has been influential. He added four items to Galtung and Ruge's news-process values of continuity and composition (Bell, 1991):

Competition, as media outlets compete for audience attention;

Co-option, where a story tangentially related to a wider issue can still be interpreted through it;

Pre-fabrication, or use of ready-made texts such as press releases;

Predictability, such as pre-scheduled events.

He also outlined news text factors that affected a story's value: Clarity, brevity and colour, particularly in the first paragraph.

Judy McGregor, who, like Bell, is another journalist-turned-academic from Aotearoa New Zealand, proposed adding four new values to Galtung and Ruge to reflect the power of television news: **Visualness** (good pictures); **emotion** (stories that arouse emotional responses); **conflict** (coverage that privileges opposing positions) and **the celebrification of the journalist**, with reporters becoming "the personality and central actor in the news" (McGregor, 2002, p. 5).

Former journalists Tony Harcup and Deirdre O'Neill (2016, 2001) critically examined and updated Galtung and Ruge, using British papers. Both their 2001 and 2016 papers identified the following values: The power elite; celebrity; entertainment; surprise; follow-up (stories about subjects already in the news); relevance (culturally, geographically, historically); magnitude; good news; news organisation's agenda; and bad news.

Their 2016 paper, which was informed by the social media age, identified five more values:

Audio-visuals: Stories that have arresting photographs, video, audio and infographics.

Shareability: Stories that are thought likely to generate sharing and comments via social media.

Drama: Stories concerning an unfolding drama such as escapes, accidents and battles.

Exclusivity: Getting the story first.

Conflict: Controversies, arguments, splits, strikes, fights, insurrections and warfare.

However, Harcup and O'Neill (2016) added a caveat, and it applies to any output-focused study of news values. Any news-value criteria are contestable as other considerations come into play, among them resources, time, subjective and often unconscious influences arising from such decision-makers' educational, ideological and cultural backgrounds, the work environment and its hierarchies, and perceptions of the audience.

The second caveat is that the studies amongst the above focused on newsroom output in single countries where the Anglo-American tradition prevails. Here, I turn to Murray Masterton (1990, 2005) an Aotearoa New Zealand journalist whose PhD research gathered information about news values from newsroom decision-makers and journalism-school leaders in 69 countries.[19] Masterton's work gives us insight that content-oriented, single-country studies lack: An idea of journalist reasoning and prioritising, elicited from within their own worldviews and social, cultural and political systems.

The results, he said, showed that "journalists around the world accept that there is a three-element core of newsworthiness without which no information can become news" (Masterton, 2005, p. 42). These were **interest** (does the information pass the "who cares?" test?); **timeliness** (has it been heard before?) and **clarity** (written so all can understand). Six other criteria emerged as the most important values across the countries surveyed, and these, said Masterton, "are valid regardless of race, nationality, culture, politics or religion" (2005, p. 42). They were consequence;

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[19] Among the countries represented were Aotearoa New Zealand, Australia, Fiji, Malaysia, Indonesia, Philippines, India, Italy, and Turkey.

proximity; conflict; human interest; novelty/rarity/oddity; and prominence. In this regard, he backed Galtung and Ruge's claim that certain news values were "culture-free" (1965, p. 67). However, the pre-eminence of the above didn't mean other values were absent, wrote Masterton, and some values would be emphasised above others.

As Masterton wrote this in 1989, his typology lacks the values critical to the digital era. However, its value lies in its testing across countries with diverse social, political and economic systems. His work appears to be unique in asking journalists across many countries and cultures to define what news values are in their own contexts, and informs my argument that news values are broadly the same across cultures.[20] The major difference between countries, however, is the cultural, political and social lens through which these news values are viewed, and here we turn to exploration of the Māori perspective.[21]

2.26 News values and the Māori perspective

In discussing what distinguishes Māori journalism from that of the mainstream, the phrase "the Māori perspective" is often used (Fox, 1990, 1992, 1993). This has generally been expressed as privileging a Māori viewpoint on an issue. The dictionary definition of perspective is "a mental view of the relative importance of things" (Deverson & Kennedy, 2005, p. 845), and as Ka'ai and Higgins (2004) stated, our socialisation determines our view of what is important. "Each individual is socialised as a member of a specific cultural group ... becoming a Māori involves learning a specific and particular perspective of the world" (p. 19).

The two-house model (Jackson & Poananga, 2001) conceptualised the difference between Māori and Pākehā perspectives on existence. The Pākehā house represents individualism; the individual is a master of his or her domain. This house is built upon a foundation of rights: Political, economic, legal and social. The Māori house represents collectivism, with its inhabitants defined as groups – iwi, hapū, whānau – rather than individuals. This house is built upon a foundation of guardianship and responsibility:

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[20] Although the well-known Worlds of Journalism study (Hanusch & Hanitzsch, 2017) is also comparative global research, it focuses on journalists' views of their roles and responsibilities in society, their relationship to society and government, and the nature and meaning of their work rather than the influence of ethnic culture on their journalistic practice.
[21] Masterton ranked his countries by degree of political freedom and and civil rights, and charted this influence in the ranking of news values.

For land, for water, for resources and for people. However, we cannot generalise and say that all Māori share the same worldview or lifestyle. As Adds et al., (2005) wrote:

> Arguably, amongst Māori, there have always been multiple tribal worldviews, especially in pre-European times. Today, Māori worldviews are the product of the various original worldviews, overlaid by a variety of post-European colonial experiences, Christianity, literacy, the impact of new technologies and economy, the Treaty of Waitangi, the 'Māori renaissance' and not least, the influence of the media (p. 21).

Māori who live in a Māori way – who are committed to language and culture, rather than monolingual, monocultural and assimilated – are "necessarily bicultural" (Holmes, 2003, p. 133). They must move between the two houses; Pākehā can choose to avoid the neighbours.

The table below teases out in more detail the broad elements that inform a 21st century Māori worldview:

Key indicators to understanding a Māori worldview	
Tribal identity	The importance of a sense of place and belonging through genealogical ties.
Land and landscape	The recognition by the people of the need for respect for the harmony and balance of the land and the resources it provides.
Spirituality	Based on a spiritual view of and response to the natural world.
Elders	Elders serve as a critical link to the past in the present context to ensure cultural practices and tribal knowledge remain intact for future generations.
Language	The recognition that the language contains so many cultural indicators that enrich one's identity.
Culture	The importance of culturally-determined ways of thinking, behaving, communicating and living as indigenous people.
Diversity	The celebration of tribal identity and a rejection of non-indigenous labels and definitions that homogenise Māori people.
Kinship structure	Based on a collaborative/shared power system within social hierarchies where cultural concepts manage people's behaviour and their relationships with each other and their environment.
Self-determination	The recognition of the rights of indigenous peoples to live as indigenous people. To be healthy, Māori people need access to learning their language; to education and qualifications and quality learning environments; to employment and a high standard of living; to have their culture valued in relation to Te Tiriti o Waitangi; to live as Māori and as global citizens; and to be active participants in determining their own future.
Concept of time	Māori look to the past as a guide for the present and future.[22]
Cultural knowledge	Cultural knowledge is viewed in a holistic framework with all aspects interrelated. It enables one to function with a degree of comfort in Māori contexts and to understand what is going on within that context. Hence, the connection between cultural concepts and a Māori world-view.
Reciprocity	Based on the view that mutual respect is the cornerstone of human relationships and between humans and their environment.

Figure 2: Key indicators to understanding a Māori worldview

Source: Ka'ai & Higgins, Te Ao Māori: Māori world-view. In *Ki Te Whaiao: An Introduction to Māori Culture and Society* (pp. 13-25). Rosedale, Auckland: Pearson Longman, 2004. Reprinted with permission.

Now we turn to the links between these values and the decision-making of Māori

journalists. Journalism is a cultural resource and is culturally contextualised, as

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[22] The western view of time perceives the past as behind us and the future ahead of us; orientation is to the future and within that sits a 'time heals' cultural conception (Love & Tilley, 2013, p. 176). Māori move into the future with past events, the dead, the living, legendary cultural heroes and the gods ever-present (Walker, 1983).

Hanusch (2013a) wrote. However, until the 1990s, the Māori perspective in journalism remained undefined in an empirical sense (McGregor & Comrie, 1995). Te Awa (1996) was the first to attempt to define and distinguish the Māori perspective. She applied Galtung and Ruge's 1965 hierarchy of news values to the English-language, Māori-focused radio news produced by (now defunct) *Mana News* for RNZ, using content analysis and limited participant observation. Although the research is dated, it offers insights into how the Māori perspective was expressed by the pioneers of independent Maori news.

Mainstream media and *Mana News* shared Galtung and Ruge-based news values, but the nature in which they were applied was different:

> When values such as cultural proximity and relevance were adapted by Maori journalists working in a Maori media organisation, whose audience are Maori, the news gathered is different. The focus of stories is on Maori, problems facing Maori and often achievement by Maori (Te Awa, 1996, p. 96).

The Galtung and Ruge values emphasised by senior staff were continuity, composition, relevance, cultural proximity and timeliness. The points of reference were mostly Māori: "It is only from other Maori that the Maori perspective of the news is defined" (p. 87). Timeliness remained critical, and continuity was evident in the reporting of on-going issues such as land occupations. Bulletins were balanced in composition, with negative news consciously balanced by the positive.

Mana News sources were often elite people of the Māori world such as politicians, academics and iwi heads, but also included non-institutional sources. These people had "abundant opportunity to speak in relation to a news story", speaking for longer, on average, per story than in mainstream (Te Awa, 1996, p. 113), a characteristic noted in later research by Comrie (2012).

A news value that became apparent at *Mana News* was good news, whether for Māori or about Māori; Te Awa termed it "reference to something positive" (pp. 91-92). Bad news was inescapable, but stories so coded were predominantly about bad news *for* Māori, rather than bad news *about* Māori that framed people in problem terms.[23] Te

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[23] McGregor and Comrie (1995) made a similar observation in their content analysis of Mana News for the BSA report *Fairness and Balance in Broadcasting News*.

Awa observed that *Mana News* journalists were encouraged not to sensationalise issues or set up two-sided conflict; fewer than half of stories involved two or more parties in opposition. In addition, stories coded as bad news often put forward solutions, usually from a source. In sum, "the focus is not on dissension between people but rather on the dilemmas for Māori" (Te Awa, 1996, pp. 105-106).

Overall, she concluded, the Māori perspective valued a diverse range of sources, valued issues over events, attempted to explain the abstract, and examined the shades of grey that surrounded issues, including socio-political and historical contexts. The Māori perspective was also inclusive of a wider range of people as sources.[24] There was a balanced approach to bad-news stories by focusing on the problems facing Maori rather than dissension; stories about problems often looked to solutions.

Te Awa's research did not explicitly ask about the impact of tikanga on Māori newsgathering – her frame was, instead, the Galtung and Ruge values. Her study nonetheless pinpointed an area that remains a strong component of Māori news reporting: Acknowledgement of the past in discussion of the present (Ka'ai & Higgins, 2004). This reflects the concept of time in Figure 2, Key indicators to understanding a Māori worldview (p. 44); historical context in Māori journalism has also been noted by Abel (1997) and Tremewan (1986).

Te Awa asked journalists to define why there was a difference between Māori and mainstream media, but had difficulty finding an answer:

> The difference was more an intuitive 'feeling' rather than a specific incidence providing for empirical scrutiny. The journalists themselves

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[24] At the time Te Awa was writing her thesis, her supervisor Judy McGregor and fellow academic Margie Comrie were undertaking research for the BSA. Their 1995 study, titled *Balance and Fairness in Broadcasting News* (1985-1994) explored notions of fairness and how Television New Zealand's *1 News*, *3 News*, RNZ's *Morning Report* and Mana Māori Media's news reports on RNZ measured up. One of the research questions was whether the nature and presentation of reporting on crime, politics, Māori issues and health had changed in the previous decade. The report supported several of Te Awa's findings, particularly that Mana stories used a broader diversity of spokespeople compared to the mainstream. Mana included more informal sources such as iwi spokespeople, researchers and Māori interest groups. Mana News was least likely to be a problem broadcaster – that is, one that came to the attention of the BSA. Mana News had, for example, the lowest level of unsupported assertions, and was least likely to have stories that dealt with controversy, so had a low incidence of problems related to fairness in this area. Mana News also had the lowest incidence of emotional language and performed well in dealing fairly with everyone in a story. But the report warned that comparison between Mana and the other two radio broadcasters was "difficult and somewhat artificial" (McGregor & Comrie, 1995, p. 82).

> could not say what made a good story or what made a story newsworthy, except to say any story on Māori, a 'people' story and positive stories about Māori are good stories (Te Awa, 1996, p. 4).

This reflects the power of newsroom expectations and socialisation; news-values judgement is an intuitive exercise, not an intellectual one (McGregor, 1991). As Pākehā journalists intuited what their audience would see as news, so did Māori. Decision-making reflected their socialisation in a workplace where Māori were the majority and where Māori identities, aspirations, concerns and activities were valid.

In the next section, we look at the history and findings of research into newsroom processes and practices.

2.27 News ethnography: A global overview

Ethnography is the descriptive study of people and cultures, and has its roots in cultural anthropology. Early exponents immersed themselves into a community over a prolonged time with a notebook, observing and asking questions as a route to understanding a particular practice or issue. Their results were written (Berg, 2012).

Newsrooms are also a culture, and early news research explored the forces shaping journalists at an individual level in the newsroom. Among them were studies of the value judgements of a US regional wire editor (White, 1950) and an exploration of the forces that socialised American print reporters (Breed, 1955). While these studies made a major impact, they were decontextualised explanations of news selection (Cottle, 2000), separated from wider newsroom dynamics.

From the late 1960s, news studies took a broader view as social unrest in many developed nations prompted public doubt, particularly in the United States, about the trustworthiness of news media (Tuchman, 1991). Researchers in the US and the UK, in particular, explored how media organisations, their reporters and the institutions of public life interacted in the social and cultural construction of news (see Bagdikian, 1972; Bantz, McCorkle & Baade, 1980; Burns, 1977; Erskine, 1970; Gans, 1979; Golding & Elliott, 1979; Sigelman, 1973; Tuchman, 1972, 1973a, 1973b, 1980). Various newsroom ethnographers identify this period, up until the 1990s, as the "first wave" of media sociology (Cottle, 2000, p. 19). Participant observation, audio tapes, written

notes and face-to-face interviews were their principal methods to pick apart the "mythology of free and untrammelled reporting" (Sigelman, 1973, p. 135).

Collectively, the studies of the era demonstrated that news was the manufactured result of a complex process driven by factory-line routines and corralled by deadlines (Bantz et al., 1980). Easy-to-reach institutional sources were favoured (Ericson, Baranek, & Chan, 1989; Fishman, 1980), and journalists depended on ready-made "information subsidy" such as press releases (Berkowitz & Adams, 1990, p. 723). Events were prioritised above explanation of longer-term issues such as social change (see, among others, Altheide, 1974; Elliott, 1972; Epstein, 2000; Golding & Elliott, 1979; Schlesinger, 1978). Journalists reproduced newsroom norms in a uniform and uncritical way, and didn't examine the potentially negative social and cultural consequences (Golding & Elliott, 1979).

American and British news output was found to be very similar in routine and ideology (Gans 1979, Tuchman, 1991). Further, participant observation studies in other countries and cultures showed that news was a uniform "international commodity" (Golding & Elliot, 1979, p. 2). As Tuchman and Jensen (2002) summed up, "News is made, not found" (p. 81).

However, ethnographers of the era generally provided scant information about their methods, apart from noting where they undertook participant observation and for how long (Puijk, 2008). In addition, I have been unable to find evidence of any radio news ethnographies among the first-wave studies, which is surprising given the reach of radio. As Usher (2011) wrote, "radio journalism has historically received very little scholarly attention" (p. 45).

From the 1980s, videotape became more accessible to ethnographers (Goodwin, 1993; Schaeffer, 1995), but it doesn't appear to have been widely used in newsrooms; I found just one such study (Heath, Luff, Nicholls & vom Lehn, 2000). This may be due to difficulties getting access, a known problem in ethnographic news research (see p. 66). Between 1990 and the turn of the century, news ethnography as a discipline waned in the US and UK (Brienza & Revers, 2016; Paterson, Lee, Saha, & Zoellner, 2016; Ryfe, Paterson, Lee, Saha, & Zoellner, 2016).

Interest rekindled in the new century as digital technology transformed the way news was produced and consumed (Cottle, 2007; Paterson et al., 2016; Schlesinger, 2016), but studies remained newsroom-centric (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2010). Much of this "second wave" of news ethnography (Cottle, 2000, p. 19) has focused on how media are adapting to new technology (see Quandt & Singer, 2009; Ryfe, 2012; Singer, 2004, 2008). As the environment has changed, demanding renewed academic scrutiny (Cottle, 2000), so has research terminology. News ethnography is now part of "production research" (see Paterson et al., 2016, p. 3) or "news production studies" (Cottle, 2007, p. 1). However, the issues that preoccupied first-wave ethnographic researchers remain: What is being produced and now? How are social, cultural, political, market and ideological forces brought to bear? (Cottle, 2007; Schlesinger, 2016).

While pen-and-paper participant observation remains the predominant method in news ethnography all over the world (see, for example, Domingo, 2003; Ekström & Lundell, 2011; M'Balla-Ndi, 2017; Mabweazara, 2013; Ryfe, 2012; Singer, 2008; Thomsen, 2018; Usher, 2011, 2014), digital technologies have led to more diversity in data-gathering (Paterson et al., 2016). For example, still cameras captured changing work routines in Czechoslovakia (Gillárová, Tejkalová & Láb, 2014). Digital audio recordings were used for newsroom ethnographies in Belgium (Jacobs & Tobback, 2013; Van Hout, 2015; Van Hout & Van Praet, 2011), Sweden (Ekström & Lundell, 2011), Denmark (Gravengaard & Rimestad, 2014) and the Netherlands (Van Hout & Macgilchrist, 2010). Digital film in English-language news ethnography appears little used; I have not been able to locate any 21st-century news ethnographies that cite video as a method from the United Kingdom, the United States or Australia.

However, in Europe, there is a growing body of video-led newsroom research reported in English. Switzerland, in particular, appears to be taking the lead, with two major newsroom projects. The first, in 1997, was funded by the Swiss Federal Office for Communication. It was a qualitative and explorative investigation of journalistic writing in Swiss print, radio, TV, and on-line news offices, the aim to understand journalists' strategies of news production (Perrin & Ehrensberger-Dow, 2012).

The second Swiss project was called Idée Suisse (see Perrin et al., 2008), which explored the interplay of language policy, organisational norms and journalistic practices at the multilingual Swiss public-service broadcasting company, using a wide range of methods, among them digital audio and visual recordings, participant observation and video ethnography. Digital video was used to explore the construction of an editorial for an Italian-language newspaper editorial (Burger & Delaloye, 2016), the production of a French-language television news item about an airplane crash (Merminod, 2016), and collaborative text-picture production between reporter and editor in the editing suite (Perrin, 2011). The book *The Linguistics of Newswriting* (Perrin, 2013) contains five further case studies of news-story construction from the digital films in the Idée Suisse corpus. More recently, in Denmark, video and audio data has been used to explore the dynamics of newspaper editorial meetings (Rimestad & Gravengaard, 2016), and the language used by editors to eliminate stories (Gravengaard & Rimestad, 2012).

In summary, this is not an exhaustive account of the methods used in the second wave of newsroom ethnography; however, it shows that approaches are diverse and often creative. Radio is, again, overlooked: I located just one radio ethnography, by Usher (2011), carried out in the US using written field notes and qualitative interviews.

2.28 News ethnography in Aotearoa New Zealand

The first wave of news ethnography seems to have barely reached Aotearoa New Zealand. One ethnographic news study from the era was located – the 1996 study by Te Awa discussed in the previous section, which combined content analysis with newsroom observation. Since 2000, there have been three local studies that used ethnographic techniques, again in newsrooms. Scott-Chapman (2012) wrote field notes and audio-recorded one-on-one interviews during two months in a regional newspaper newsroom for her investigation of the production, content and reception of sports photographs of athletes in newspapers. Edge (2013) used the same methods for her newsroom-based case study of Māori Television's news and current affairs operation. There appears to be just one body of newsroom ethnography in which video was the primary method. Sissons (2012a, 2014, 2016b) spent time in newsrooms for her study of the interactions between journalists and public relations practitioners.

Finally, an observation. News ethnographies are generally short on detail about tools and method; this silence has been noted since the 1970s (Cottle, 2001; Puijk, 2008). This thesis works on the principle that a full accounting of method is required and that challenges reported. In doing this, I am in the Cottle camp – the one that points out how unrealistically tidy most presentations of news ethnographies are:

> They tend to present to the world and would-be ethnographer a highly polished account of the research process as seemingly a seamless web of conceptual design, linear execution, structured write-up and eloquent publication.

> As such, they tend to displace entirely from public view the messiness (and associated anxieties) that are an inevitable (though often productive) part of the ethnographic experience and process.

> As every ethnographer in truth must know, the research experience in practice is characterised by unanticipated difficulties, silly mistakes and even downright blunders as well as by various contingencies, lucky breaks and serendipitous events (Cottle, 2001, p. 149).

2.29 Research into the influence of cultural forces on journalism

It is important to situate this thesis within the wider context of research into the ways in which culture – that is, the inherited worldviews and the shared beliefs, norms and practices of a social group – influences the ways in which journalists go about newswork. Of principal interest in a thesis on Māori journalism is the ongoing debate about whether the 'western' journalistic model, established to serve developed countries' notions of freedom and democracy, is incompatible with societies founded on collective values, such as those found in Asia, Africa and the Pacific (Papoutsaki 2011). Discussion continues about the ways in which collectivist worldviews do, should, or may be able to influence journalism practice in Asian countries (see, for example, Hanitzsch 2006; Masterton 2005; Xu, 2005); in African nations (see, for example Fourie 2008; Kasoma, 1996; Tomaselli 2003), and Pacific states (Hayes 2008; Kenix, 2013; M'Balla-Ndi 2013, 2015, 2017; Papoutsaki & Harris 2008; Robie, 2019).

Values-based frameworks can be usefully applied to assessing the influence of culture on newswork, with the best known probably Hofstede's cultural dimensions theory

(2011). This theory describes the effects of a society's persistent cultural patterns on the values of its members and how these values relate to behaviour. Its dimensions are power distance (the extent to which the less powerful members of a group accept and expect that power is distributed unequally); uncertainty avoidance (the degree to which people feel threatened by the uncertain and unknown); individualism/collectivism (whether a culture emphasises individual identity or collective identity); masculinity/femininity (the extent to which a society stresses achievement or nurture); long/short-term orientation (whether people focus on short-term gain or long-term rewards); and indulgence/restraint (gratification-seeking versus regulated).

These dimensions have been used to explore issues such as Anglo-American and German approaches to journalism (Hanusch, 2009), the ways in which news is framed in Hong Kong, Singapore, the United States and the United Kingdom (Zhou, 2008) and differences in photographic style in American and Korean newspapers (Kim & Kelly, 2008).

An acknowledged criticism of such studies is that it is difficult to pick apart cultural influences and patterns – which in themselves are subject to change and adaptation – from overlapping and interweaving political, social, historical and market forces (Hanusch, 2016). In addition, frameworks such as Hofstede's operate at the level of the nation state, and thus cannot and do not attempt to theorise about indigenous minorities within colonised countries.

However, on this aspect we can turn to Hanusch (2013b) who attempted a theoretical positioning across indigenous newswork that he described as an "early theoretical prism" (p. 89), devised from a close reading of the literature. Here, he was primarily concerned with journalistic culture in the way Hanitzsch (2007) defined it: "A particular set of ideas and practices by which journalists legitimate their role in society and render their work meaningful" (p. 369) . Indigenous was defined as minority peoples with a history of colonisation and marginalisation.

The five dimensions are **empowerment of indigenous societies** by creating a space that "enables the discussion of indigenous issues on indigenous peoples' terms" (p. 85); a **counter-narrative** in which indigenous people use media technologies to "talk

back" (p. 86); **language revitalisation**, with media seen as a vital resource to help arrest language decline in colonised societies; the **desire to practice journalism in a culturally appropriate environment**, which is described as "being true to indigenous culture throughout the reporting process" (p. 87) and the **watchdog function**, with many indigenous journalists, like their mainstream counterparts, seeing their role as "watching over their leaders for the benefit of their wider community – even if this often presents a number of difficulties" (p. 88).

However, as Hanusch noted (2016), some caution is required in theorising universal models; a broad brush can obscure important local specificities, as does the broad-brush term "indigenous" itself (L. T. Smith, 2012). Still, Hanusch (2013a) identified the five elements discussed above in a pilot study in which Māori journalists were asked about cultural influences on their work. To date, his model has been applied to exploration of Sámi reporters' coverage of politics (Skogerbø, Josefsen, and Fjellström 2019).

Elsewhere, Sámi broadcast reporters have discussed how culture influences their work (Pietikäinen, 2008; Skogerbø, Josefsen, and Fjellström, 2019). Research by Burrows (2018) with first-nations journalists from Australia, Canada, Finland and Sweden asked about their journalistic processes and attitudes to professional norms such as objectivity, source choices and news values as well as examining the ways in which they navigated the tensions between their professional obligations and cultural responsibilities. Indigenous journalists from Australia, Canada, Finland, Hawaiʻi, Norway, Scotland, Sweden, Taiwan and Wales informed Markelin's 2017 analysis of approaches to indigenous television journalism.

Such qualitative approaches, as with the theoretical approaches described earlier, are expanding our thinking about the influence of cultural forces on indigenous journalism. However, the literature to date relies principally, and problematically, on reporter self-assessment; studies by Mellado and Val Dalen (2014) and Tandoc, Hellmueller, and Vos (2013) have identified gaps between journalist claims about how they do their work and its enactment. The need now is for a more fine-grained, empirically-based focus on everyday journalistic practice in indigenous spheres that will allow critique and expansion of the conceptual and theoretical work emerging. We will return to this

discussion in Chapter 9: Conclusions, implications, theoretical contributions and recommendations.

2.30 Conclusion

This literature review has been necessarily wide-ranging in order to set the context for reo-Māori newswork, pulling together the many social, historical and political threads that have formed the basis of the reo-Māori news sector. These threads include the Māori worldview and how tikanga springs from it; how oral tikanga transferred to the page in the 19th century; the effect of colonisation on te reo and tikanga; the social and political shifts that gave reo-Māori news its legal and financial foundation; and how cultural values influence approaches to reporting. This section has also canvassed how news values are expressed in a Māori paradigm and the nature and findings of newsroom ethnographies. It has also set the study in the wider, international context of research into the influence of cultural forces on journalism practice.

Although the literature on tikanga and reporting practice is slim, it establishes a link between Māori culture and how this influences decisions related to journalistic practice. From sharing whakapapa on first meeting, to exhibiting care for the feelings of others, and using Māori metaphors in reports, we see that cultural values are an important part of reo-Māori journalists' approach to their work. However, in a small interrelated society in which asymmetrical power relations are a reality, cultural norms around respect for leaders and elders potentially limit the journalist's ability to seek truth.

Lacking completely in the literature is empirical evidence on *how* and *why* Māori journalists make decisions related to tikanga, and the ways in which both personal approaches to tikanga and the cultural constraints of a particular setting intersects with this. The literature doesn't tell us what happens when a journalist knowingly transgresses tikanga and how they feel about this. Also absent is a thorough exploration of the ways in which culture acts as advantage and limitation in newswork, and, in the case of the latter, how tensions are resolved. We also lack detailed information on what tenets of an oral culture have transferred into the language of reo-Māori journalism.

Although the literature review establishes that Māori-language journalism faces challenges due to a shortage of trained, bilingual reporters and an even greater shortage of fluent speakers who can provide the information reporters need, there is very little information on how the interplay of tikanga and the constraints of the language revitalisation agenda manifests itself.

This need for robust empirical evidence made video ethnography an obvious primary method for its depth and the ability to re-examine the data multiple times, coupled with qualitative interviews and data such as scripts and finished stories. Thus, three research questions were developed:

- RQ1: What is the influence of tikanga and the language revitalisation agenda on the practices and perspectives of Māori journalists working in reo-Māori news?

There are two sub-questions:

- RQ2: In which situations do cultural values most influence decision-making about newswork?
- RQ3: What are the tensions between the tenets of tikanga, the requirements of the language revitalisation agenda and the demands of news production?

In the next chapter, we turn to methodology, exploring the paradigm, methods and analyses that will be employed to seek answers.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the philosophical approaches to this study and the methods employed to gather and analyse data. It is in four sections, and begins with a discussion of the overarching paradigm, Kaupapa Māori, which takes for granted the legitimacy of the Māori worldview, culture and language (L.T. Smith, 2012).

The second section explores research design, identifying the qualitative approach to creating knowledge and the researcher's stance, that of observer as participant. The field of visual ethnography is discussed.

In the third section, we turn to methods, exploring issues of access, the sample set, and the power of digital film coupled with semi-structured qualitative interviews for data-gathering. Also discussed is the practical activity of data-gathering and the interpretative issues around the collection of data. The strengths and weaknesses of qualitative interviews are assessed and the techniques for interviewing and filming outlined.

The final section describes the tools used for meaning-making, which are grouped under the heading of ethnographic communication analysis (Sissons, 2012a, 2012b, 2014, 2016a, 2016b). This section also describes how film for close examination was chosen and outlines the various tools employed to analyse culturally-situated interaction. An example of a multimodal transcript is provided. Finally, issues of validation and reliability are discussed.

3.2 An indigenous research paradigm: Kaupapa Māori

A paradigm is a set of beliefs that represent a particular worldview, which in turn leads us to particular assumptions and approaches in seeking knowledge: Ontology, or the nature of reality; epistemology, or how we acquire valid knowledge; axiology, or researcher values and ethics; and methodology, or how we find things out (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Guba & Lincoln, 1994). The paradigm informing this study is Kaupapa Māori, which means "the Māori way or agenda" (Henry & Pene, 2001, p. 235). It embodies a desire to recover, reinstate and validate mātauranga Maori, the

indigenous system of knowledge that ordered Māori life before the arrival of missionaries and settlers (Bishop, 1999; McKinley, 1995). However, Kaupapa Māori research does not come with a rigid definition (Janke & Taiapa, 2003; Walker et al., 2006). Rather, it is a "way of structuring assumptions, values, concepts, orientations and priorities in research" (L. T. Smith, 2012, p. 185).

At its broadest, Kaupapa Māori research is a paradigm for enquiry by, for, and with Māori, working from a Māori ontology or worldview, valuing Māori epistemology or ways of knowing, and confirming Māori axiology, or ways of being and communicating (Irwin, 1994; L. T. Smith, 2012). Not all research by Māori rests on Kaupapa Māori, and not all Māori researchers would see their work as fitting within a Kaupapa Māori framework. However Kaupapa Māori provides a strong and congruent platform from which to explore Māori issues (L. T. Smith, 2012).

For much of Aotearoa New Zealand's history as a nation, Māori were the researched, not the researchers (Bishop, 1995; Janke & Taiapa, 2003; L. T. Smith, 2012; Stokes, 1985; Walker et al., 2006), with (mostly European) researchers portraying Māori realities as a strange, deficient and inferior "other", the term Said (1979) gave to the colonising western gaze. As a result, many Māori rejected engagement with research (Cram, 2001; Janke & Taiapa, 2003; L. T. Smith, 2012).

Kaupapa Maori research as an approach emerged in the 1980s and 1990s alongside several educational initiatives to address language and cultural revitalisation (Mahuika, 2008; Pihama, Cram, & Walker, 2002; Smith, 2003; Smith, Hoskins, & Jones, 2012). It shares many similarities with critical theory, "in particular to the notions of critique, resistance, struggle and emancipation" (L. T. Smith, 2012, p. 187), and in doing so, deliberately places Māori people, Māori experience and tikanga at the centre (Bishop, 2005; Henry & Pene, 2001; Janke & Taiapa, 2003; Pihama, Smith, Taki, & Lee, 2004; L. T. Smith, 2012).

However, Kaupapa Māori is not anti-Pākehā: "It does not reject or exclude Pākehā culture" (Pihama et al., 2002, p. 33). Nor does it ignore the realities of Māori existence in a colonised country. Thus, Kaupapa Māori research "weaves in and out of Māori cultural beliefs and values; western ways of knowing, Māori histories and experiences

under colonialism, western forms of education, Māori aspirations and socio-economic needs, and western economies and global politics" (L. T. Smith, 2012, p. 193).

Kaupapa Māori is an ideal partner for interpretative research, which this is, as it emphasises the voices, experiences and worldviews of participants as the starting-point for making meaning. As a research paradigm and approach, Kaupapa Māori is recognised by the academy (Bishop, 2005; Cram, 2001; Walker et al., 2006), and has been applied across a wide range of research areas, among them the teaching of tikanga in schools (Bishop, 1995), Māori-language radio broadcasting (Mane, 2009) and the evaluation of marae-based smoking cessation programmes (Glover, 2000). This study is believed to be the first to apply a Kaupapa Māori approach to journalism.

As mentioned earlier, Kaupapa Māori avoids prescription. However, critical principles have been established (Smith, 2003; L. T. Smith, 2012; Walker et al., 2006) that span ontological and epistemological concerns. Below, each principle is explained and related to this work.

1: Tino rangatiratanga: Self-determination, governance, autonomy and independence. Power and control rest in Māori hands within culturally-driven understandings and practices (Pihama et al., 2002; Smith, 2003; L. T. Smith, 2012). Māori journalism is an important plank of tino rangatiratanga [autonomy], giving Māori agency in the media after many years of racist representations (McGregor & Te Awa, 1996) and barriers to gaining the tools of media production (Beatson, 1996; Fox, 1990, 1993; Middleton, 2010).

2: Social justice: This principle seeks to redress power imbalances and bring concrete benefits to Māori; much Kaupapa Māori research aims to be transformative (Walker et al., 2006). This research is not on a transformative path; rather, it aims to document a body of knowledge in an area that is under-researched, and in that sense, it redresses a lack of information and understanding.

3: Validating and legitimising cultural aspirations and identity: The Māori worldview is taken for granted (Smith, 2003). Māori journalism is relatively young as a field and merits being documented within a culturally relevant frame. This study also validates Māori-language journalism as a field worthy of academic enquiry.

4: Using te reo in research: For many, Māori thought is most cogently expressed in te reo. Using te reo in everyday life helps normalise a language that remains endangered (Stephens, 2014), and this, too, applies to research. It was tempting to write this thesis in te reo to strengthen my language skills and also to add to the small but growing number of postgraduate theses in te reo (Stewart, 2019). Indeed, I was occasionally asked to justify writing in English. To write in te reo would make it easier for me to 'talk in', as filmmaker Barry Barclay (2015, p. 74) said – that is, write for people whose language, worldview and thinking I share, removing the need to explain Māori culture. However, I needed to be realistic about how accessible such research would be when so few people would be able to read it. English was chosen as it was important that this thesis be accessible to the widest number of people, primarily Māori and Pākehā journalists, but also journalism academics, educators and students, and indigenous journalists from other countries. In many face-to-face interviews, bilingual people switched spontaneously into Māori; the researcher accommodated this and translated participants' words, which they checked when transcripts were sent to them.

5: Whānau. This acknowledges whānau and whanaungatanga – the relationships that Māori have between each other and the world around us (Walker et al., 2006). In the context of this work, this principle underlines the responsibility of the researcher to care for relationships developed during research and to be conscious of the intrinsic connections between the researcher, the researched and the final body of work.

6: Kaupapa: A collective philosophy. This is about shared visions and philosophies, and the power of these to provide impetus and direction, wrote Smith (2003): "Its power is in its ability to articulate and connect with Māori aspirations, politically, socially, economically and culturally" (p. 10). In this case, the agenda is the survival of te reo through news, among other genres.

Importantly, Kaupapa Māori research does not ignore the range of philosophies and methodologies available to the researcher (Janke & Taiapa, 2003). I take a interpretivist approach to the creation of knowledge, seeing people's realities as many, subjective, changing and co-created, forged through interactions with others (including the researcher) and the effect of historical and cultural influences and norms (Bryman, 2012; Davidson & Tolich, 2003; Tolich & Davidson, 2011). Māori are cognisant of

multiple realities, particularly those of us who move between the Pākehā and Māori worlds (see Webber, 2008, on hybrid Māori/Pākehā identities in Aotearoa New Zealand). In addition, although many of the stories, beliefs, ways of speaking and practices handed down to us through oral tradition are similar across tribes, there are also differences or even conflicts. Each tribe and/or region preserves and manages its own reality (Mead, 2003).

3.3 The interpretative researcher

The interpretative researcher is self-reflexive, recognising how her own cultural, personal and historical background shapes her interpretations (Creswell, 2013); see also p. 3. Researchers also have identities in terms of the cultures they are examining – they may be members or outsiders. Research is now attempting "to move beyond a strict outsider/insider dichotomy to emphasise the relative nature of researchers' identities and social positions, depending on the specific research context" (Kerstetter, 2012, p. 100).

Awareness of role and reflexivity means accepting that fluidity (Kerstetter, 2012; Naaeke et al., 2011) – and accepting also that you may not be in control of a change of role. To my participants, I was an outsider: Someone from a university who had come to their workplace. But linguistically, culturally and professionally, they saw me as an insider. This afforded certain benefits: "Often, only the insider understands the subtleties, nuances, and sometimes the significance of what takes place" (Walker et al., 2006, p. 335). However, it was critical to avoid making assumptions, and if unsure about my interpretations, to seek clarification. Ghanaian researcher Anthony Naaeke neatly defined the issue:

> As an insider, there is a possibility of being biased in favour of my culture and I have to be aware of this and try as much as possible to be objective. Other times, I take it for granted that my native status guarantees that I have clear and accurate knowledge of the culture whereas I could be wrong. To overcome this, I ask other natives in order to be accurate (Naaeke et al., 2010, p. 4).

3.4 Ethics and values

The core values within Kaupapa Māori framework are based on tikanga and provide an axiological foundation or values-based code of conduct. Below, the ethics first outlined in 1999 by L.T. Smith and later expanded by Cram (2001) are linked to the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC) ethical standards to which I am held as a researcher.

Aroha ki te tangata – a respect for people (L. T. Smith, 2012). This refers to kindness, concern and compassion. Participants meet the researcher on their own terms (Cram, 2001). Interviews took place at times and in places that best suited participants, and that occasionally required patience and flexibility on the researcher's part. Journalists had the option of being named or being anonymous, and most chose the former. Under AUTEC's requirements, aroha covers Section G: Informed and voluntary consent; and Section I: Minimisation of risk.

Aroha also involves whakawhanaungatanga – the establishment of blood ties (Bishop, 1995; Mead, 2003). I identified my tribe in the first communication with potential participants so people could locate themselves in relation to whakapapa. In terms of AUTEC, this section reflects the requirements of Section D: Partnership, participation and protection; and Section E: Social and Cultural Sensitivity.

Filming journalists inevitably captures third parties, usually interviewees. As often as possible, third parties were asked if they would give permission to be filmed. They were provided with information sheets and consent forms. In screenshots, facial features of third parties are obscured to preserve privacy. This satisfies AUTEC's Section E: Social and cultural sensitivity; Section G: Informed and voluntary consent; Section H: Respect for rights of privacy and confidentiality; Section I: Minimisation of risk.

Kanohi kitea, the seen face: Present yourself to people face-to-face (L. T. Smith, 2012). Cram (2001) located this principle in the saying "He reo e rangona, engari, he kanohi", which translates as "A voice may be heard, but a face is seen", and reflects the value placed on face-to-face contact. The research began with meetings with news executives to explain the purpose of the study and invite their support. All qualitative interviews were face-to-face, with the exception two Skype interviews for reasons of

distance. This approach satisfies AUTEC Section D: Partnership, Participation and Protection; Section E: Social and cultural sensitivity; Section G: Informed and voluntary consent; Section J: Truthfulness and limitation of deception.

Titiro, whakarongo … kōrero: Look, listen ... speak (L. T. Smith, 2012): This principle "is about the importance of looking [and] listening so that you develop understandings and find a place from which to speak" (Cram, 2001, p. 44). In Māori culture, a great deal of information is verbally transmitted; careful listening and observation is valued as a primary way to learn (Cram, 2009).

Manaaki ki te tangata; Share and host people, be generous (L.T. Smith, 2012): Primary informants were compensated for the time they gave with a koha [donation] of a $50 supermarket voucher. The researcher often also brought light food to interviews. While this may seem unusual to those not familiar with tikanga Māori, it reflects the ancient custom, when attending hui, of giving food from your lands and waters (Barlow, 1991; Mead, 2003). I am also guided by cultural anthropologist Bernard (2013), who said, "with key informants, the rule for me is that there's always a culturally appropriate way … to compensate people for their contribution to your career" (p. 182). Manaaki tangata also involves making this work accessible, which means making no assumptions about the reader and writing in a straightforward style. AUTEC requirements satisfied here are Section D: Partnership, participation and protection; and Section E: Social and cultural sensitivity.

Kia tūpato: Be cautious (L.T. Smith, 2012): This reminds the researcher to be politically astute, culturally aware and reflective about one's insider/outsider status (Cram, 2001): "We carry the responsibility of re-presenting the realities of our participants to wider audiences, and we need to take that role seriously. The opportunities for miscommunication will always exist unless we proceed with caution" (p. 49). This reflects AUTEC's Section E: Social and Cultural Sensitivity; and Section D: Partnership, participation and protection.

Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata: Do not trample over the mana [dignity and authority] of the people (L.T. Smith, 2012). This means making sure people are fully informed about the research so they can make an informed decision to take part;

employing manaakitanga and aroha at all times; keeping people up-to-date with progress; and sharing findings. See information and consent forms in Appendices 2-5.

Kia māhaki: Don't flaunt your knowledge (L.T. Smith, 2012). The phrase "kia māhaki" translates as the positive assertion "be humble". Academic prowess doesn't gain researchers access to Māori communities, wrote Cram (2001): "Rather, access is granted by people who are willing to meet with you and be involved in your research because they are related to us and/or they take an initial step of faith because we are Māori" (p. 49). This fulfils AUTEC requirements under Section E: Social and cultural sensitivity.

3.5 Qualitative research design

Qualitative research such as this "describes and interprets the shared and learned patterns of values, behaviours, beliefs and language of a culture-sharing group" (Creswell, 2013, p. 90); further, it emphasises the "subjects' frames of reference and understandings of the world" (Singer, 2009, p. 191). The design of this study is an ethnography; it documents a professional and cultural environment through intensive fieldwork and in analysis, emphasising its subjects' perspectives and their voices (Bryman, 2012; Singer, 2009). The literature review has outlined the history of news ethnography (see p. 47); here we turn to some of the procedural considerations related to this research technique before moving onto an exploration of fieldwork tools and methods.

3.5.1 Observer as participant

Ethnographic fieldwork means openly immersing oneself in a social setting for a period of time; making observations of the behaviour of members of that setting; listening to and engaging in conversations; interviewing informants on issues that are not directly amenable to observation; collecting documents about the group; developing an understanding of the group's culture and people's behaviour within that context; and writing up a detailed account of the setting (Bryman, 2012). In doing this, there are various stances a researcher can adopt. Gold (1958) defined four:

The complete participant, where the people being studied are unaware that there is a researcher in their midst.

The participant as observer, where the researcher is openly living with and taking part in the community being studied, and that group is aware of the researcher's role. Researchers who have blended the roles of reporter and ethnographer include Lester (1980), Fishman (1980), and Thomsen (2018).

The complete observer, where a researcher has no direct contact with the group being studied.

The observer as participant, where the community is aware of the researcher's presence but the researcher is observing rather than participating. This is the stance I took. My participation in the journalists' working lives was largely passive, as I did not want to interfere with the journalistic process. I was a more active participant in their world when deadlines had passed and I had specific questions to ask about the day's events. Kawulich (2005) wrote:

> The main role of the researcher in this stance is to collect data, and the group being studied is aware of the researcher's observation activities. In this stance, the researcher is an observer who is not a member of the group and who is interested in participating as a means for conducting better observation and, hence, generating more complete understanding of the group's activities.

In fieldwork, I took care to be discreet and avoid influencing journalists' performance of their work, although I did carry the odd bag, tripod or light reflector when asked. In general, journalists were accommodating, which is not always the case in news research – see Domingo (2003), Gillárová et al., (2014), and Ilan (2015). Every now and then – and this was more problematic – I became an unwilling participant when the reporter I was observing asked a question that was critical to his or her decision-making. For example, several times I was asked to translate something into or out of Māori, or asked questions of fact. When this first happened early in fieldwork, my reaction was discomfort with being co-opted, however briefly, into their newswork.

On reflection, it became clear that while I saw myself as primarily a researcher who used to be a full-time journalist, to some of the journalists I was still a professional reporter, and as such, was expected to have as good a grasp of current events and professional practice as they did. I decided that my personal protocol when asked a

question was to be honest if I didn't know the answer or was unsure; or, if I did know the answer, to provide it with the caveat that the journalist should double-check.

At one stage, a reporter voiced some surprise that I was trying to avoid answering her questions, so I asked permission to discuss the subject on camera. I explained that I didn't want to unduly influence her. She said that while she understood that research was my primary objective, she also felt that as a Māori and a reo speaker and a journalist, I should help. In explanation, she said:

> Nō te mea he Māori koe, ka ahei koe ki te korero, mōhio koe ki ngā āhuatanga kairīpoata Māori [You're Māori, you're able to speak te reo, you know the Māori reporter's job] so it's like, at the end of the day, if you can help, you should.

From a cultural standpoint, she expected my manaaki, my support, because I was Māori and we are expected to support each other. From that point, I responded more freely, but reminded her that anything I suggested was double-checked.

3.6   Video ethnography

Historically, researchers used photographs to support their written anthropological accounts in ethnographic studies. As Berg (2012) wrote, "photographs were little more than props used as visual aids … the 'true' ethnography was the written narrative accounts of the researchers' observations". In the late 19th and early 20th century, the use of still cameras was developed as an anthropological fieldwork method and was seen as an objective recording device (Pink, 2013). However, in the late 1980s, as ethnography turned to the importance of subjectivity in the production of knowledge, "it was recognised that ethnographic film or photography were essentially no more subjective or objective than written texts" (Pink, 2013, p. 3). Now, with various digital technologies available, visual ethnographic methods are diverse and include still photography, digital film, the internet and virtual reality as routes to capturing and describing the ways in which people make sense of their world (Berg, 2012; Pink, 2013).

Ethnographic research requires "thick description" – rich accounts of the activities of a culture-sharing group. The phrase was first used by philosopher Gilbert Ryle (2009, p. 497) but applied to ethnography, to great effect, by Geertz (1973). Audio-visual data

provides dense and permanent information (Grimshaw, 1982; Shrum & Scott, 2017) that allows us to "capture versions of conduct and interaction in everyday settings and subject them to repeated scrutiny using slow motion facilities and the like" (Heath & Hindmarsh, 2002, p. 103).

Just as importantly, film can be played back to subjects for discussion about both the seen and unseen and shared with academics for scrutiny, the inability to do the latter "a problem which has long haunted more conventional ethnographic research" (Heath & Hindmarsh, 2002, p. 106). Filmed data can also be re-examined through different lenses and analyses.

Guidance in the appropriate use of cameras to gain dense and valid ethnographic data was found in DuFon (2002), Heath and Hindmarsh (2002), Schaeffer (1995), and Shrum and Scott (2017). However, a camera does not produce knowledge in itself; it's a route to knowledge (Pink, 2013). It captures a representation of what's within range; it can't tell us if what is captured is in or outside the norm.

Practical considerations

When seeking a digital camera, there were three primary considerations: compact, to be unobtrusive; a high-capacity memory and battery for continuity; and good sound capture, as journalists' work environments can be noisy. A specialist camera shop recommended the SONY DSC W500 digital still camera with a Zeiss zoom lens. It has a 7.6cm-wide screen on the back that swings out from the top, allowing me to hold the camera at chest level while recording so I could still monitor the wider environment.

By setting the camera's movie function to provide a good standard of image rather than a broadcast-quality image, a 128GB Lexar memory card was sufficient to capture several days' worth of activity at once. The camera filmed for 30 minutes before it automatically stopped to ingest data, after which I had to start another film; the delay was about five seconds. I had three lithium-ion batteries with me at all times.

3.7   Methods

3.7.1   Gaining access

Internationally, ethnographers report difficulties gaining access to news organisations (Gillárová et al., 2014; Munnik, 2016; Paterson, 2017; Puijk, 2008; Ryfe et al., 2016;

Schlesinger, 1981; Thomsen, 2018). Paterson (2008) asserted that "the doors have closed tighter with the consolidation of corporate media ownership" (p. 8). In Aotearoa New Zealand, the paucity of research into newsroom operations means we have had little discussion of access beyond Sissons (2014). In her video ethnography of relationships between public relations professionals and journalists, Sissons wrote that public relations entities were quick to allow access, but negotiations with newsrooms took up to several months.

Culturally, I know that Māori generally will give other Māori a fair hearing. But more than 20 years' experience in mainstream newsrooms has taught me that journalists tend to think that their "truth" is above scrutiny, a stance also noted by Gans (1979), Masterton (1990), Thomsen (2018), Tuchman (1972), and Ryfe (2012). My strategy for encouraging participation was to first email the chief news decision-makers in each organisation, introducing myself and my professional background. I didn't know any of them personally. My email explained the research in a friendly tone, included the participant information sheet (p. 337) and a consent form (p. 339) and requested a face-to-face meeting. I knew they would search me online, so I had ensured my LinkedIn profile was up-to-date; my journalism is online under my former name, Julie Middleton. Professional experience has been noted as an important attribute in overcoming barriers to newsroom access (Batabyal, 2007; Lund, 2012; Munnik, 2016; Paterson & Zoellner, 2010; Thomsen, 2018).

The response was, overall, positive, with several saying that they felt the subject was overdue for exploration. These initial participants were my first interviewees and key informants, with a specialist knowledge about the people and processes involved in my research area (Edwards & Holland, 2013) and in a position to encourage staff participation. Two other gatekeepers resisted initially, and the reason appeared to be a feeling of over-exposure. One felt that his production company had been subjected to too much research attention; he left the decision to his senior producer, who agreed to participate. The other involved an organisation that had experienced negative media attention, and gatekeepers were, understandably, sensitive. With the latter, it took six months of keeping in touch before access was granted.

After interview with each gatekeeper, a follow-up email about the research was sent to them to adapt and send to news staff so all were aware this research was underway. An email was then sent to the journalists whom I had identified, or who had been recommended, outlining my journalism background, the research and attaching the participation information sheet and a consent form so they were able to get a good sense of the parameters of both my research and their participation. I gave them three days to digest the information, then phoned or emailed to gauge interest.

3.7.2 Sample set

I sought experienced news and current affairs reporters who identified as Māori, spoke te reo, and who were working in Māori-issues newsgathering presented in te reo, primarily. I prioritised those who had been professionally trained, either at tertiary level and/or in-house, as reporters. I made use of personal knowledge and journalist contact details on websites to take a purposive sampling approach – a strategy that targets people who are directly involved with the issue being studied (Bryman, 2012; Davidson & Tolich, 2003). At the end of initial interviews, I asked participants whom else I should approach, known as snowball sampling (Bryman, 2012).

There was also an element of convenience sampling (Bryman, 2012; Davidson & Tolich, 2003). I live in Auckland, Aotearoa New Zealand's largest city, where most Māori-language journalists are based. They were consequently more accessible than those based in the regions, though I deliberately sought balance by doing interviews and fieldwork in rural areas and regional centres.

3.7.3 Data collection

Qualitative interviews began first, as they were an important way to build trust. There were 35 qualitative interviews. A total of 29 were with working journalists, with the vast majority producing stories in te reo; it's important to note that Māori reporters who worked in English also had tikanga-related insights to share. There were five qualitative interviews with former reporters for background, and one with a tikanga expert whose role involved advising journalists. Video ethnography was carried out with 11 bilingual reporters, totalling 227 hours of film.

It is hard to estimate the number of bilingual journalists working full-time in te reo given the fluidity in the sector, with journalists moving between full-time employment

and contracting work as well as between reo-Māori and English news programming. However, between them, the three daily news programmes on MTS, TVNZ and Radio Waatea have approximately 40 bilingual reporting staff (L. Amoroa, personal communication, September 18, 2019; Middleton, 2019; Taumata, 2018). Reporters also cross into reo-only documentary series such as *Waka Huia* (approximately 10 full-time equivalents) (M. Douglas, personal communication, September 18, 2019) and bilingual shows such as *Marae* and *The Hui*. This data set, then, represents a majority of the current cohort of journalists working in te reo.

3.7.4 Interview methods

Face-to-face interviews took place in journalists' workplaces or neutral public places like cafes, ensuring researcher safety as per AUT Ethics Application 16/4. It was a requirement of ethics approval that a list of indicative questions be supplied, and these were devised following Davidson and Tolich (2003).

Interviews were seated, and as much as possible in a quiet setting, sitting face-to-face at a table. Interviews were recorded on a Sony ICD-PX820 digital recorder and also on an iPhone6 as backup. I took notes in Teeline shorthand,[25] noting what was said, any paralanguage such as laughter or sighs, and gestures. The interviews aimed to establish relationships, find out how the journalists saw their lives and explore the influence of tikanga and reo at home and work.

Responsive semi-structured interviewing, a form that the researcher has used in long-form journalism, was employed. This emphasises a "conversational partnership" where the researcher conveys respect for the interviewee's experience and insight and is able to respond positively to the changing dynamics of conversation (Rubin & Rubin, 2012, p. 7). Within this, to encourage long and detailed responses, I used the seven kinds of probing questions described by Bernard (2013), and which I also employ in journalism. These are:

1. The silent probe – remaining quiet and awaiting a response;
2. The echo probe – repeating the last thing that the participant said, as a prompt to continue;

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[25] Teeline is based on the English alphabet; I learned it at journalism school, and it has been very useful in research.

3. The uh-huh or neutral probe – making an affirmative comment like "I see" or "uh-huh" to encourage the participant to continue;

4. The tell-me-more probe, which includes questions like "why exactly?", which I used a lot in this research;

5. The long-question probe, often a how or what question, such as "what is it like to …" which is useful to encourage longer continuous responses;

6. Probing by leading, so being directive: "What do you think about …?"; and

7. Baiting, also known as phased assertion. This is essentially phrasing a question or making an assertion as if you know the answer, which will generally prompt a clarification or correction.

Interviewing also helped identify which reporters were most engaged in the subject. At the end of the interview, journalists who seemed engaged were asked if they would be open to being observed in the field. Eleven agreed and one declined.

3.7.5 Strengths and weaknesses of qualitative interviews

Many academics have outlined the weaknesses of qualitative interviews, principally because of the social desirability bias or effect – the human tendency to frame, or even distort or exaggerate, one's answers to portray oneself in the most positive light (Bryman, 2012; Davidson & Tolich, 2003, Pugh, 2013). Jerolmack and Khan (2014) discussed the risks of researchers conflating what people *say* they do with what they *actually* do, and call this conflation "attitudinal fallacy" (p. 179). As Paterson (2017) wrote,

> it is especially ironic in the examination of journalism that social researchers often simultaneously critique journalists' claims to have access to a truth beyond the reach of the rest of us, while easily accepting as objective reality journalists' (necessarily) subjective interpretations of their own practice (p. 109).

However, these caveats do not render verbal accounts valueless; qualitative interviews are an appropriate way to elicit perceptions (Lowrey & Erzikova, 2016). Further, Pugh (2013) argued that qualitative interviews analysed with an interpretive lens offers access to a speaker's emotional world, such as:

> The anxieties fuelling the presentation of self; the schematic shaping of what is funny, ironic, righteous or outrageous; the profoundly

visceral feelings such as disgust, passion or inchoate notions of right and wrong; the secret shame, the defiant pride or the resigned acceptance of what people notice that they feel (p. 51).

Pugh (2013) identified four types of useful information contained in qualitative interviews, and they have guided interpretation and analysis in this thesis. The first, the honourable, captures social desirability bias. The honourable response is revealing, as it tells what counts as important in that cultural setting and can give us access to emotion, especially when examples to illustrate the response are sought.

In the second type of information, which Pugh dubbed schematic, interviewees use representational tools such as metaphors, jokes and turns of phrase, as well as non-verbal cues, to convey the frameworks through which they view the world.

The third type of information is the visceral, said Pugh, in which interviewees are responding "from an emotional landscape of desire, morality and expectations that shapes their actions and reactions" (2013, p. 50). Important here are verbal mis-steps, facial expressions, silences and contradictions. Visceral responses, such as passion and disgust (or tears, as happened twice in my interviews) are a pathway to a speaker's fundamental moral and cultural understandings.

The fourth is meta-feelings, the "felt collision" (2013, p. 51) between the emotions culturally shaped in our childhoods and those in our current social contexts, or:

> How we feel about how we feel. These kind of data offer a powerful account of the individual embedded in culture, for it is often a measure of the distance between how someone feels and how they feel they ought to feel (Pugh, 2013, p. 51).

3.7.6 Transcription of qualitative interviews

The digital files were transferred to my laptop, into transcription software called Express Scribe Pro, controlled with an Alto Edge foot pedal. I transcribed the files into Microsoft Word. Textual and contextual accuracy was my prime consideration in transcription, and my protocol was informed by Poland (2003).

Each interview went back to its subject for checking; two people waived their right to see their transcripts. Participants were free to excise or elaborate, though changes proved minor. Most respondents were quick to check and return the transcripts. Many

people commented that reading their own conversation was a strange experience and that they were surprised at how fragmented their speech appeared when written, a reaction noted by other researchers (Sandelowski, 1993). When this was raised, I reminded them that I would be combining the ideas from the collected transcripts into themes rather than reproducing long passages.

3.7.7   Gathering film data

Eleven journalists were filmed as they went about their work in both the North and South Island. All the journalists but one had to file daily. Entering new environments, I took a wide establishing shot. I stayed as close as possible to journalists in order to hear them clearly. Occasionally, at times when journalists were not actively involved in work – for example, as the camera operator was driving us back to base – I would ask them to reflect, on camera, on what they had been doing and thinking as they created their stories. These are unstructured interviews, as Opie (2013) noted: "The researcher guides the respondent into particular areas, but what path is actually followed is usually decided by the person doing the talking" (p. 240).

I made it clear that journalists should let me know if I was impeding them, and that if they wanted me to turn off the camera, it would be done immediately. This happened twice. The first instance was when newsroom staff were talking about an absent third party and the news director asked me not to record. The second was while attending a funeral; the reporter felt it best that I not draw attention to myself by standing to use the camera during the final service.

Video ethnographers need to be aware of how interactions may be affected by camera-consciousness – a self-consciousness about being recorded that may change behaviour (Pink, 2013; Shrum & Scott, 2017). This did not appear to be an issue in fieldwork, as most of the journalists were used to being filmed in public places, self-assured in their roles, and highly task-focused. Cottle (2001) noted this when doing his PhD in a British television newsroom:

> The pressures and often frenetic pace of news processes as well as the collective nature of news production inhibits major departures from the norm. Moreover, professional confidence on the 'correctness' of what they do, and why they do it, also, at least in the context of my

particular news operation, gave the journalists no cause to conceal what they were generally about (p. 157).

This research, of course, captured third parties – the interviewees. Often, the reporter would introduce me before the interview so I could secure permission, or I would talk to interviewees afterwards. See Appendices 4 (p. 340) and 5 (p. 341) for the relevant information and release forms.

3.7.8   Transcription of film data

The camera automatically labels each new film by the date, hour and second. I transferred data through the Sony software PlayMemories Home to an external hard drive, as the files were large; a 30-minute film, for example, was 3.5GB. Film chosen for analysis (see below) was imported to the transcription software Express Scribe. I transcribed into Microsoft Word files, but my approach differed slightly from that for qualitative analyses, where every word was transcribed. With the film, there were large stretches where there was no activity related to my topic, such as casual conversation in the car on the way to a job, and these passages were summarised.

3.7.9   Data handling and security

Laptop data was backed up to the university's OneDrive, a cloud-based information storage system, and on an external hard drive. The film data was stored on three external hard drives, two stored securely at home and one locked in my supervisor's office. Data security was my prime consideration: For ethical reasons, of course, but primarily because it was irreplaceable. However, as Cottle (2001) reminded us, mistakes are also part of fieldwork, and I lost a 15-minute clip through failure to follow one of my own rules – double-checking that all film was safely on the hard drives before deleting files on the camera itself.

3.7.10 Additional data

Fieldwork notes

When the camera was sitting on a desk or on its tripod, I made field notes in a hardcover notebook in a mixture of English, Māori and Teeline shorthand, depending on what was being said, and noted things to follow up. The field notes were made into PDF files.

Reflective diary

I also kept a reflective diary, written after a day in the field to assess how I felt things were going, record challenges faced and lessons learned, as well as note ideas and ask myself questions as part of my own reflexivity. As Bernard (2013) wrote, a diary often gives you information that will later help you interpret your fieldwork, and it also helps make you aware of your personal biases and behaviours. As an example, this entry was made in October 2016, early in fieldwork:

> There is a bit more casual, non-work-related conversation today (eg in the car going to a job, at lunch in the staffroom) – I am relaxing and getting used to being there, and they are used to me. However, I am acutely aware that when I interact with them, rather than being a fly on the wall, I am changing the nature of their day, and their communication with each other. But it is also an opportunity to get insight that is interesting to me as a journo, if not directly relevant to my work. So where do I be myself – never, while I am with them, or only in spaces where work is not actively going on, such as the lunchroom? We are, after all, cultural and professional peers. Where is the line drawn?

However, my diary entries trailed off as I became more confident and data collection and sorting took precedence. The diary eventually spanned the first six months of my research and totalled 5,700 words.

Other information

The fieldwork notes and diary were complemented by documents and artefacts relating to the journalists' work. These included copies of the stories broadcast, press releases, emails from news editors and scripts. At times, raw footage from camera operators was collected, usually when an interview had taken place in a noisy environment and I was unsure that my camera had gained good sound. This was always best done on the day, and necessitated carrying a high-capacity memory stick; camera operators were cooperative. While writing, queries arose occasionally that were not answered by the data I already had. I emailed people for clarification and stored the replies. I also made requests under the Official Information Act 1982 to Te Māngai Pāho, the Māori-language broadcasting agency. This was not because the agency was obstructive, but because it requires all information requests to be submitted under the Act.

3.8 Ethnographic communication analysis

Social interaction is accomplished in a variety of ways: Talking, writing, gazing, posture, the music we play and even the typefaces we choose (Jewitt, 2009; Machin, 2018; Norris, 2004, 2011, 2012; Sissons, 2012b). Multimodal analysis views language as just one way of communicating meaning, with non-verbal modes such as gesture, proximity and gaze working in concert, and a particular mode sometimes assuming greater importance than the spoken word in meaning-making (Jewitt, 2009; Norris, 2011). From multimodal data, researchers gain:

> A dynamic constellation of resources, where meanings are produced through the inter-relationships between and within the data sets, permitting the researcher literally and metaphorically to 'zoom in' on fine-grained detail and to pan out to gain a broader, socially and culturally situated perspective (Flewitt, Hampel, Hauck, & Lancaster, 2009, p. 44).

Data analysis, wrote Hatch (2002), is a systematic search for meaning: Organising and interrogating data in order to see patterns, identify themes, discover relationships, develop explanations, mount critiques and generate theories. I have followed the lead of Sissons (2012a, 2012b, 2014, 2016a, 2016b) in grouping my meaning-seeking tools under the heading ethnographic communication analysis. The key tools in the ethnographic communication analysis basket were thematic analysis, textual analysis, conversational analysis, and the approaches that fall under the heading of critical discourse studies, which sees language as social practice and considers the context of language use to be crucial to interpretation (Wodak & Meyer, 2016). Each are summarised below.

Thematic analysis applies to the texts of qualitative interviews in this study and works up from data-coding to pull together broader patterns (Creswell, 2013; Richards, 2015). Thematic analysis focuses on human experience, feelings and voices, and what people are saying, both implicitly and explicitly. The researcher plays an active role in identifying patterns and themes as she constantly reviews her data; themes do not emerge passively (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Thematic analysis began by importing the data, all written in in Word, into AUT-supplied nVivo 11 software, which allows users to classify, sort and arrange information and examine relationships in the data, to carry out descriptive coding, or classify data by topic. Drawing on the guidance of Bernard

(2013), Creswell (2013), Gibbs (2007) and Richards (2015), I used participants' own words as reference points to code together passages that dealt with similar ideas – that is, taking an inductive, ground-up approach.

Coding is not a tidy, linear process; it requires a great deal of revisiting and reorganising (Richards, 2015). I constantly reviewed codes in the light of new information, combining some, remaking some, and creating hierarchies. But topic coding takes you only so far; the focus needs to move from a descriptive "garden-path analysis" ("Oh, here are the roses") towards the analytical, conceptual and interpretative (Bazeley, 2009, p. 9). As I started seeing patterns and linkages, the strategies people used, the meaning they gave to certain things, and the conditions and constraints that influenced their work, I started analysing by writing, exploring ideas, seeking clarification and returning often to nVivo to check my ideas were robust. Here, I followed Bazeley's advice (2009): Start writing early and keep writing.

Textual analysis helps us to describe and interpret how human beings make sense of the world (McKee, 2003). It aims to contextualise and pick apart the layers inherent in a text in order to make an educated guess as to what is being said, to whom, how, and why, as well as exposing cultural sensibilities and what is not being said (Fürsich, 2009; McKee, 2003; Richardson, 2007). In this thesis, textual analysis focuses primarily on news texts and the language of presenters, which are closed texts: They encourage a specific meaning and allow little space for the consumer to generate a different interpretation (Bainbridge, 2008).

Conversational analysis focuses on real-world, spontaneous talk (Liddicoat, 2011, Sidnell, 2011) and focuses on the verbal strategies, mostly unconscious, that speakers use to accomplish a particular end in a social situation (Liddicoat, 2011; Schegloff, 1987). The work of Jefferson (1984, 1986, 1988), Sacks (2004), (Schegloff, 1987, 1995, 1998, 2000) and Schiffrin (1987) have been important guides to conversation analysis in this thesis. My transcription methods follow those of Jefferson (2004) (see p. 336 for transcription symbols).

Critical discourse studies provide an inter-disciplinary collection of approaches to language in use that aims to advance our understanding of how discourse – and here, discourse is defined as written or spoken communication – figures in social processes,

social structures and social change. Its many roots lie in rhetoric, text linguistics, anthropology, social psychology, cognitive science, literary studies, sociolinguistics, applied linguistics and pragmatics (Wodak & Meyer, 2016). It provides a range of lenses through which to explore written and spoken texts, allowing exploration from micro-level analysis of language use (such as grammar use) in a text to wider, macro-level, critically contextualised explorations of social processes, social practices and the experiences of individuals as they are constituted through language in social interaction (Flowerdew & Richardson, 2017; Kelsey, 2017; Krzyżanowski, 2018; van Dijk, 2008, Wodak & Meyer, 2016).

It is important to clarify that CDS has emerged from, and moved beyond, critical discourse analysis, which focused in particular on the ways in which power relations and assumptions were established, reinforced and resisted through language use, paying close attention to surrounding social, cultural, historical and political contexts (van Dijk, 2008; Fairclough, 1992, 2013, 2015; Machin & Mayr, 2012; Wodak & Meyer, 2001). CDA has been subsumed into CDS as the field has become more multimodal and interdisciplinary, which includes a turn towards ethnography (Krzyżanowski, 2018). Intertextual analysis is part of CDS and seeks to discern how a text explicitly or implicitly invokes an earlier text and how it is recontextualised (Allen, 2011; Bazerman, 2004; Fairclough, 2003).

Non-verbal analysis is the study of the non-verbal ways in which we communicate. Among these are paralanguage, or non-linguistic sounds such as sighs (Poyatos, 1991, 2001; Ritchie Key, 1975; Trager, 1958); facial expressions (Ekman & Friesen, 1969; Ekman et al., 1987); proxemics, or the distance between people who are interacting (Norris, 2004); the study of touch, or haptic communication (Gallace & Spence, 2010; Hertenstein, Verkamp, Kerestes, & Holmes, 2006), gesture (Kendon, 2004) and gaze, which is a critical component of turn-taking in conversation (Kendon, 1967; Novick, Hansen, & Ward, 1996). Gesture, particularly of the arms and hands, and language work hand-in-hand across all cultures, though some specific differences in representational gestures between cultures are now being identified (Kita, 2010). The unconscious, co-expressive gestures that accompany everyday talk give us insight into the said and the unsaid. As McNeill (1992) said, "Gestures and speech occur in very close temporal synchrony and often have identical meanings. Yet they express these

meanings in different ways" (p. 11). By observing what is expressed by the body alongside speech, we can make inferences about emotions, attitudes, roles and power relations (Abner et al., 2015; Beattie, 2016; Gruber, King, Hay, & Johnston, 2016; Kendon, 2004; McNeill, 1992).

3.8.1   Finding revelatory moments in film data

All methodologies rely on "preliminary interrogations of the material, interrogations which proceed, at least implicitly, from 'intuitive' assumptions about what *matters* in the content" (Gitlin, 1980, p. 304). As I coded the data, I was alert to sequences of social interaction that, on the surface, appeared to illustrate a moment where tikanga and/or language-quota requirements and/or journalism were intersecting. However, my instincts about the moments that mattered were not enough to justify a choice; I had to validate each one, asking why that moment appeared to matter.

I drew on the guidance in ethnographic communication analysis (Sissons, 2014, 2016a; 2016b; Theunissen & Sissons, 2018) and several researchers in allied fields to define the criteria I would apply. Gumperz (2001) aimed for "strips of naturally organised interaction containing empirical evidence … evidence again which to test assumptions" (p. 223), with the start and end of each strip defined by clear shifts in content or style. Guidance also came from Flanagan's seminal Critical Incident Technique (CIT) (1954). Flanagan was an American World War II aviation psychologist who devised the technique in order to help workers identify behaviour or practices in their workplace (in this case, the air force) that were associated with helpful or unhelpful outcomes (here, of bombing missions). He said:

> By an incident is meant any observable human activity that is sufficiently complete in itself to permit inferences and predictions to be made about the person performing the act. To be critical, an incident must occur in a situation where the purpose or intent of the act seems fairly clear to the observer and where its consequences are sufficiently definite to leave little doubt concerning its effects (p. 327).

He was searching for others' accounts of turning points on which rested the success or failure of a process, though he didn't use that phrase. Researchers using CIT in other fields have voiced concerns about the words "critical" and "incident", saying that it suggests a focus on situations of crisis rather than everyday activity. Norman, Redfern,

Tomalin and Oliver (1992), in their paper on the development of CIT, preferred the term "revelatory incidents" (p. 34). Keatinge (2002), in suggesting a name that might make CIT "more universally useful", raised "significant" (p. 34).

One scholar who used the word critical, though he drew no links to Flanagan, was linguistic ethnographer Daniel Perrin, who defined critical situations as those decision-making points in a journalist's construction of news that would help or hinder its clarity, adopting a positive/negative binary:

> Whereas critical situations denote exemplary constellations of circumstances which could lead to failure in, for instance, promoting public understanding, good practices stand for potential success in terms of the journalists', chief editors', managers', and politicians' criteria, as they are reconstructed in the project (2011, p. 202).

Grimshaw (1982) recommended that film for analysis "should be kept intact and without sequential restructuring" (p. 138) – that is, uninterrupted. Drawing on the above, the below became my criteria:

1. The incident had to take place within the usual activities of newsgathering;
2. The incident had to reflect an element of tikanga intersecting with journalistic practice that had the potential to change the journalist's end product; and
3. The complete moment had to be captured on film, without any breaks.

I opted for the term revelatory moments, as the strips chosen were a path to expanding on and deepening our understanding of the ways in which journalists negotiate tikanga and language requirements in the context of everyday reporting. At times, revelatory moments were immediately obvious, or became apparent on re-watching film.

3.8.2   An example of method

In this study, the approach is realised most fully in the six face-to-face interactions that are analysed. To show how social interaction is documented, below is the opening of Interaction 6: Persuasion (p. 255). The situation is a television interview between a reporter and an interviewee who have just met. The reporter, standing on the right and named A in the transcript, has been filmed trying to persuade T, on the left, to speak Māori for the interview:

1. A   do you speak Māori?
2.   (0.4)
3. T   I do but can we kōrero i te reo
4.   Pākehā? *speak in English?*
5. A   =I reckon you'll be fine

Figure 3: An example of a transcript

See Appendix 1 (p. 336) for an explanation of transcription symbols.

The first task was to extract the critical incident and transcribe it through the lens of conversational analysis, putting speech, pauses and prosody (patterns of stress and intonation) into a customised Word template; Māori language was translated in italics. I aimed for a sentence or phrase a line, with each pause on a separate line to aid readability. Transcription is a painstaking process and requires a great deal of re-listening and checking, but it permits an intimate understanding of the data. The next task was another slow, iterative process, recording mode-by-mode what was happening – speech, gesture, gaze, touch, people's relative positions (haptics) and facial expressions – and checking what the relevant literature said about various actions. Slowly, the modes came together to provide a complete picture of the interactional dynamics, with a CDS lens focusing on aspects such as negotiation, attitudes, encouragement, persuasion and control. Finally, the snipping tool in Microsoft Windows was used to excerpt still images that best illustrated the dominant modes at a particular point in time. These images were imported into Microsoft PowerPoint and the time elapsed and overlay words added, with participants' faces concealed where necessary. The images were then imported into the template.

3.8.3 Validation and credibility in qualitative research

Validation in qualitative research is "a judgement of the trustworthiness or goodness of a piece of research" (Angen, 2000, p. 387), and debate is ongoing about how to ensure that a piece of qualitative research is a fair and accurate representation of the culture being explored (Angen, 2000; Bryman, 2012; Creswell, 2013; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Noble & Smith, 2015; Sandelowski, 1993; Whittemore, Chase, & Mandle, 2001). This thesis is guided by Creswell's 2013 list of eight validation strategies, six of which are used in this thesis. He recommends that two at least are employed; six are used in this thesis. They are:

Prolonged engagement and persistent observation in the field. As Bernard (2013) wrote, presence builds trust, and trust lowers reactivity – that is, people changing their behaviour because they know they are being studied. Lower reactivity, he wrote, means higher data validity.

Triangulation. This is the use of multiple and different sources, methods and theories to cross-check, query, and corroborate information (Bryman, 2012; Cottle, 2007; Creswell, 2013; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Tuchman, 1991). Triangulation took place right from the earliest qualitative interviews. Statements offered in interviews were often revisited in other interviews to probe how much corroborating evidence there was and whether I should further pursue an idea.

Peer review or debriefing. This refers to an external check, test and challenge of the research process and emerging themes (Creswell, 2013; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). My principal guide was my primary supervisor, Dr Helen Sissons of the School of Communication Studies at AUT. Like the candidate, Dr Sissons is a former daily news journalist who has moved into academia, and who also uses video ethnography to explore newsroom dynamics. My second supervisor, Professor Hinematau McNeill, from the tribes Ngāti Moko and Tapuika, is a senior figure in Te Ara Poutama, the Māori studies department at AUT, and a Māori speaker whose research is grounded in Kaupapa Māori.

Thick description. This refers to rich, detailed accounts of a culture (Geertz, 1973), which video gives in abundance. As Geertz wrote, "Behaviour must be attended to, and with some exactness, because it is through the flow of behaviour – or, more precisely social action – that cultural forms find articulation" (p. 17).

Clarifying researcher bias. The researcher is the research instrument, building on her tacit knowledge using qualitative methods (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Singer (2009) wrote that the researchers' background, voice and interpretive relationship to the subject and its participants must be clear so the reader can make assessments (see the section Researcher background and motivation on p. 3).

Member checking. This is, essentially, taking transcripts, writing and findings back to participants for feedback, and is, wrote Lincoln & Guba, (1985) "the most crucial

technique for establishing credibility" (p. 314). For this study, participants read their own transcripts for accuracy; several made amendments for clarity. Once data analysis began, short slices of film chosen for multimodal analysis were shown to the journalists involved to hear their perspectives on what was happening and why; Norris (2011) called this playback methodology. I was careful to avoid introducing any bias by sharing any my ideas. The analysis of interactions that involved named participants were also shown to them as an accuracy check.

Interpretative researchers cannot and do not aim to make total or statistical generalisations. However, inductive reasoning arising from dense data backed by the above techniques does allow what Williams (2000) called moderatum (moderate) generalisations, where activities in categorically similar situations can be seen as "instances of a broader recognisable set of features" (p. 215). The claims are moderately held and are open to change, not sweeping statements that claim to hold good across time or cultures (Payne & Williams, 2005). In this thesis, the relative consistency in processes and practices across the participant cohort allowed some moderatum generalisations to be made.

3.8.4   Reliability

Reliability refers to analytical procedures that deliver consistency and aim for neutrality (Noble & Smith, 2015). I had good-quality digital audio and video recordings and used consistent electronic documentation methods, which Creswell (2013) identified as important routes to reliability. Schaeffer (1995) also noted that videos "allow for scientific rigour when conducted by trained researchers. Videos retain sequences of observed behaviour for later scrutiny and can as a result increase quality and reliability of statements made regarding the activity" (p. 255). Consistency was a critical consideration when coding the qualitative interview and film data, and to this end I created a clear definition of what each code covered.

3.9   Conclusion

In this chapter, I have explained the foundation of my research design by discussing the ways in which a Kaupapa Māori foundation for qualitative research integrates and validates Māori culture and tikanga. Digital film coupled with qualitative interviews and documents relevant to the journalists' work were justified as a pathway to rich

data that would provide a multi-faceted perspective on the ways in which tikanga and the intersection with the language revitalisation agenda shapes reporters' behaviour, their approaches to reporting and their final stories. Multimodal data combined with approaches grounded in thematic analysis, textual analysis, conversational analysis, critical discourse studies and non-verbal analysis were posited as a way to create a detailed and nuanced picture of the dynamics in evidence. The chapter ended with a discussion of the ways in which the methods of data capture and analysis provided robust, valid and reliable data.

We now turn to the first of five chapters of analyses and findings. In the first of these, three news stories are analysed to demonstrate how the Māori perspective, tikanga and language come together to present an indigenous viewpoint on the world.

Chapter 4: Exploring the Māori perspective

To extend the discussion of news values and the Māori perspective that ended the literature review, as well as contextualise the findings chapters to come, we now examine three stories filmed during fieldwork. The analyses aim to show how a Māori lens influenced the ways in which news values were interpreted by the reporters, and, where relevant, discusses aspects of the Māori worldview, tikanga and journalistic practice. The stories are representative of what a consumer of Māori-issues news might see in a typical week.

The first story is from *Te Karere*, a five-day, 22 min 30 s news show that airs in te reo Māori on Television New Zealand.

The second is from *Te Kāea*, a seven-day, 26 min evening news show on Māori Television from 2004-2019.

The final story is from *Waatea News*, a five-minute radio bulletin that runs 7am-6pm Monday to Friday. It is produced by Auckland-based urban Māori radio station Te Reo Irirangi o Waatea.

For each story, I will first offer a brief context. Each story will be laid out as a written text in the case of a radio story and, for television stories, a text with grabs from the video. Web links are provided where available. Then I will discuss the news values in operation for each story, exploring them through a Māori lens. Where relevant, some of the planning and production issues relevant to each story will be discussed.

4.1 Story 1: Murder accused acquitted

This 2 min 38 s story aired on *Te Karere* on October 20, 2016 (Melbourne, 2016c).[26] Peata Melbourne reported the outcome of a court case in Brisbane, Australia in which Australian man Gable Tostee was acquitted of murder or manslaughter of Māori woman Warriena Wright. The pair had met through the dating app Tinder while she

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[26] Melbourne, P. (2016, October 20). Juror's Instragram breach before Tostee found not guilty. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uDfYVpa5xFY&t=3s

was visiting the Gold Coast from Aotearoa New Zealand. Hours after the pair met face-to-face, she fell from the balcony of Tostee's 14th-floor apartment and died.

Peata used footage shot the previous afternoon by Australia-based staff of the TVNZ's flagship news programme, *1 News*, as the parties emerged from the courthouse. To this, she coupled file footage of the scene of the death, pictures the pair took of themselves together and social-media images. In terms of structure and editing, this was a typical television news story (Malcolm, 2014), with a reporter voice-over linking its elements. The presenter was Scotty Morrison.

Presenter: "Kāore a Gable Tostee i kōhuru i a Warriena Wright. Koirā te whakatau a te rōpū tekau mā rua i whakawā i te whakapae kōhuru i utaina atu ki runga i a Tostee. Engari i roto i te kōti te kaumingomingotanga e āwhiowhio ana i te whakapātaritari i ngā roia wawao i te kaiwhakawā nā te mea i te tuhi kōrero tētahi o te rōpū tekau mā rua ki runga Kōtui Pāpori. Nei rā a Peata Melbourne."

Subtitles: Gable Tostee has been found not guilty of murdering Warriena Wright. But the verdict did not come without court room confusion. Prior to the verdict the defence team asked for the jury to be discharged because of a breach of information on social media. Here's Peata Melbourne.

Reporter: "Ka mutu te rā tuawhā o ngā ngārahutanga, i puta mai a Gable Tostee i te kōti hai tangata kore hara."

Subtitles: After four days of deliberation, Gable Tostee emerged from the court a free man.

Grab, unnamed defence lawyer: "Mr Tostee is very happy with the result. He's relieved this matter is now behind him and he's looking forward to moving on with his life."

Reporter: "Kāre ia i hara, engari he aituā tonu mō te whānau o Warriena Wright."

Subtitles: No crime committed, but a tragedy for Warriena Wright's whānau. (Note that the word whānau was not translated).

Grab, unnamed Wright family spokesperson: "As you may appreciate, Warriena Wright's family are still coming to terms with the loss of their daughter and their sister, as well as enduring the anguish of being present here for this trial this last two weeks."

Reporter: "I whai aroha a Wright i tētahi tāne tauhou i runga i a Tinder. I haere ia ki te Takutai Kōura mō tētahi mārenatanga. Ki reira ia tūtaki ai ā-kanohi nei a Tostee mō te wā tuatahi. Ko tōna tūmanako he pō tūtaki tāne noa iho, engari kē, he pō tūtaki i a Hine-nui-te-pō."

Subtitles: Turning to Tinder for some fun with a man she'd never met, Wright was in Gold Coast for a wedding and met up with Tostee for the first time. What was supposed to be a night out with a man ended up being the night she met her death.

Grab, unnamed man doing a haka for Wright at the place she died.

Reporter: "Kua mauhere a Tostee i ngā rā ki muri me tana kaha ki te whakairi kōrero ki runga i āna whārangi ipurangi me te pahupahu mō te maha o ngā wahine kua moea e ia. Koinei hoki tāna whai muri i tana wetekanga i te whare herehere."

Subtitles: Tostee has previously served time in prison and is a prolific social mediarite who has boasted online about sleeping with hundreds of women, and posting this shortly after his release.
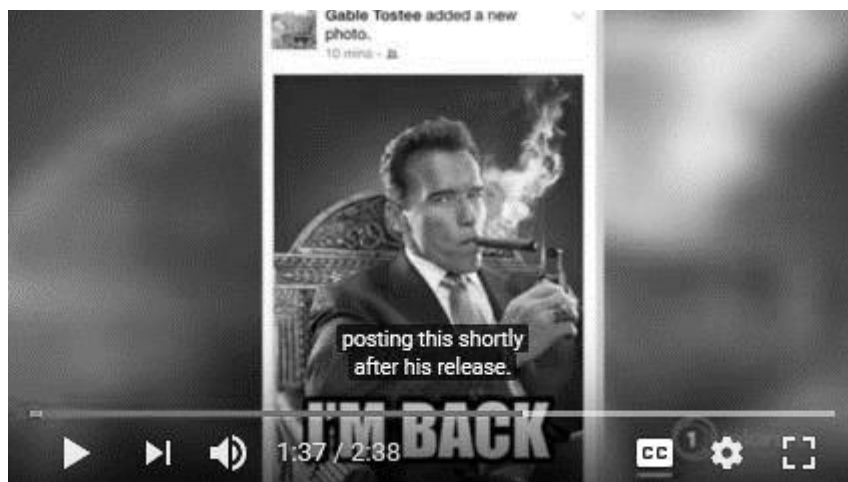
Reporter: "Heoi ehara tēnei ure paratī i te kaikōhuru."
Subtitles: But the self-proclaimed playboy is no murderer.
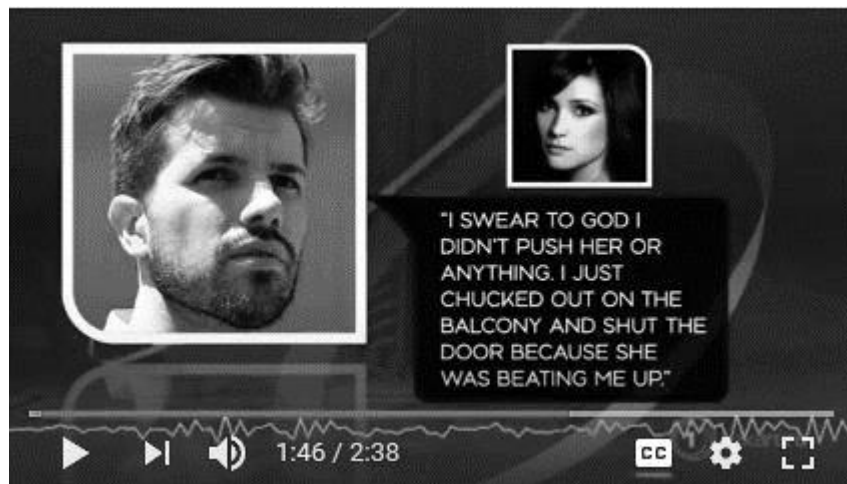
Gable Tostee audio: "I swear to God I didn't push her or anything, I just chucked her out on the balcony and shut the door 'cos she was beating me up."

Reporter: "He momo mate rongo kua pāngia hoki ki a ia, me tana whakapae kua tāhaetia ana rawa e tētehi i ngā rā ki muri. Nā whai anō ngā kāmera i waho i tōna whare me ana mahi hopu reo i runga i tana wāea. I kitea te mana o aua hopukanga i te kōti."

Subtitles: Tostee also suffers from a form of autism who (sic) says he had been robbed previously. He set up security cameras and habitually recorded audio conversations on his phone. Those recordings proving vital in court.
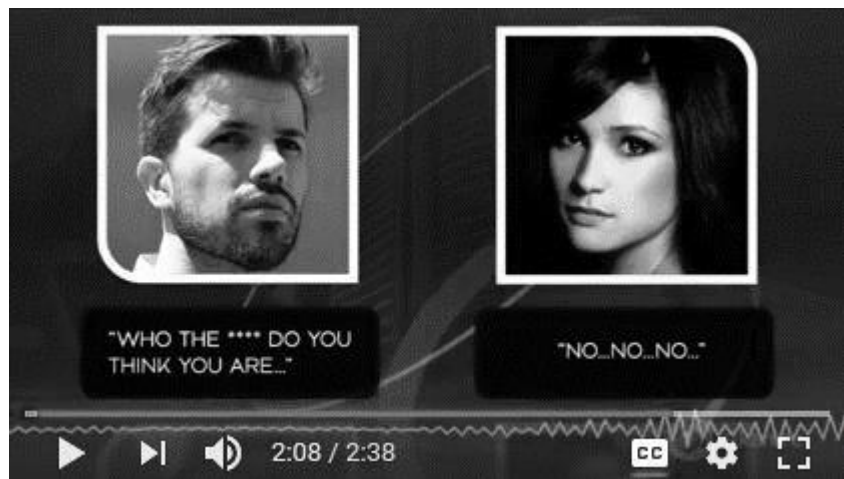
Audio from the fatal night. Gable Tostee: "Who the [beep] do you think you are?" Warriena Wright: "No, no, no!"

Reporter: "I ngā miniti tata i mua i te whakataunga, i huraina te kōrero i te whakairi kōrero mō te kēhi ki runga Instagram e tētahi o te hunga whakawā. I tono ngā rōia o Tostee kia whakakore i te whakawātanga, kia whakawātea hoki i te hunga whakawā, engari i whakahētia tā rātou tono e te kaiwhakawā. Kāre i hara a Tostee."

Subtitles: Moments before the verdict was due to be announced, it emerged that a juror had posted messages of (sic) the case on Instagram. Tostee's defence demanded that the trial be aborted and the jury discharged, an application rejected by the judge.

Reporter: "Engari i te mutunga iho, ko te oranga o tētehi i mutu, ko te orangatonutanga o ētehi atu i turaki. Peata Melbourne, *Te Karere*."

Subtitles: The jury found Tostee not guilty after one life ended, and many more ruined.

Figure 4: Court report, *Te Karere*

Screen grabs reproduced with permission.

4.1.1 News values

Warriena Wright's death and ensuing events were widely reported in Aotearoa New Zealand. The news values were multiple, among them **drama** (Harcup & O'Neill, 2016); **proximity** (Bell, 1991), given that she was a New Zealander; and **bad news** (Harcup & O'Neill, 2016). **Relevance** (Bell, 1991) was an important value in that many people use social media like Tinder to meet strangers for casual sex, and the saga was a cautionary tale for the digital age. The story also had good **audio-visualness** (Harcup & O'Neill, 2016), as the media had a lot to choose from: Photos the pair took of themselves, Tostee's recordings, and footage of him outside the courtroom. There was also **follow-up** (Harcup & O'Neill, 2016), as media had followed the case from Warriena Wright's death to acquittal, a period of more than two years, and **surprise** (Harcup & O'Neill, 2016), as it was not obvious that Gable Tostee would be cleared.

For *Te Karere*, the most important single news value that justified the story was **proximity** (Masterton, 1998), and that was cultural. Peata Melbourne said that when *Te Karere* found out that the victim had Māori heritage, its reporters had a reason to follow up. However, they were unable to discover Warriena Wright's tribe, a fact that Māori viewers would want to know. Said Peata Melbourne, "That's Māori enough, I think, that she's got Māori whakapapa." Still, as she embarked on the story, she said

that this reason needed to be made clear to viewers: "We've mentioned it [Wright's whakapapa] before and we'll probably mention it again … we can't assume that everyone's been following this case and [may be] wondering why *Te Karere* is following a murder trial of an Aussie boy." In the event, there was no explicit mention in the final story of Warriena Wright being Māori, which may have been an oversight under time pressure. However, her family was described in the English subtitles as her whānau, a signpost to her whakapapa.

Te Karere is part of the TVNZ newsroom and is able to tap into the resources of the flagship show *1 News*. Te Karere repurposed pictures, audio and graphics that had been used on *1 News* the previous night, which meant the story was able to be turned around quickly and in-house. This reflects the news production value of **pre-fabrication** (Bell, 1991) – ready-made resources that journalists can take over. There were no photos or videos of Warriena Wright in settings that emphasised her Māori heritage; it is quite possible she wasn't raised in the Māori world. However, *Te Karere* included pictures that would increase the story's **visualness** (McGregor, 2002) in a Māori sense: File footage of a man performing a haka at the place Warriena died. Earlier that day, a news editor had instructed the reporter "to put the Māori spin on it … get that haka".

4.1.2 'Māorifying' stories in mainstream media

In fieldwork, reporters and editors were often heard discussing how they might "Māorify" a story of wide interest that had broken in mainstream media. They sought an angle that brought a Māori voice or perspective to bear, not a translation of the angle pursued in English-language media. Finding a congruent Māori perspective wasn't always straightforward; conversely, sometimes the "Māorification" of a story was simply Māori involvement, as above.

Following is an example of the discussions that could take place around locating a Māori perspective. In the same week this story aired, an editorial meeting recorded during fieldwork discussed New Zealand Rugby's announcement that it would set up an independent review into player culture following a string of embarrassing off-field incidents, some of which involved sexual harassment of women (Hurley, 2016). In the meeting, looking for a way to apply a Māori perspective, a news editor said that a

Māori Member of Parliament, Kelvin Davis, was due to start a hīkoi [walk] in his electorate, completing the equivalent of marathon every day for seven days to highlight the problem of sexual violence. "In terms of Māorifying it," she said, talking about the New Zealand Rugby review, "Kelvin's got his hīkoi happening on Sunday, the hīkoi against sexual violence." Although not clearly stated, the implication seemed to be that the two could somehow be linked, by perhaps having Davis comment on the review. The idea met a lukewarm response, with a reporter asking how the hīkoi related to the review. Another colleague said he could see how the news editor was "trying to relate it", but, he suggested, the link was tenuous. The news editor said, "Um, okay, is that a bit too far-fetched?" to general agreement. The idea was dropped.

4.1.3   Writing scripts in two languages

Like all reo-Māori television reporters, Peata Melbourne writes her scripts in both English and Māori. The added workload is necessary, she said, as sub-titlers can't be expected to understand the context of a story as thoroughly as the reporter. The reporters' English scripts are sent to sub-titlers. *Te Karere* goes to air at 3.55pm, so reporters and sub-titlers work under immense time pressure; this explains the transfer of minor typing and grammar errors from the original script to the subtitles.

Typically, Peata Melbourne writes her first script in the language of her grabs: "It flows better for me as a writer to write in whatever language my talent is speaking in." But that isn't a hard and fast rule, she said; for this story, a straightforward account of a verdict, she wrote the script in Māori first and then in English. She used the same format for both languages – active sentences in an inverted pyramid (Hannis, 2014).

Te Karere reporters write their introductions for the presenter in English only, with translation left to the presenter, and such was the case with this story. Executive producer Arana Taumata said that although all dialects of Māori are mutually intelligible, each presenter has their own mita, or way of speaking, which includes dialect, intonation and pronunciation; the English-only approach to introductions reduces the risk of something being lost in translation. However, at the time of interview, the policy change was recent, he said:

> Before, there was a mish-mash of intros being written in English or
> Māori and then subbed ... in te reo. This sometimes resulted in the

essence or angle of story being lost in translation or reporters objecting to the way their intro in Māori was changed. Our current way means we have a better chance of achieving clarity and consistency.

Peata Melbourne occasionally stands in for the presenter, and said that before the policy change, she had sometimes experienced awkward moments speaking others' words live to air:

> At times, when an intro has been put in late, I have left it as the reporter wrote it in Māori, and I don't even know what I've just said live-to-air. It has less to do with the level of language and more to do with the style of language used by everyone in the team. It varies.

The style was, she said, the difference between people like her who speak the straightforward conversational Māori of their childhoods – she grew up speaking te reo at home but was educated in English – and colleagues whose style of language had been shaped by tertiary study. "I think there's a massive difference between the conversational Māori I hear back [home] from my family versus the academic Māori that I hear [at work]," she said. Peata aims to keep her reo-Māori scripts "simple, so a 12-year-old can understand". Like the majority of reporters in this study, she doesn't translate commonly-used Māori words in her English translations: "Mainstream is now using these words, so I leave them."

4.1.4   Handling the gulf in worldviews

Journalists working in te reo often make references to the cosmological, as the creation story is a primary component of the Māori worldview (Ka'ai & Higgins, 2004; Reilly, 2004); see p. 6. However, given the difficulty of translating between worldviews and the space constraints of subtitles, references to the esoteric are usually not translated. To explore this, let's return to a paragraph from the Gable Tostee story:

> I whai aroha a Wright i tētehi tāne tauhou i runga i a Tinder. I haere ia ki te Takutai Kōura mō tētahi māreenatanga. Ki reira ia tūtaki ai a kanohi nei a Tostee mō te wā tuatahi. Ko tōna tūmanako he pō tūtaki tāne noa iho, engari kē, <u>he pō tūtaki i a Hine-nui-te-pō.</u>

> Turning to Tinder for some fun with a man she'd never met, Wright was in Gold Coast for a wedding and met up with Tostee for the first time. What was supposed to be a night out with a man ended up being the night <u>she met her death</u>.

The phrase "the night she met her death" could be translated factually as "te pō i mate ai ia" [the night she died]. But in her reo-Māori script, the reporter wrote "he pō tūtaki i a Hine-nui-te-pō", or "the night she met Hine-nui-te pō", the goddess of death (see p. 8). The allusion is elegant and unobtrusive, but not translated. Peata doesn't translate metaphors into English, assuming the primary audience for subtitles is non-Māori and/or monolingual:

> There's no need to literally translate what I say – Māori talk
> figuratively a lot, and that's how I talk in Māori too. But Pākehā don't,
> so I translate it to capture the meaning. With this particular example,
> I wrote it in Māori first and it was a play on words … she embodies
> the concept of death, and I assume reo Māori speakers will already
> know this. I don't assume the same of non-Māori speakers.

However, figures of speech grounded in common understandings of human behaviour rather than cosmology can, in some cases, translate well from Māori into English, as in this paragraph about Tostee:

> Heoi ehara tēnei ure paratī i te kaikōhuru.
> (Subtitles) But the self-proclaimed playboy is no murderer.

The Māori equivalent for playboy combines the word for penis (ure) and spurt up or scatter (paratī).

4.2   Story 2: Fears for public land

This 1 min 44 s story by Wepiha Te Kawana aired on *Te Kāea* on Tuesday February 7, 2017 (Te Kanawa, 2017).[27] It concerns a government bill that will enable a public seaside reserve in Auckland to be rezoned for housing and sold back to the tribe that originally owned it. The move was part of Treaty of Waitangi redress for Ngāti Pāoa, and the tribe planned to build housing for its people on the land.

Although the bill had been written to deal with this specific situation, the language was not specific. The local elected board was concerned about a lack of transparency and consultation over the bill, and feared that once it became law, it would be used to allow back-door development of other public reserves. The context was a severe

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[27] Te Kanawa, W. (2017, February 7). Local board fears new bill could threaten Auckland reserves. Retrieved from https://www.maoritelevision.com/news/regional/local-board-fears-new-bill-could-threaten-auckland-reserves

housing shortage in Auckland, with the government under pressure to fast-track development.

Note that people speaking English were not subtitled in te reo Māori, as all adult Māori speak English. The main interviewee, Josephine Bartley, is Samoan and speaks English in the story. The reporter wrote this story in English first and then in Māori, but "then tweaked the English again according to the Māori".[28]

Presenter: "E āwangawanga ana tētahi mema kāwanatanga ā-rohe o Tāmaki Makaurau tētahi pire hou a te kāwanantanga kei riro ētahi atu papa rēhia i Tāmaki, otirā i te motu whānui hoki i ngā mahi whakatūtū whare. Kei a Wepiha Te Kanawa te rētōtanga atu."

Subtitles: An Auckland local board member is concerned a new government bill could lead to reserves in Auckland and potentially around the country being developed. Wepiha Te Kanawa has the details.

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[28] On his general approach to bilingual scripting, the reporter added: "It depends on the story/occasion. If there's a story with lots of technical terms or jargon I'll write it in English. However if there's a kaupapa Māori [Māori topic] I'll start with Māori. Pros and cons for both as you can imagine."

Reporter: "E āwangawanga ana te kāwanatanga ā-rohe o Maungakiekie ka noho whakaraerae ngā whenua rāhui o Tamaki nā te Development Enabling Bill."

Subtitles: Maungakiekie-Tamaki Local Board fear the government's Development Enabling Bill could put all reserves around Auckland in danger of development.

Grab: Josephine Bartley, tiamana [chairperson], Maungakiekie-Tāmaki Local Board: "It's very hard for communities to know that this is happening if the Government doesn't inform them that there is this bill that could affect the reserves in their area."

Reporter voice-over: "He kaupapa tēnei e tautokohia ana e Ngāti Pāoa te hanga i ngā whare toru rau, he marae, me ētahi wāhi kai, engari kua kaha whakahē te hapori o Ukutoia."

Subtitles: A project supported by Ngāti Pāoa to build 300 homes, a marae and waterfront restaurants at the reserve was criticised by the Glen Innes community.

Grab, Josephine Bartley: "The fact that there was no public consultation, there's no information out there for communities to understand what this bill is about and what this bill means."

Journalist voice-over: "Koinei te pire tuatahi pēnei te hanga e whakaāe ana ki te hanga whare ki ngā wāhi rāhui, e tautoko ana a Josephine i a Ngāti Pāoa, heoi kei runga te kōrero kei raro te rahurahu."

Subtitles: The Pt England Development Enabling Bill is the first of its kind that allows development on reserves. Josephine supports Ngāti Pāoa's claim to the land but says they may not have a say in the end.

Grab, Josephine Bartley: "There's no mention of the bill about Ngāti Pāoa or the Treaty settlement. So, technically what this bill will do, is open up for development on reserves by any developer."

Journalist piece to camera: "I whakapā atu a *Te Kāea* ki tētahi kaikōrero o Ngāti Pāoa ki te uiui mā runga kāmera, engari kāore tētahi i wātea. Engari i whakaputa rātou i ēnei kōrero e mea ana 'E ai ki te Minita Hanga Whare ki a Nick Smith, kei a Ngāti Pāoa te mana whakahaere ki te hanga whare hou ki runga i te whenua'."

Subtitles: Te Kāea *tried to contact a spokesperson from Ngāti Pāoa but no one was available to appear on camera today. However, they did release this statement:* "Minster of Housing and Development Nick Smith says Ngāti Pāoa will have the right to develop the land" (see graphic below).
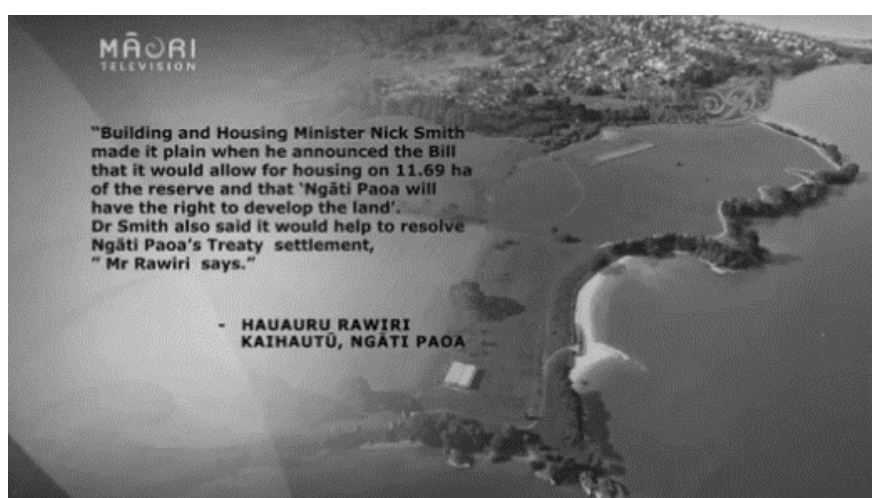
Voice-over: **"**Wepiha Te Kanawa, *Te Kāea*."

Figure 5: Land bill story, *Te Kāea*

Screen grabs reproduced with permission

This story, I suggest, was missing an element – a query to the Government about why the bill was so loosely worded. During story preparation, securing a government response wasn't raised as a priority; the story instead turned to Ngāti Pāoa's reiteration of its right to develop the land, in which its spokesperson indirectly quoted the relevant Minister. The tribe's written statement said that "the question of why

Ngāti Pāoa is not named in the bill itself is a question that needs to be put to the Minister's office and/or the ministry responsible for drafting the bill". However, the reporter did not act on that.

Note that the transliteration tiamana, or chairman, was not translated in the captions. It appears to be expected that viewers will either know the meaning of the word or will work out the meaning given its imitation of the English source.

4.2.1 News values

Wepiha Te Kanawa decided to do this story after reading a RNZ report[29] that quoted the chairperson of the board, Josephine Bartley, saying there had not been enough consultation or transparency around the bill. She was the only speaker in the RNZ report and the story focused primarily on a perceived lack of consultation with the local community. Wepiha Te Kanawa said he wanted to do a story as **follow-up** (Harcup & O'Neill, 2001) as he had reported on the issue previously. He also wanted to ensure the tribe's voice was heard; the RNZ story, he said, "didn't have Ngāti Pāoa, their input". In terms of motivation, his latter comment reflects the **news organisation's agenda,** defined as "stories that set or fit the news organisation's own agenda, whether ideological, commercial or as part of a specific campaign" (Harcup & O'Neill, 2016, p. 13). Although MTS exists to privilege Māori voices and issues, here we can assign agency for this agenda to the reporter.

In the morning news meeting, when the reporter described the story to his colleagues, he was focused more narrowly on the impact of the bill on the local area. He was initially planning a similar story to that of RNZ, adding in the Māori voice, until the news editor asked why anyone outside Auckland would care about a story focused on one suburb. In posing the question, she wanted him to find an angle of greater **consequence** (Masterton, 1998) – that is, an angle that would affect more people in more places. The reporter did more research and decided to enlarge on an angle near the end of the RNZ story – the board's concern about the bill setting a precedent. That broader perspective made the story relevant to a greater number of people.

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[29] Brettkelly, S. (2017, February 7). Local board fights Pt England development. Retrieved from https://www.radionz.co.nz/news/national/323925/local-board-fights-pt-england-development

Other news values included **reference to elite people** (Galtung & Ruge, 1965), as the three people named were all elected officials. The current underpinning the story was **conflict** (Masterton, 2005), both recent and historical: The housing project had long divided locals, and the issue over the bill's ambiguous wording added another layer of argument.

4.2.2 Figures of speech

Te reo contains many pithy sayings, metaphors, analogies and aphorisms, many of them about aspirations, social values and activities (Metge & Jones, 1995; Moorfield & Johnston, 2004). Māori journalists make good use of these as story-telling shortcuts. Wepiha Te Kanawa used the whakataukī or proverb "kei runga te kōrero, kei raro te rahurahu" which translates as "words above but mischief beneath" (Mead & Grove, 2003). This is the relevant part of the script:

> Reporter: "Koinei te pire tuatahi pēnei te hanga e whakaāe ana ki te hanga whare ki ngā wāhi rāhui, e tautoko ana a Josephine i a Ngāti Pāoa, heoi kei runga te kōrero, kei raro te rahurahu."

> *Subtitles: The Pt England Development Enabling Bill is the first of its kind that allows development on reserves. Josephine supports Ngāti Pāoa's claim to the land but says they may not have a say in the end.*

Mead & Grove (2003) interpreted this saying as "soothing words are being used to cover malicious meddling, or that the meaning of the words is not at all what a listener might assume" (p. 204). In this context, the reporter used the saying to sum up concern that a bill aiming to fulfil Ngāti Pāoa's aspirations might be hijacked by the government and used to force development in other green spaces. "What I was trying to say," he explained, "is they [the government] have said something but will do something else. In essence, they have a hidden agenda." The English translation, "they (the local board) may not have a say in the end" was more ambiguous. Bartley didn't explicitly say that the government had an ulterior motive; this was implied, so the reporter couldn't put those words in her mouth in the Māori translation. However, in this context, the proverb underlined her unease over the bill's wording.

Wepiha was educated in te reo Māori and grew up being told that his ancestors used figures of speech often and adroitly. He aimed to emulate them: "I feel a sense of triumph when I can encapsulate a whole sentence in English into a short whakataukī."

However, translation from one worldview into another could be tricky: "We Māori know the meaning of the whakataukī [proverb] or kupu whakarite [simile] but sometimes it's hard to translate that into English ... we try our best to get as similar a meaning as possible."

4.3   Story 3: Minister looks to Cooks over land sales to foreigners

Radio Waatea holds a contract with TMP to produce news bulletins and current affairs interviews for the wider iwi network (see p. 19). Due to limited newsroom funding, most stories in the news bulletin, *Waatea News*, are drawn from the previous night's episode of *Manako*, a Sunday to Thursday night, live, 7 pm to 8 pm current affairs discussion show featuring high-profile commentators, politicians and community leaders. On this show, interviewees are able to speak at length with very little interruption, reflecting a discursiveness noted by Browne's 1996 study of iwi radio (see also p. 24). To create news stories, Waatea's Māori-language reporters mine as much as possible from *Manako*, so their stories tend to be led by these newsmakers' opinions and ideas; there is little story development. If there is no usable audio from *Manako*, Waatea staff write a reader – a news story without audio, read by the presenter. Staff also develop news stories from phone interviews and media releases and write Māori-language news from English-language news interviews.

The following story, written and presented by Tumamao Harawira, was a typical example of the way in which news is culled from the previous night's *Manako.* The Minister for Māori Development, Te Ururoa Flavell, had discussed his activities in an interview that ran for 11 min. The news story gleaned from it was 42 s long and aired in the 11 am bulletin on Monday, March 20, 2017 (Harawira, 2017).

The context was that the New Zealand Government had given American billionaire Peter Thiel citizenship for his investments in local companies, although he had not lived in the country and had no intention of doing so, thereby circumventing immigration law. He then bought large tracts of sensitive rural land. The government was accused of selling citizenship to the wealthy, reflecting longstanding and widespread concern, particularly among Māori, that wealthy foreigners were alienating New Zealanders from their land ('How the land lies in foreign hands', 2014;

'Land sales to foreign buyers at 7-year high', 2014). The controversy was widely covered in mainstream media.

This was a standard radio text – short, active sentences in the present tense followed by a quote (Scott, 2014).

> (Presenter) "Kei te rere te whakawhiu ki runga i te Kāwanatanga mōnā i whakaāetia ki te urunga mai a Peter Thiel, tangata whai rawa o Amerika, ki konei ki Aotearoa noho ai."
>
> *(Presenter) The Government is being heavily criticised for allowing wealthy American Peter Thiel to gain citizenship here.*
>
> (Presenter): "E ai ki te Minita Whakawhanake Māori, a Te Ururoa Flavell, me whai pea tātou i te tauira o ngā Kuki Airani mō te hunga e āhei ana ki te hoko whenua."
>
> *(Presenter): According to Māori Development Minister Te Ururoa Flavell, we should probably be following the example of the Cook Islands on who is able to purchase land.*
>
> (Audio, Te Ururoa Flavell): "... i ētehi tikanga pēnei i ērā i roto i te Moana Nui-a-Kiwa. Kua rongo ake au i te āhuatanga o ngā whakahaere i ngā Kuki Airani. Ko tā rātou kāwanatanga, ko te whakatau tētahi kōrero e mea ana kāore e taea e wai rānei te hoko i te whenua ki tangata kē, ki iwi kē, ki a wai ake i tua atu o te Kuki Airani. He māmā noa ake te rīhi engari kaua ki te hoko."
>
> *(Audio, Te Ururoa Flavell): ... practices like those in the Pacific Islands. I've heard about the way it's managed by the Cook Islands. Their government, the law says no one is able to sell land to people from elsewhere, from outside the Cook Islands. It's easy enough to lease out land, but not to sell.*
>
> (Presenter) "Ko te reo tērā o Te Ururoa Flavell."
> *(Presenter): That's Te Ururoa Flavell.*

4.3.1 News values

The story aired a fact that many listeners might not know: In the neighbouring Cook Islands, foreigners can lease land, but not own it. The Minister suggested Aotearoa New Zealand should look to the Cook Islands' example and ban land sales to foreigners. This reflected the news value of the **power elite** (Harcup & O'Neill, 2001) – in Galtung and Ruge's terms (1965) **reference to elite people**, or in Masterton's (1998) terms **prominence**. These all capture the idea that the things powerful people say are automatically seen as more valuable than the opinion of an ordinary citizens. In

addition, this Minister, like many other Māori MPs, made himself readily available to Māori media, so earned good coverage.

Another important news value was **relevance**, in that the story was about "groups or nations perceived to be influential with, or culturally or historically familiar to, the audience" (Harcup & O'Neill, 2016, p. 13) and **proximity** (Galtung & Ruge, 1965); here they operated on linked cultural, geographical and ideological levels. The Cook Islands, four hours' flight from Aotearoa New Zealand, is self-governing but part of the Realm of New Zealand, and its people carry New Zealand passports and use New Zealand currency (New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, n.d.) Ethnic Cook Islanders are Māori, and their language, Cook Islands Māori, is from the same language family as te reo Māori. The story essentially asked the question: "The Cooks are part of our political and cultural family and they've done it, so why don't we?"

4.3.2 Soundbites

One notable aspect of this story was that the grab of Flavell came to 26 s, nearly double the length of a mainstream radio quote of about 15 s (Scott, 2014). Quotes in Māori media tend to be more lengthy than those in mainstream (BSA, 2006; Comrie, 2012; Macdonald, 2008), and there are generally two reasons for this. Due to the structure of te reo, saying something in Māori takes longer than the equivalent in English – up to one and a half times longer (Archie, 2007). In addition, tikanga Māori values listening and allowing everyone to have their say without interruption (Archie, 2007; Salmond, 2004), and this is clearly heard on *Manako*, the show from which the soundbite was lifted. Although Manako is about current affairs, it takes a conversational, non-confrontational tone; interviewees are not hurried and hosts interrupt infrequently. This style tends to militate against short soundbites for news.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter has built on discussion in the literature review of news values (p. 36) and how news values are interpreted through a Māori lens (p. 42). In describing the reasons these stories were done and analysing how they were presented, this chapter therefore responds in part to Research Question 1: What is the influence of tikanga and the language revitalisation agenda on the practices and perspectives of Māori journalists working in reo-Māori news?

This chapter has shown that in terms of the technical and structural aspects of news, such as story length, graphics, presentation and an inverted pyramid style of writing, Māori news reporting follows many of the technical conventions of the Anglo-American model. It is also clear that Māori news is not a mere translation of mainstream news and its perspectives. As Peata Melbourne said in a semi-structured interview, "It's not the reo that determines if my story is Māori; it's the perspective." That standpoint employs conventional news values seen across the world (Masterton, 1998) but constitutes the world as Māori, with Māori people, language, activities, interests and aspirations foregrounded over those of the dominant culture. Māori social values such as the preservation of land and landscape, self-determination, the celebration of language and culture, elders and kinship (Ka'ai & Higgins, 2004) are highlighted.

The story about the verdict in the Gable Tostee trial was a straightforward court report, the background of the victim and the haka in tribute giving it cultural proximity. The script reflected a Māori perspective on death, albeit accessible only to fluent speakers of te reo.

The last two stories reflected a perennial Māori concern – the control and ownership of land. The story recounting concerns about development of public land was a conscious attempt to insert a Māori voice into a new development in a long-running debate. The final story, about a contentious land sale to a foreigner, demonstrated the way in which Māori news often advances an intrinsically negative story by exploring solutions from a Māori perspective rather than belabouring problems (Te Awa, 1996). Therefore, instead of dwelling on the negative narrative (rich foreigners are gaining our land by underhand tactics), the story framed as news the Minister for Māori Development's comments about land management in the Cook Islands. Waatea disseminated the notion that the way things were done in the culturally proximate Cook Islands could be a potential solution for Aotearoa New Zealand.

In the next chapter, we explore the ancient and valued art of whaikōrero, Māori oratory, to see how the components of this patterned oral culture have been creatively and organically woven into the language of Māori news.

Chapter 5: How the tikanga of oratory shapes news communication

5.1 Introduction

As shown in the preceding section, Māori-language reporting generally follows the structural and story-telling conventions of the Anglo-American model, but superimposes a lens informed by the Māori worldview. Now, we focus more closely on the use of te reo Māori in journalism, finding that many of the features in and around news reports draw on the structure and linguistic elements of the ancient practice of whaikōrero or formal oratory, which is regarded as high art in te ao Māori (Dewes, 1975). I will explain the structure of whaikōrero and its elements, using this as a template to show how oratory and its tikanga have been woven into news communication. The programmes cited are *Waatea News* and *Manako,* both produced by Radio Waatea; *Te Kāea* (MTS); and *Te Karere* (TVNZ). All data was drawn from broadcasts in the week Sunday August 20 to Saturday August 26, 2017.[30] A sample week was chosen to permit comparisons, with this particular week being chosen for convenience.

5.2 Whaikōrero: An ancient tradition blended into the news

Te reo has two registers. One is te reo ōpaki, or the language of everyday communication, with the shortcuts and idioms common to routine social interaction. The second, te reo ōkawa, or the formal register, includes whaikōrero. This is defined as "make an oration, speak in a formal way" (Williams, 1971, p. 484). Whaikōrero often draws on genealogy and history, employs elaborate and sometimes obscure figures of speech, and addresses the atua through karakia or incantation (Rewi, 2010). It is, as Dewes (1975) wrote, "quite dissimilar to Pākehā public speaking" (p. 56).

The origins of whaikōrero are located in the creation or not long after, depending on iwi tradition. A widespread belief is that whaikōrero began when Tāne and his brothers sat between their parents Rangi and Papa, arguing about whether to separate them (Rerekura 2011; Rewi, 2010); see p. 7. Some traditions say that whaikōrero was handed down by Tūmatauenga "as a safe and stylised means of airing differences and

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[30] These shows are recorded in the reference list. However, full versions of the episodes discussed in this chapter are no longer available online.

resolving conflict", while others believe that whaikōrero emerged with the human capacity for speech (Rewi, 2010, p. 12).

In centuries past, whaikōrero was the primary way to transmit important information between and within iwi. It was:

> The primary medium for expressing opinion and presenting topics for discussion. It helped people make decisions with regard to all matters affecting their living arrangements, their work, and their daily, monthly and yearly activities that would keep them safe. If there were any major issues to put before the people, each speaker would stand and air their opinion until all concerned had expressed what they had to say (Rewi, 2010, p. 14).

Oratorical skill was also a means of control. Men of rank depended on warrior support, and eloquent public speaking helped them maintain it. In this way, oratory became "one of the high art forms" (Orbell, 1985, p. 15).

In the 21st century, whaikōrero may no longer be the primary disseminator of news and mediator of power, but it endures. As Rewi (2010) wrote:

> Whaikōrero is a survivor – well, at least the art form has outlived the moa[31] and the musket wars.[32] It survived the phases of suspicion of educated Māori who, up until the late 1900s, were reluctant to share their knowledge outside of Māori constructs and paradigms. It survived the decline and suppression of the Māori language, and it has survived Eurocentrism (p. 163).

Whaikōrero in sacred spaces is mostly carried out by men[33] and remains an essential feature of most social gatherings, particularly formal and ceremonial events (Mahuta, 1974). Whai means to follow and kōrero to speak, reflecting the expectation that

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[31] Moa were giant flightless birds that were hunted to extinction by early Māori (Berentson, 2012).
[32] The musket wars took place between 1814 and about 1840 when Ngā Puhi, the first iwi to acquire muskets, brought devastation to many parts of the country (Anderson, Binney, & Harris, 2014).
[33] However, women also use elements of oratory in other settings, which will be demonstrated in this chapter. While the responsibility for oratory in tapu settings falls usually to men, there are several tribes where women whaikōrero: See Mahuika (1992, pp. 48-50) and Rewi (2010, pp. 67-76). Women have a critical role in formal settings by performing the karanga or ceremonial calls that open proceedings. Some regard the karanga as the first whaikōrero as it usually acknowledges tribal links, the dead, and the reason that people are meeting. The karanga is seen as important as, and complementary to, whaikōrero (Rewi, 2010). Mikaere (2011) warned against applying a western gender lens to tikanga Māori, pointing out that men's and women's roles could be understood only in the context of the Māori worldview, where women and men had specific roles in the collective whole.

speakers build on each other's commentary (Rewi, 2010) – something like a news story laying out various points of view.

Whaikōrero showcases one's eloquence and cultural knowledge (Mahuta, 1974). A good speaker is something of an actor, and delivers great mana to his tribe (Higgins & Moorfield, 2004; Rewi, 2010; Salmond, 2004). Whaikōrero is delivered standing and delivered dramatically, with a projected voice and highly stylised movement. We will not explore these aspects here, but Mahuta (1974), Rewi (2010) and Salmond (2004) are good sources of information.

Whaikōrero employs chants, allusions, stock phrases, quotations and proverbs, drawing on imagination and wit, and referencing genealogy, ancestors, people and places important to both visitors and host. Mahuta (1974) wrote that "speeches of this type tend to be abstract, dwell on the symbolic and supernatural and possess an esoteric quality absent in other forms of discourse" (p. 14). The references can be so tribally specific and oblique that a Māori speaker from elsewhere may not grasp their depth. As Salmond (2004) wrote, whaikōrero is:

> A true example of 'in-group' language, clear only to initiates, and this at least in part is the reason it is so highly valued. Maori people have also learnt their way about the European cultural map, but on the marae this is left behind, and they return to a world different to that of their ancestors, but with common and ancient qualities (p. 167).

5.3   The structure of whaikōrero

Whaikōrero generally follows a three-part structure. In the **tau** or opening, the speaker indicates that a formal discourse is coming. In the **kaupapa,** the speaker greets the dead and the living before moving to the "take" or discussion of the issue at hand. Content and format of the discussion varies according to the context; at a tangi or an unveiling, the focus will be the deceased, whereas a wedding will focus on the couple. The final portion, the **whakamutunga** or ending, features a traditional waiata tautoko, or song in support, started by the speaker or his entourage. The length of individual whaikōrero vary; the real-life speeches that Rewi transcribed in *Whaikōrero* (2010) ranged from 3 min 13 s to 13 min 23 s.

Each section of a whaikōrero can be subdivided further into defined content and speech styles. However, there are variants (Barlow, 1991; Mahuta, 1974; Rewi, 2010), and whaikōrero should not be viewed as one-dimensional (Rewi, 2004). Greetings to the dead, greetings to the living and the topic of discussion are the "essential core components" (Rewi, 2010, p. 135). The diagram below will aid navigation through this chapter.

Whaikōrero structure, indicating components and options

Divisions ....   which may consist of ...   which may consist of ...

Tau [Opening]
→ Whakaaraara [warning chant]
→ Karakia [introductory chant]
and/or
→ Mihi [greetings] → Greetings to the house, the marae and the hosts

Kaupapa [Purpose of speech]
→ Mihi mate [greetings to the dead] → Karanga mate [calling the dead]
→ Poroporoaki [farewelling the dead]

and

Mihi ora [greetings to the living] → Pōwhiri manuwhiri [welcome to visitors]
and/or
→ Mihi whakautu [reply to welcome]
→ Kōrero take [discussion of topic]

and

Whakamutunga [conclusion]
→ Waiata tautoko [song in support]
→ Kōrero whakamutunga

Based on Mahuta (1974).

Figure 6: The structure of whaikōrero

The section **Tau** will show how whakaaraara [warning chants], tauparapara [introductory chants] and mihi have found a home in the structure of reo-Māori news

communication. The section **Kaupapa** will demonstrate how traditional greetings to the dead and the living are being recast for news environments. It will also explore what types of figurative language common to whaikōrero have transferred to reo-Māori reporting. The section **Whakamutunga** explores how news shows conclude and the language employed in doing so.

5.4 Tau: Opening

5.4.1 Whakaaraara: The call to attention

The whakaaraara is a short, sharp utterance that Williams (1971) defined as a "chant, to keep the watch awake, or give the alarm in time of war" (p. 14). These chants, handed down through the generations, became a way to "give colour to speeches" (Hiroa, 1949, p. 388). Now, the whakaaraara announces one's intention to speak: "Like the cry of a new-born baby announcing its arrival, the whakaaraara serves to announce the fresh breath of the new orator" (Rewi, 2010, p. 141).

The chant most commonly heard today is the ancient "Kia hiwa rā!" that night sentries shouted (Rewi, 2010). Hiroa (1949) recorded it as below:

> Kia hiwa ra e tenei tuku
> Kia hiwa ra e tera tuku
> Kei apurua koe ki te toto.
>
> O hither terrace, be on the alert
> O yonder terrace, be on the alert
> Lest ye be smothered in blood (p. 389).

A whakaaraara in the context of oratory often ends with the phrase "Tihei mauri ora!", which means "the sneeze of life" and serves to say, "here I am "let there be life" or "I speak" (Kāretu, 1992, p. 32). The phrase refers to the origins of humans; the god Tāne breathed life into the first woman, who sneezed (Rerekura, 2007; Rewi, 2010; Salmond, 2004); see p. 7. A speaker uttering these words, said Rewi (2010), "is establishing this particular setting as tapu, imbedding it with all the sanctity, formality, spiritualty and revere of the Māori world" (p. 152).

All three shows regularly used whakaaraara to open. Short and crisply delivered, they were clearly a call to attention. On *Manako*, primary host Tumamao Harawira intoned this whakaaraara:

> Kia hiwa rā, kia hiwa rā!
> Kia hiwa rā ki tēnei tuku, kia hiwa rā ki tērā tuku.
> Kia tū, kia aho, kia mataara!
>
> Be alert, be alert!
> Be alert on this terrace, be alert on that terrace.
> Stand up, be awake, be wary!

He then added

> Tīhei mauri ora.
> Let there be life/I speak (August 20, 21 and 23, 2017). (Radio Waatea, 2017).

Tumamao said that it was not te reo alone that made *Manako* a Māori programme, but the values and conventions that came with the language. Tumamao was raised and educated in te reo Māori and said that it was natural for him to structure his radio openings as if he were at the beginning of a whaikōrero. In news, as on the marae, the whakaaraara was important to "grab the listener's ear".

Manako and *Waatea News* are monolingual shows, but *Te Karere* and *Te Kāea* are subtitled in English, and this is the point at which we need to look at subtitles and what is translated in them. It will have become apparent in reading thus far that some translations of Māori concepts emerge in English as stilted due to the gulf between the worldviews that each language encodes. This is the reason why *Te Kāea* and *Te Karere* don't translate phrases that are esoteric or rooted in tikanga, such as whakaaraara used in opening titles. Expanding on this, *Te Karere* executive producer Arana Taumata said:

> In my opinion, what sounds fine, beautiful and natural in te reo Māori can be kind of cheesy and floury when translated into English. We try and protect our language by avoiding literal translations, but default to a generic translation.

In addition, subtitles designed to be read at a glance are not the place to explain cultural concepts. As Arana explained, "the captioners' usual brief is to provide a summary, a synopsis of what's being expressed, not a word-for-word translation, as there is not enough time to do that".

Te Kāea opened with whakaaraara six nights out of seven (MTS, 2017). The call "Kia hiwa!" was used twice, the phrase "Kia mataara" three times and "E tūtakarerewa mai" once. All call on hearers to be alert; all were translated as "welcome" or "greetings". Piripi Taylor, the long-time host of *Te Kāea*, said that opening with a sentry's call consciously emulated whaikōrero in alerting viewers that the news was starting. Presenters usually scripted their own greetings and links, he said, and they had a great deal of autonomy in what features of language they chose to use:

> Kei tēnā kai-whakapaoho, kei tēnā kai-whakataki tōna ake mana me āna ake whakaritenga. Ko tāku, he ū ki ngā tikanga Māori e mōhio nei au, ka nanaiore kia mahia, kia hāpaingia i roto i aku mahi pāpāho, i runga hoki i te arohanui ki taku Māoritanga, otirā ki te reo Māori.
>
> [Each broadcaster and presenter has a certain amount of freedom to do things his/her way. For me, it's about adhering to the tikanga Māori that I know to actively encourage and support its use in my broadcasting duties, all of which stem from a deep affection for my Māori culture and the Māori language as well].

Te Karere usually opens with the lines "Kia ora e te iwi. E haere ake nei i *Te Karere*" (TVNZ, 2017). This is subtitled as "Coming up on *Te Karere*"; the assumption is that viewers will know what "kia ora" means, as it is part of New Zealand English (Deverson & Kennedy, 2005). The following teases (promotion of upcoming stories) are voiced by the presenter. Apart from the teases, the whakaaraara itself is the only voice in the titles: A youthful male voice shouts "Kia hiwa rā!"

5.4.2 Karakia

Karakia can be interpreted as prayers, incantations, spells, charms, offertories, ritual words, rites, pleas, invocations and recitations. In daily life, they invoke spiritual guidance and protection from gods and/or ancestors, and are an important element in safeguarding spiritual and bodily health. In ritual, they "are a means of participation, of becoming one, with the atua and the ancestors and with events of the past in the eternal present of ritual" (Shirres, 1987, p. 66).

A tauparapara is a formulaic type of karakia to open a whaikōrero, and can be used as well as, or instead of, a whakaaraara, the call to attention. Tauparapara are incantations composed for a variety of desired outcomes, from chants to help move a

canoe across land to chants that assist in learning genealogy (Rewi, 2010); they invoke the tapu of whaikōrero (Barlow, 1991; Kāretu, 1992; Rewi, 2010; Salmond, 2004):

> Just as karakia act as intermediary between the spiritual world and the temporal world, so does the tauparapara at the start of the whaikōrero bridge the gap between host and visitor, silence and speech, noa [the non-sacred] and tapu [the sacred or set apart] (Rewi, 2010, p. 138).

Eruera Lee-Morgan was the host of *Manako* on two nights in the survey week. The show was, he said:

> The contemporary marae ... which is formal; te reo ōkawa and the formalities of a marae still apply .... Marae have traditionally been our means to communicate messages, formally, and it has a formal language ... and rituals that go with it.

He incorporates as much ritual as he feels the format allows, choosing words that are appropriate for the interviews to come. One night, he chanted a portion of a well-known tauparapara:

> Ko te hōkai nuku, ko te hōkai rangi, ko te hōkai nā tō tupuna a Tāne-nui-a-rangi puta ai ko te ira tangata, ki te whaiao, ki te ao mārama. Tihei wā mauri ora.
>
> [I retrace the sacred footsteps that journeyed about the earth and journeyed about the heavens; the journey of Tāne-nui-ā-rangi, from which came human life and the world of light. There was life/I speak]. (*Manako*, August 22, 2017). (Radio Waatea, 2017a).

This refers to the journey of Tāne to the heavens in search of knowledge and te ira tangata [the human aspect]. Tāne faced challenges but reached his goal, and on his return, created the first woman (Marsden, 2003; Reed & Calman, 2004; Rerekura, 2007). Below is the incantation as it is usually heard, with the portions Eruera used underlined:

Tēnei au te hōkai nei o taku tapuwae	This is the journey of sacred footsteps
<u>Ko te hōkai nuku ko te hōkai rangi</u>	<u>Journeyed about the earth, journeyed about</u>
<u>Ko te hōkai a tō tupuna a Tāne-nui-a-rangi</u>	<u>the heavens, the journey of your ancestral god</u>
	<u>Tāne-nui-a-rangi</u>
Ka pikitia ai ki te rangi tūhāhā ki Te Tihi-o-Manono	Who ascended into the heavens to Te Tihi-o-Manono (a citadel in the 12th heaven)
Ka rokohina atu rā ko te matua-kore anake	Where he found the parentless source
Ka tīkina mai ngā kete o te wānanga	From there he retrieved the baskets of knowledge
Ko te kete tuauri	The basket of peace, love and goodness
Ko te kete tuatea	The basket of warfare, agriculture and building
Ko te kete aronui	The basket of literature, philosophy and ritual
Ka tiritiria ka poupoua	These were distributed and implanted about the earth
<u>Ka puta mai iho ko te ira tangata</u>	<u>From which came human life</u>
<u>Ki te whaiao, ki te ao mārama</u>	<u>Growing from dim light to full light</u>
<u>Tihei mauri ora!</u>	<u>There was life</u>

Figure 7: Karakia

Author's translation based on Kāretu (2008) and Taonui (2006).

The whole incantation takes at least 30 s and the shortened version 13 s. The full version is well known and, even when shortened, casts one's mind to the spiritual realm.

Te Kāea also made use of portions of tauparapara, but less frequently than the shows discussed earlier. On one occasion, host Piripi Taylor opened the programme with "Ko *Te Kāea* tēnei e ōi atu nei," which translates in this context as "This is *Te Kāea* calling to you". It is a modification of a phrase that appears in some tauparapara, usually as "oioi te pō, oioi te ao", which translates as "the world of the dead and the world of the living cry out". His words acted to "alert people, gain their attention"; they were translated as "Welcome to *Te Kāea*" (MTS, 2017).

Karakia, tapu and the news

As stated above, the rituals of whaikōrero in a formal marae setting invoke the gods and ancestors and create tapu spaces. To invoke tapu necessitates its later neutralisation by the return of participants to a state of noa, or the everyday (Mead, 2003). We need to explore, then, what happens when ancient, sacred speech such as karakia are taken out of the rituals of encounter and used in another setting, such as a radio or television broadcast. Is tapu invoked by the use of karakia, and does that mean whakanoa, or a neutralisation, is required? The place of sacred speech in Māori

news media hasn't been overtly addressed by those working in the field. The answer, I suggest, lies in the multiplicity of ways Māori live in the 21st century and the flexibility of tikanga to adapt. I enlarge on this in the discussion at the end of this chapter (p. 140).

5.4.3 Mihi: Greetings

We are still in the tau [opening]. Mihi means to greet or acknowledge, and these greetings often extol "the virtues of the opposite party" (Rewi, 2010, p. 144). Mihi are a core component of any formal exchange, and depending on context, may also be made to the primal parents Ranginui and Papatūānuku; the Christian God; the Kīngitanga monarch; the marae hosting the event; and its whare nui [meeting house], as the latter often represents an ancestor (Rewi, 2010). Subjects of mihi are usually addressed in the second person. Numerous examples of mihi to people are provided in Rewi (2010). Among the common phrases used are

> Nau mai, haere mai!
> [Welcome, welcome!] (p. 189); and

> Tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou katoa.
> [Once, twice, thrice, I acknowledge you all] (p. 202).

In Māori journalism, opening mihi are addressed to the audience, who are framed as honoured guests. The speaker might take a straightforward approach, as here:

> Tēnā koutou katoa e ngā iwi o Aotearoa. Nau mai, whakatau mai ki ngā pitopito o te wā.
> [I greet you all, the tribes of Aotearoa. Welcome to the news].
> (*Waatea News*, August 25, 2017, 1pm). (Radio Waatea, 2017b).

Te Karere positioned viewers as students and servants of te reo Māori, underlining the show's purpose as a vehicle for language revitalisation:

> E <u>ngā pia o te reo Māori</u>, tēnā koutou katoa
> [<u>Students of te reo Māori</u>, I acknowledge you] (August 23, 2017).
> (TVNZ, 2017).

This was subtitled "Tēnā koutou katoa and welcome to *Te Karere;* "tēnā koutou" is part of New Zealand English (Deverson & Kennedy, 2005). Traditionally, initiates into whare wānanga, the houses of traditional learning, were divided into groups. A pia was a

beginner, who would then become a taura, then a tauira (Best, 1924). Tauira is the word commonly used today to designate a student or trainee (Williams, 1971, p. 398).

Four of the shows greeted listeners by using a metaphor or simile that positively compared them to people of standing; the presenters, by implication, humbled themselves:

E rau rangatira mā huri noa, tēnā koutou katoa (Subtitled as Good evening).
[To you, the many chiefs throughout the country, greetings] (*Te Kāea*, August 23, 2017). (MTS, 2017).

E ngā ihorei tītī e ngā ihorei tātā, tēnā koutou katoa (Subtitled Tēnā koutou katoa and welcome to *Te Karere*).
[Chiefs from near and far, I greet you] (*Te Karere*, August 21, 2017). (TVNZ, 2017).

Mihi often favourably compare people to elements of the natural world, such as rivers, birds and trees (Orbell, 1985). Such comparisons are termed kupu whakarite; the English approximation is metaphor (Metge & Jones, 1995). On *Manako*, listeners were characterised as tributaries flowing into a larger river. Here's Eruera Lee-Morgan:

Tēnā rā koutou kei ngā tai e whā o te motu, ā, kua whakawhāiti mai ki te pūtahitanga o te kōrero, ki te kōmititanga mō ngā whakaaro ...

[I acknowledge the four tides of the country that have gathered together at the confluence of discussion, at the convergence of ideas] ... (August 24, 2017). (Radio Waatea, 2017a).

The four tides are a metaphor for the four broad regions of the country: Tai Tokerau (north); Tai Tonga (south), Tai Hauāuru (west), Tai Rāwhiti (east); the English equivalent is the four winds. Eruera uses the flow of tributaries into bigger bodies of water as a metaphor for people, both listeners and interviewees, coming together to listen to *Manako:* "The collective of ideas – your ideas, my ideas – come together through the platform of *Manako.*"

Listeners were also likened to a type of precious greenstone, the semi-transparent whatu tongarerewa. This is *Waatea News* presenter Lady Pokai opening a bulletin:

Kei ngā <u>whatu</u> <u>tongarerewa</u> o te ao reo Māori, tēnā koutou katoa.
[The <u>greenstone treasures</u> of the reo-speaking world, I greet you all]
(August 25, 5pm). (Radio Waatea, 2017b).

With just 3.73% of New Zealand's population able to speak Māori for everyday purposes (SNZ, 2013), these listeners are undeniably precious resources for revitalisation.

In the survey week, *Te Karere* greeted viewers with "E aku huia kaimanawa, tēnā koutou katoa", which translates as "my huia birds that consume my heart, I acknowledge you", subtitled as "Tēnā koutou katoa and welcome to *Te Karere*" (TVNZ, 2017). The huia, now extinct, had tail feathers that were prized as headwear denoting rank (Orbell, 1985). Here, viewers were again ennobled. Such language*,* said *Te Karere* executive producer Arana Taumata, adds "daily variety to the show. If we used a standard 'kia ora' at the beginning of each show, it would very quickly become a bland greeting". There are many and varied metaphors to call on, which "shows the richness of te reo Māori and is a neat and dynamic way of engaging with the viewer".

In survey week, mountains featured in four of the seven mihi to *Te Kāea* viewers (MTS, 2017). Mountains feature often in Māori imagery and ideas, their physical presence inspiring awe and fear (Orbell, 1985). As Walker (2014) wrote:

> Mountains hold a special place in our lives and in our culture. They symbolise many things for many people — home, shelter, protection, identity, awe, inspiration, solitude, permanence, boundary — and we forever marvel at these creations of nature fashioned by nature's tools. They are the subject of lore and legend, of song and dance, of speech and conversation. They move us to create, to compose, to fashion and shape; they inspire us to explore, to challenge and aspire. They test our resolve about who we are and where we are from, reminding us that no matter where we go, they will always be there when we return. It is not surprising, therefore, that mountains are revered and treasured (p. 3).

Most tribes have a maunga tapu, or sacred mountain (Orbell, 1985) that forms a pillar of individual and collective identity alongside a local body of water and that tribe's ancestral canoe. In formal settings, people introduce themselves by these landmarks, starting with one's mountain; this is called a pepeha.

Presenter Piripi Taylor often invokes mountains as they have mana. The translations below cannot do the sentiments justice, but the attitude they convey is one of respect for the tribes of the land, here metaphorically identified as mountains:

> Kei ngā maunga whakamana, tēnā koutou katoa (Subtitle: Good evening).
> [Prestigious mountains, I greet you] (August 24, 2017).
>
> E ngā maunga whakahī huri noa, rarau mai rā. (Subtitle: Good evening).
> [Proud mountains of this land, welcome] (August 25, 2017).
>
> Kei ngā maunga kōrero huri noa, tēnā rā koutou katoa (Subtitle: Welcome).
> [Speaking mountains of the land, I greet you] (August 26, 2017).
> (MTS, 2017).

Guests greeting journalists

Manako guests know they have up to 10 minutes, so may start their interview with a short mihi to their host, following the whaikōrero protocol that both sides formally greet each other. When radio broadcaster and elder Henare Kingi appeared on *Manako* to comment on political events, host Tumamao Harawira greeted him with "Kei taku matua, e Henare, tēnā koe", or "My uncle (a term of respect), Henare, I greet you".

Henare Kingi responded at greater length:

> E kara, e Tu, kei te mihi atu ki a koe. Tēnā koe i raro i te maru o ngā manaakitanga a te runga rawa ki runga ki a koutou, ki ngā kaiwhakapāho, ki ngā kaituku mai i ngā kaupapa hei whakarongo ake mā mātou. Ko koutou ēnā ki te mahi nui mai kia mārama ai te āhuaranga o ō tātou mātua, o tātou whaea, ngā mea o rātou ki te noho i roto i ngā takiwā kāore i tino mātau ana ki te āhua o ngā whakaritenga mō ēnei wā. Engari ko koutou kei te whakapuaki haere i ngā kōrero mārama kia mārama rātou. Nā reira, e kara, tēnā koe.
>
> [My friend, Tu, I acknowledge you. May you and your fellow broadcasters enjoy God's care and protection as you produce your programmes for us to listen to. You are doing important work keeping us up to date, especially in those regions where people may not know much about what's happening. What great work you all are doing to enlighten them. Therefore, my friend, I acknowledge you].
> (*Manako*, August 20, 2017). (Radio Waatea, 2017a).

At this point, the presenter asked his first question. Journalists who create a whaikōrero-like space provide their guests with a familiar environment that encourages them to bring their own creativity and tikanga to proceedings. This sort of mihi adds a familiar and congruent flavour to the lengthy conversations that characterise *Manako*.

5.5 Kaupapa: The purpose of the speech

This is the second part of the whaikōrero, and divides into three parts: The tribute to the dead, called a mihi mate; the acknowledgement of the living, called a mihi ora, and then the kōrero take, or subject of discussion. Below is the diagram again:

Whaikōrero structure, indicating components and options

Divisions ....   which may consist of ... which may consist of ...

Tau [Opening]
- Whakaaraara [warning chant]
- Karakia [introductory chant]

and/or
- Mihi [greetings] → Greetings to the house, the marae and the hosts

Kaupapa [Purpose of speech]
- Mihi mate [greetings to the dead]
  - → Karanga mate [calling the dead]
  - → Poroporoaki [farewelling the dead]

and

- Mihi ora [greetings to the living]
  - → Pōwhiri manuwhiri [welcome to visitors]

  and/or
  - → Mihi whakautu [reply to welcome]
  - → Kōrero take [discussion of topic]

and

Whakamutunga [conclusion]
- → Waiata tautoko [song in support]
- → Kōrero whakamutunga

Based on Mahuta (1974).

Figure 8: The structure of whaikōrero

In this section, we will explore how journalists have transferred the techniques of whaikōrero that acknowledge the dead and the living to news, and the factors motivating their divisions.

5.5.1 Mihi mate, mihi ora: Farewells to the dead, greetings to the living

In Māori thought, the world of the dead exists physically and symbolically, and the dead are part of the community. When visitors enter a marae, the kaikaranga or callers on both sides summon the spirits of the dead in what is called a mihi mate, or a greeting to the dead. During formal speeches, both hosts and guests summon their dead and farewell them: "Thus, the association of visitor and host at the physical level is paralleled at the spiritual level" (Mahuta, 1974, p. 34). Formulaic phrases for addressing the dead include

> Haere, haere, haere.
> [Farewell, farewell, farewell] (Brooke-White, 1981, p. 28; Rerekura, 2008, p. 19; Rewi, 2010, p. 193).

> Haere ki Hawaiki-nui, ki Hawaiki-roa, ki Hawaiki pāmaomao, ki te Hono-i-Wairua.
> [Go to the great, long, distant Hawaiki, the meeting place of the spirits] (Mahuta, 1974, p. 35).

Hawaiki is the homeland from which the ancestors migrated, believed to be in East Polynesia (Anderson et al., 2014).

To summon the dead requires an explicit return to life with a mihi ora, or acknowledgement of the living, in order to separate the two domains. In whaikōrero, the below is a common pairing:

> Ka āpiti hono, tātai hono, te hunga mate ki te hunga mate,
> [The lines are joined, allow the dead to rest with the dead]

> Ka āpiti hono, tātai hono, te hunga ora ki te hunga ora.
> [The lines are joined, allow the living to remain with the living]
> (Brooke-White, 1981, p. 16; Mahuta, 1975, p. 35; Rewi, 2004, p. 184).

The phrase "āpiti hono, tātai hono", or "the lines are joined" comes from a weaving chant. Here, it is used to mean that:

All of the rites of the ancestors are brought out because of the final stitch by death. Just as the weaving and stitching of thread bring together a cloth in which each thread and stitch is part of the whole, so the living and the dead are together part of a whole that is the tribe (Brooke-White, 1982, pp. 21-22).

The tikanga of acknowledging the dead and returning the focus to the living is reflected in Māori news in several ways, generally with a truncated version of the formulae heard in whaikōrero (see also Interaction 1 on p. 185). In this example from an opening of *Manako*, host Eruera Lee-Morgan acknowledges the grief of the living for their dead, then describes the journey of the dead to the spirit world. He then farewells them directly:

Tēnā hoki koutou e tangi mai nā i ō tātou tini aituā kua whai rā i te tira haere o Maruiwi kua heke ki Te Reinga ki te nia i te matoru o te pō. Haere, takoto, okioki.

[I acknowledge all of you mourning our deceased who have followed Maruiwi [an ancient tribe] to Cape Reinga [the Northland cape where spirits leap to the underworld] to pierce the darkness of the night]. Farewell, lay in peace, rest in solitude (August 22, 2017).

He then separates the dead and the living, using three kupu whakarite in a row – all of them symbols of vigorous life – to return listeners to the living world:

Tēnā koutou kei ngā kākā waha nui, kei ngā tōtara haemata, kei ngā manu honenga o te pae ...

[I acknowledge you, the animated voices of the kākā birds, the vigorous tōtara trees, the melodious songbirds of the altar] (*Manako*, August 22, 2017). (Radio Waatea, 2017a).

On another occasion, he invoked the dead and the living through the atua of each realm: Hine-nui-te-pō, the goddess of death, and Tāne, who pushed his parents apart:

Whakatau hā ō tātou tini aituā ki a Hine-nui-te-pō, whakatau hā tātou ko te hunga ora ki a Tāne-te-waiora.

[Welcome our numerous deceased dwelling in the realm of the goddess of death, Hine-nui-te-pō. Welcome us, the living, in the realm of Tāne-te-waiora] (*Manako*, August 24, 2017). (Radio Waatea, 2017a).

In the week of the survey, there was a notable death, that of former All Black rugby star and farmer Sir Colin Meads. Known as Pinetree for his stature, Meads, who was Pākehā, died of cancer on Sunday, August 20, 2017, aged 81. He was revered by Māori and Pākehā alike for his rugby prowess and charitable work, and had two funerals: The first at a marae in his hometown of Te Kūiti,[34] and the second at a local events centre.

Te Kāea, *Te Karere*, *Waatea News* and *Manako* all covered Colin Meads' death. The reporters involved said while there were no rules about the language they used in reporting death, they felt that it was important to adhere to linguistic norms. *Manako* presenter Tumamao Harawira believed that this was particularly important for *Manako* listeners, many of whom are older and whom, he said, expected a clear demarcation between the realms of the dead and the living in all facets of life.

To explore further how linguistic norms around mihi mate and mihi ora are reproduced on air, we turn first to *Te Karere.* It announced Mead's death the day after he died. After the reporter's story ended, presenter Rapaera Tawhai maintained separation by saying, "Nā, hoki mai ki te hunga ora. Ki ngā take tōrangapū …" which means "Now, we return to the living. To politics …" This was not subtitled (TVNZ, 2017). He said he inserted the line "just used to make sure there was a transition between a story about the dead and then a story about the living … it wasn't scripted – it just felt right to say it".

A later *Te Karere* bulletin had a story about Meads' tangi at the marae. After the report ended, presenter Irena Smith addressed Meads directly with "Moe mai rā, e te tōtara haemata", or "Sleep well, strong-growing tōtara." Her words were not subtitled (TVNZ, 2017). The programme then moved to the next story. About the mihi, Irena said:

> That wasn't scripted or written on the autocue to say, but I said it off-the-cuff as a sign of respect and mihi to someone who was widely respected … it's personally from me, as the presenter; it's my personal acknowledgement to Sir Colin Meads.

---

[34] In terms of news values, Meads was part of a rugby elite that included many Māori, and for that alone his death was of interest to Māori media. However, his farewell at the marae added a high degree of visualness and emotion (McGregor, 2002) and novelty (Masterton 1998) in terms of Māori media, as such a farewell is an honour given to few non-Māori.

She chose the tōtara-tree metaphor (see p. 9) "because it suited the man – he was a big man who did big things". In delivering her mihi, Irena was also conscious of audience expectations. The mihi served "to finalise a story about a death before moving onto a story about the living", and that was important, "as it's part of our tikanga".

Te Karere principal presenter Scotty Morrison is also the show's language and tikanga adviser, and says that presenters have discretion on verbal tikanga within the time available to them. Their sense of what is appropriate at a particular time and place drives their decision-making: "You'll have presenters who will adhere more to tikanga than others, be more conscious of tikanga than others."

There is a tendency in Māori news to run stories about notable deaths first, reflecting the tikanga of oratory that the dead are acknowledged before attention turns to the business of the day. After Colin Meads died, both *Te Kāea* and *Waatea News* made his death their leads. However, on *Te Karere,* the initial story about Meads' death, the day after he died, was the second item in the bulletin. The realities of news judgement would have influenced the placement. Meads died on a Sunday; *Te Karere* is a weekday show, and by Monday, news of his death had been widely reported. However, in the past, such a story would have run first. When Scotty started at *Te Karere* in 2002, stories about a death or a funeral always ran first, to reflect tikanga. However, that is no longer the case, he said, and the variation appeared to be acceptable to viewers in that there had been no complaints.

As at *Te Karere*, the reporters at *Te Kāea* are guided by their own sense of what is appropriate. Presenter Piripi Taylor said that the dead, whether Māori or Pākehā, are always acknowledged in some way, but not necessarily by a formal mihi in the story or afterwards. Often, he said, acknowledgement of the deceased is instead made in the reporter's story through the use of a flattering metaphor, a relevant proverb, or by referring to a person's pepeha. However, separation between the dead and the living remains important. "If the report ends by talking about the living, we've returned the narrative to our world. But if that doesn't happen in the story, it's up to me to do it."

As an example, Colin Meads' death was the lead item on *Te Kāea* the Sunday he died, but there were no explicit mihi mate or mihi ora in the story or afterwards. However,

the presenter intro started with the respectful words, "Te kauri nui i te wao whutupōro ka hinga nei" or "The kauri tree of the football world has died." In the story, the reporter's opening was "He Ō Pango, he Tā, he rangatira" or "an All Black, a Sir, a leader", clearly underlining Meads' social status. The story ended with an explicit return to the living, with the reporter stating that Meads was survived by his wife and five children (MTS, 2017).

Given the size of the Māori community, reporters and presenters may know the deceased. According to *Te Kāea* news editor Gloria Taumaunu, this influences how reporters and presenters exercise their discretion, but she encourages them to keep their personal farewells pithy:

> The closer the presenter/reporter is to the taonga[35] the more elaborate the mihi may be. E kore te aroha e haukoti. Heoi, there is a balance! I try to steer them away from going overboard. Waiho ngā mihi roa, kī i te kupu whakarite, kupu poroporoaki mō runga i te marae.

> [The closer the presenter/reporter is to the deceased, the more elaborate the mihi may be. Compassion won't be discouraged. However, there is a balance! I try to steer them away from going overboard. Leave the long acknowledgements, figurative language and farewells for the marae].

Waatea News didn't use any formal mihi mate in its news bulletins; it has the greatest time pressure of all the shows discussed here. However, like *Te Kāea*, *Waatea News* used various metaphors in talking about Meads. Given his stature and nickname, it was no surprise that the metaphor journalists reached for was the tōtara tree. Here are two examples from *Waatea News*:

> He tōtara nui kua hinga i te wao nui a Tāne, ā, ko te ihorei i te ao whutupōro, a Colin Meads.

> [A great tōtara has fallen in Tāne's great forest – Colin Meads, a star in the rugby world] or, less literally, A figurehead has died – rugby star Colin Meads (August 21, 2017, 3pm).

---

[35] Here, the use of the word taonga alludes to a figure of speech, "te taonga a te mate", or "prize of death", meaning that the deceased has become a prize of the goddess of death. See Brooke-White, 1981, p. 21 and p. 114.

In this next example, also from a *Waatea News* bulletin, the phrase has been adapted, but its origin is clear:

> Tēnā koutou e ngā iwi o te motu. Ko Eru Morgan tēnei me ngā
> rangona kōrero a Waatea. E mahuta ake nei, <u>kua hinga tētehi o ngā
> tōtara haemata o te ao whutupāoro</u>.
>
> [Greetings, tribes of the country. This is Eru Morgan with the *Waatea*
> news bulletin. Coming up, <u>one of the tōtara of the world of rugby has
> passed away</u>] or, less literally, One of the stars of the football world
> has died (August 21, 9am). (Radio Waatea, 2017b).

In a *Waatea News* story later that week, presenter Tumamao Harawira used two metaphors to discuss Meads. He compared Meads to a kōtuku, or white heron, whose scarcity gave rise to the phrase "He kōtuku rerenga tahi" or "A white heron of a single flight" – meaning a person who is one of a kind, or a talent rarely seen (Orbell, 1985). Tumamao also invoked the prized kōtuku feathers, or piki kōtuku:

> He <u>kōtuku rerenga tahi</u> a Tā Colin Meads i ōna rā. Koirā tā Wairangi
> Kopu whai muri mai i te hinganga o tēnei ō ngā <u>tino piki kōtuku</u> i roto
> o Aotearoa (August 23, 2017, 1pm).
>
> [Sir Colin Meads was <u>one of a kind</u> in his time. That's according to
> Wairangi Kopu, following the death of one of New Zealand's <u>greatest
> treasures</u>].

In the audio clip that followed immediately afterwards, the interviewee also invoked Meads as a tōtara, making an affectionate reference to his nickname, Pinetree:

> Kua hinga <u>he tōtara o te wao</u>, ahakoa ko 'Pinetree' kē tōna ingoa
> piripono ki a tātou ...
>
> [A <u>tōtara of the forest</u> has fallen, although to all of us, his name was
> actually Pinetree] (August 24, 2017, 1pm). (Radio Waatea, 2017b).

As death often prompts orators to be highly eloquent (Rewi, 2010), so Tumamao uses expressive language to report notable deaths: "Poetical ... as opposed to just the normal, everyday language that you use in news bulletins".

Interviewees addressing the dead

It's not unusual for *Manako* listeners to hear interviewees deliver a farewell direct to the deceased. This happened once in the survey week. On the day Colin Meads died,

Manako host Tumamao Harawira and Henare Kingi, a radio broadcaster now in his 80s, discussed the sportsman's life. At the end of their conversation, Tumamao prompted Henare to share his memories of Meads with these words:

> Hei whakakapi ake i tā tāua kōrero, e te matua, kia kōrero poto tāua
> mō te hinganga o Colin Meads i te rā tonu nei. Kia mōteatea tonu te
> ngākau.
>
> [To round off our chat, uncle, let's talk briefly about the death of
> Colin Meads today. Our hearts are grieving] (August 20, 2016).

Henare Kingi shared his memories of Meads for a few minutes, then segued into a poroporoaki or farewell address:

> E kara, e Colin, haere rā. Ko koe tēnei kua mahue mai te ao hou nei i
> a koe. Ka hoki atu koe ki tōu nei kaihanga. Nā reira, haere, e kara,
> haere, haere, haere.
>
> [Dear friend, Colin, farewell. You have left this world. You are
> returning to your creator. So, my friend, farewell, farewell, farewell].
> (Radio Waatea, 2017a).

By making the statement "our hearts are grieving", Tumamao hoped to prompt some eloquence. In general, he doesn't ask guests outright for farewell addresses live on air, as he feels that is inauthentic. His strategy is to ask a general question about the deceased or make a sympathetic statement that his interviewee might latch onto, as above. Tumamao isn't concerned if guests don't take the option, but he notes that a guest simply talking about the accomplishments of a person is, in itself, a form of farewell tribute.

5.5.2   Kōrero take: The main topic and the place of proverbs

The kōrero take is the section of whaikōrero where the "news" is dispensed and opinions aired: "The speaker has a 'speaking licence' that allows him to introduce any new topic; follow up on previously mentioned topics; and talk about historical narratives, politics, law, health and education amongst many others" (Rewi, 2010, p. 150). Speakers are free to approach their topic in many stylistic ways, perhaps calling on proverbs, songs or haka. Proverbs are often significant features (Metge & Jones, 1995; Moorfield & Johnston, 2004).

Many Anglophones (and, in my experience, many English-language journalists) equate proverbs with worn-out, hackneyed phrases that people "dismiss ... rather cavalierly as clichés of not great depth or literary merit" (Metge & Jones, 1995, p.3). However, Māori speakers don't share this view, nor Māori journalists. In a society where the stories and lessons of the past are venerated, sayings of the ancestors carry weight (Firth, 1926; Walker, 1978).

In te reo, these sayings are called whakataukī; they are "short, highly informative, expressive and memorable" (McRae, 2017, p. 66), and, in an oral society, are "a vital way of memorising and transmitting knowledge" (p. 65). Their apparent simplicity hides great depth, as Metge and Jones (1995) wrote:

> While they often appear to be simply recording observations about nature, they are in fact talking about human beings and their interactions. They operate through analogy ... for this purpose, they call on a rich repertoire of metaphors which evoke vivid mental images and lend themselves to visual expression. A large number of these metaphors are drawn from the world of nature, but they also include the things humans make (ropes, cloaks, houses, canoes) (p. 5).

Whakataukī also link past and present, particularly timeless quotes about human nature and endeavour. In addition, as Metge and Jones (1995) noted, whakataukī "sound *good.* They are characterised by musical cadences, pronounced rhythms, and the contrast of flowing with staccato phrases. They make much use of repetition, opposition and balance. They exploit the possibilities of onomatopoeia" (p. 5).

Figures of speech are useful shortcuts for journalists. To Radio Waatea's Eruera Lee-Morgan, they are "scene-setters ... one little metaphor can tell the whole story, especially if you know the context". For example, he wrote a news story about a general election special that Māori Television was preparing that involved a large number of staff. Wanting to express the Māori equivalent of "many hands make light work," he alluded to this well-known saying:

> Mā whero, mā pango, ka oti ai te mahi
> By red and black the work is finished (Mead & Grove, 2003, p. 292).

Red refers to kōkōwai, a mixture of shark oil and red ochre that was smeared on the body of a chief. Rank-and-file manual workers looked black by comparison (Parker, 1966). Eruera recontextualised the saying to reflect that the broadcast's success would depend on many people from all levels of the organisation working as one. The phrase "by red and black the work will be completed" became "by red and black, the live broadcast will succeed".

> E takatū ana a Whakaata Māori ki te whakahaere hōtaka motuhake e pā ana ki te Kōwhiringa Pōti ā-Motu. Hei tā Oriini Kaipara, kaiwhakataki o te hōtaka, <u>mā whero, mā pango e tutuki ai te whakapāohotanga arorangi nei</u>.
>
> [Māori Television is preparing itself to produce a special broadcast for the night of the General Election. According to presenter Oriini Kaipara, <u>with everyone pitching in, the live broadcast will go well</u>]. (Radio Waatea, 2017b).

In whaikōrero, orators exploit the fact that whakataukī are not fixed: "The art of using whakataukī involves applying them in new contexts" (Metge & Jones, 1995, p. 6). In a story on *Waatea News*, Tumamao Harawira discussed the opening of Māori Television's new headquarters by refreshing a whakataukī first recorded in writing in 1857:

> Ka mate kāinga tahi, ka ora kāinga rua.
> One dwelling is overrun, but the second is secure (Mead & Grove, 2003, p. 169).

There are several interpretations, but all boil down to having two ways to achieve something. One meaning was the need to have two plantations in case one failed. Another is that in the days of inter-tribal warfare, a second dwelling-place might serve as refuge in a time of danger. The English equivalent was "having two strings to your bow" (Mead & Grove, 2003, p.169). In this case, the lease on Māori Television's expensive inner-Auckland building was expiring, and the company's leaders wanted to move to a more cost-effective home elsewhere (Haunui-Thompson, 2015). This was the opening of the news story:

> Ka mate kāinga tahi, ka ora kāinga rua. He rangi nui āpōpō ka tū mō ngā kaihāpai o te kaupapa o Whakaata Māori. Āpōpō whakatuwheratia ai te whare hou o Whakaata Māori ki Tāmaki ki te Tonga.

[Their first home has outlived its usefulness, but another home is ready. It's a big day tomorrow for the staff of Māori Television – their new home in south Auckland will be opened] (*Waatea News*, August 23, 2017). (Radio Waatea, 2017b).

The whakataukī was used as a drop or delayed intro – the key point was not plainly stated in the first sentence, but came in the second (Henshall & Ingram, 2012). While Tumamao acknowledged that using a saying as a drop intro doesn't get listeners straight to the point, the revitalisation funding model underpinning Māori-language news influences how he speaks:

> The news bulletin is about the language just as much, if not more, than the actual story. So it's about having that real eloquent style about writing the language … the things that our eloquent speakers use.

He also uses modern-day sayings. For example, for a story about the health of te reo Māori, he often opens with the phrase "Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Māori", or "The language is the life force of Māori identity". This was uttered by tribal leader Sir James Henare in the 1985 Waitangi Tribunal case for te reo Māori (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986) and has since entered the language.

Tumamao is conscious that he and his colleagues are role models, and shapes his language accordingly: "I always try to make sure there is some sort of whakataukī or some sort of kīwaha [idiomatic expression] in all of my stories." Sayings also break up a straightforward, telegraphic news style: "Sometimes the language can get a bit monotonous."

A *Waatea News* story about an election candidate opened with a saying that advised weeding the soil well in order for subsequent plantings to flourish. The story, by Eruera Lee-Morgan, said

> Mā te ngakingaki ā mua, ka tōtō ā muri. Koinei te whakahau a Nanaia Mahuta, mema Māori mō te tūru o Hauraki-Waikato. Hei tā Nanaia mā te whakatakoto tika i te tūāpapa o te Rōpū Reipa, e pai ai ngā mahi ā muri nei.

> [Cultivate the ground first, and your plantings will flourish later. That's the assertion of Nanaia Mahuta, Māori MP for the Hauraki-Waikato seat. According to Nanaia, if Labour lays a good foundation, it will win

the election]. (*Waatea News*, August 22, 2017). (Radio Waatea, 2017b).

Having delivered the proverb as a drop intro, he clarified its meaning by adding "if Labour lays a good foundation, it will win the election". He said

> You can never assume what your audience knows and what they don't know. So I qualify, or validate it, with that other brief little explanation as well. Hey, we could be all figurative, but no one's actually getting you.

The vast stock of reo-Māori proverbial sayings and his own knowledge of mātauranga Māori, he said, allowed him a lot of "creative and poetical licence".

References to ancient stories, names and ideas are often appealingly re-fashioned for daily news. *Te Karere* executive producer Arana Taumata encouraged creativity, and cited the way in which a reporter looked to the past to describe someone who succeeded against unfavourable odds. The phrase the reporter used was "Kua puta mai ia i te korokoro o Te Parata" or "He/she escaped from the throat of Te Parata". The context was that during the voyage of the seafaring waka Te Arawa to Aotearoa New Zealand, the Tūwharetoa ancestor Ngātoroirangi, who had been abducted and was on board, called up terrible winds that sent the canoe into a whirlpool called Te Korokoro-o-Te-Parata, or the Throat of Parata. Only at the crew's pleading did Ngātoroirangi relent, allowing the vessel to sail free (Hiroa, 1949; Orbell, 1985). Arana said such re-use of an ancient reference is appealing to Māori ears:

> I reckon it's clever and beautiful. And it's a smart way to recount our history … and draws a relevance, a parallel to a contemporary situation. It's beautiful to me, because it affirms and validates the richness of our language. We don't need to translate Pākehā idiom, sayings, proverbs or whatever – te reo Māori has heaps that can be used and revived.

But it is a challenge to apply figures of speech and word-play appropriately:

> In order for it to work, the viewer has to get it. It can't be too cryptic – we run the risk of confusing or disconnecting with the viewer, which is the polar opposite of what we're trying to achieve as communicators and story tellers. But we also have to be careful too. Our people can be easily offended if we play with these taonga [treasures] too much.

In terms of process, we generally bounce ideas off each other and if there a general consensus that a line is being crossed, then we'd ditch the idea.

5.6 Whakamutunga: Conclusion of whaikōrero

Whaikōrero are followed by a waiata tautoko, a traditional Māori-language song delivered by the speaker and his group to show solidarity and to lift tapu from the speaker (Rewi, 2010). Orators choose one appropriate to the occasion, as songs contain and transmit ideologies, philosophies and viewpoints (Rewi, 2010). The waiata over, a speaker will usually utter a few sentences to signal his conclusion, perhaps as brief as "Tēnā koutou, ka huri", which translates as "I acknowledge you all, I turn/sit" (Mahuta, 1974, p. 37). Although the waiata has not transferred into news, Māori current affairs shows have various ways of bidding farewell.

Most of them use "Tēnā koutou katoa". For example, *Waatea News* usually ends with the presenter identifying himself or herself if that hasn't already occurred, then delivering a short mihi. The latter is most often "Kia ora" or "Tēnā koutou katoa". If the presenter has a few extra seconds to fill, there may be an addition like this:

> Kāti ake rā, e hoa mā, kua tau ēnei pūrongo kōrero mō tēnei hāora.
> Ko Lady Pokai tēnei. Kia ora.
>
> [Well, my friends, that's the news for this hour. This is Lady Pokai.
> May you be well] (August 25, 5pm). (Radio Waatea, 2017b).

Manako presenter Eruera Lee-Morgan doesn't script his farewells, letting the mood of the show lead him. One night, he employed an extended metaphor, describing the night's interviews as the contents of a woven flax basket that was being returned to its peg in the whare nui:

> Heoi anō rā, kua pau te wāhi ki ahau, koinei ahau ka whakairi ake te
> kete kōrero o Manako ki te pātū, ki te pakitara o tō tātou whare kōrero.
> Mai i te pou irirangi o Waatea, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā tātou
> katoa.
>
> [Well, I'm out of time, so I'm about to suspend on the wall of our house
> the basket of conversations until next time. From Radio Waatea, many
> thanks to you all] (*Manako*, August 24, 2017). (Radio Waatea, 2017a).

Eruera often refers to both Christian and Māori gods in his farewells, although his own worldview is rooted in Māori cosmology. He used to close *Manako* according to his own worldview, but started including an acknowledgement of Christianity after a complaint that he wasn't recognising "the whole wairua tapu", or range of sacred and spiritual beliefs. Covering the spectrum, Eruera said, required "a strategic choice of words". This was one of his farewells from the survey week:

> Heoi anō kua pau te wāhi ki a tātou o *Manako* mō tēnei pō, heoi anō rā kia tau ngā manaakitanga o te <u>runga rawa</u>, te <u>wāhi ngaro</u> ki runga i a koutou katoa. Noho ora mai.

> [Well, that's it – my time's up for another evening. May the care of <u>God</u> and <u>those who have gone beyond</u> be bestowed upon you all. Stay well] (*Manako*, August 22, 2017). (Radio Waatea, 2017a).

In Māori thought, te wāhi ngaro means, depending on context, the hidden realm, the world of gods and spirits, divine intervention and the heavens (Moorfield, n.d.).

In the survey week*, Te Kāea* six days out of seven invoked the wāhi ngaro:

> Ngā manaakitanga <u>o te wāhi ngaro</u> ki te tī, ki te tā, tēnā rā koutou katoa. (Subtitled as Thanks for joining us, good evening).

> [May one and all enjoy the care of those in<u> the hidden realm</u>]. (Piripi Taylor on *Te Kāea*, August 24, 2017).

The Christian God, or te runga rawa, was invoked once:

> Ngā manaakitanga o <u>te runga rawa</u> ki te tī, ki te tā, tēnā rā koutou katoa.

> [The care of <u>God</u> over everyone. I acknowledge you all] (Subtitled as thanks for joining us, good evening). (Piripi Taylor on *Te Kāea*, August 25, 2017). (MTS, 2017).

Te Karere used a variety of sign-offs in the survey week. One was a simple "Kia ora tātou katoa", subtitled as such. Another was "Kia tau te manaakitanga o te wāhi ngaro ki a koutou katoa", which was not subtitled; it means "May the care of the hidden realm rest upon you all".

One night, listeners heard a more unusual farewell – a whakataukī that has become a signature *Te Karere* sign-off and has spread beyond the show. The proverb is explored here as it shows the power of Māori journalism to influence language use. The sign-off had two parts, neither of which were subtitled. The first part was straightforward:

> Kia haumaru te noho ki tō koutou kāinga maha.
> [May you all be safe in your many home areas].

However, the second half was distinctly Māori:

> Turou parea, turou Hawaiki.
> [Let the ancient homeland of Hawaiki glisten in your mind's eye for
> eternity] (*Te Karere*, August 22, 2017). (TVNZ, 2017).

Most Māori and East Polynesian traditions refer to migration from Hawaiki. The mythical homeland features frequently in songs, proverbs and genealogies; the dead are believed to travel back to Hawaiki (Anderson et al., 2014). The meaning of the phrase, said *Te Karere* presenter Scotty Morrison, was "never forget your origins, where you come from and use that as power for you as you stride into your future". It was, he said, a phrase commonly used by tohunga [priests] on the migratory waka as they left for Aotearoa New Zealand.

However, in the 21st century, this whakataukī is better known in translation as "May the Force be with you" – the phrase that defines the *Star Wars* movie franchise. The reason reflects not just the ability of high-profile media people like Scotty to shape the way people speak, but their desire to package te reo so that young people will embrace it. Scotty said that he came across the phrase "Turou parea, turou Hawaiki" in the papers of a Te Arawa elder while researching a Māori-language masters thesis. Later, he went to see his cousin Temuera Morrison playing Jango Fett in the 2002 film *Star Wars: Episode II – Attack of the Clones*. Listening to the actors say "May the Force be with you" – the Force is a metaphysical energy that connects all things (Moyers, 1999) – he had an idea. The concept of a metaphysical energy is familiar to Māori, so packaging "Let the ancient homeland of Hawaiki glisten in your mind's eye for eternity" as "May the Force be with you" would be appealing to young Māori.

Later on, when Scotty decided it would be useful to give *Te Karere* a signature sign-off, he chose that phrase. "Television has ... more reach than anything else, apart from

radio," he said. "If you're using words on a regular basis on television, they start to become normal and people start to use them." That reach has made "Turou Hawaiki" very well known. However, at present, we have no way of assessing whether people know its ancient meaning or have latched on to the modern translation only.

5.7 Discussion

5.7.1 Intertextuality

The adaptation of elements of oratory into news and current affairs texts, both spoken and written, is intertextuality – the shaping of a text by another text (Fairclough, 2003). In academic terms, texts encompass all forms of human communication, written and oral (Fairclough, 2003; Orr, 2011); from books, newspaper articles, songs and films, to internet memes, oral narratives, prayers and the likes. According to Fairclough (1992):

> Intertextuality is basically the property texts have of being full of snatches of other texts, which may be explicitly demarcated or merged in, and which the text may assimilate, contradict, ironically echo, and so forth (p. 84).

In short, we quote. We also allude to, plagiarise, translate and parody. No text stands alone and unique in time and space; each forms "a link in the chain of speech communication of a particular sphere" (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 91). This chain itself sits within a "larger 'mosaic' of cultural practices and their expression" (Orr, 2011). The evocation of a particular text from somewhere along this chain can be all one needs to be cast back to another time, place or context (Bazerman, 2004).

Intertextuality and innovation are not unusual in the oral arts of the Māori world – indeed, they are expected. As Dewes (1975) wrote:

> New Zealand is very rich in Maori oral arts and a vast storehouse remains in the minds and on the lips of Maori oral artists ... our literary tradition is a creative one because it draws on the indigenous past, and borrows, changes and continues to comment on and adapt to contemporary situations. It is a living tradition extending continuously from the past to the present ... it has a history of persistence, change and innovation (p. 53).

The oral arts of the past inspire us in the present, Dewes added: "Far from being irrelevant, the traditional arts challenge us to create with artistic integrity and

seriousness, and in a manner relevant to contemporary experience and dimensions"
(p. 54). Scholars of traditional songs, such as McLean and Orbell (2004), McLean (1996)
and of haka, such as Kāretu (1989) and Shennan (1984) have traced this creativity from
ancient times to now.

The word intertextuality was coined in the late 1960s by Bulgarian literary theorist
Julia Kristeva in her discussion of the work of her Russian counterpart, Mikhail Bakhtin
(Kristeva, 1986). To name the way in which texts meet, she drew on the Latin word
intertexto, which means to intermingle while weaving (Hirsch, 2014). Although many
theories that emerged from European scholarship do not sit comfortably within the
post-colonial focus of Kaupapa Māori frameworks, intertextuality is congruent and
useful as it emphasises the interplay between the texts of a particular linguistic
community; it does not seek to privilege certain languages.[36] Indeed, in the late 1960s,
when intertextuality emerged, its "instant and spontaneous success lay in its
applicability to multifarious cultural forms and practice" (Orr, 2011, para. 1). In a thesis
founded on a Kaupapa Māori paradigm, we can see the theory of intertextuality as a
hoa haere, or companion.

In journalism, the most common form of intertextuality is reported speech. Fairclough
(1992) called this manifest textuality; the words someone utters in a press conference
or an interview (the speaker's text) are recast in a news story (the journalist's text),
where they are manifestly identified by quote marks. Indirect speech is another
important tool in the journalist's intertextual toolkit. In softer stories, and in particular
their headlines, light-hearted allusions to song titles, idioms and aspects of literature
and popular culture are common (Caple, 2010; Lennon, 2004; Opran, 2014). Plagiarism
– the unattributed copying of another's work – is also a form of intertextuality.

Lugrin (2006, p. 136) provided us with a diagrammatic perspective on intertextuality.
In the diagram, the items to the left, such as direct and indirect speech, are explicitly
linked to a particular text ("declared identification"). Towards the right, the source text
becomes, potentially, harder to identify. Here, he was summarising the ideas of

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[36] As an illustration of how transferable the ideas are, Bakhtin's work was in Russian. Kristeva introduced
it to western audiences in French, and in the 1980s her work was translated into English (Kristeva,
1986).

French literary theorist Gérard Genette (1997); the words in brackets are my additions for clarity.
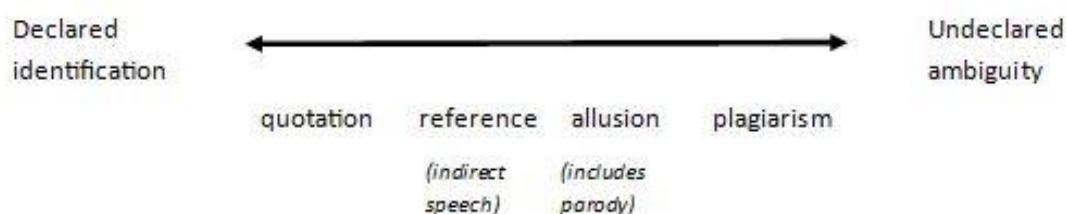
Figure 9: The intertextuality scale
Based on Lugrin (2006, p. 36).

5.7.2 Ensuring understanding

Therefore, nothing we say is truly original, as Bazerman (2004) noted:

> We create our texts out of the sea of former texts that surround us, the sea of language we live in. And we understand the texts of others within that same sea. Sometimes as writers we want to point to where we got those words from and sometimes we don't. Sometimes as readers we consciously recognise where the words and ways of using words come from and at other times the origin just provides an unconsciously sensed undercurrent. And sometimes the words are so mixed and dispersed within the sea, that they can no longer be associated with a particular time, place, group, or writer. Nonetheless, the sea of words always surrounds every text (pp. 83-84).

However, not everyone is swimming equally strongly in the sea of te reo Māori. The ability to interpret what one hears and reads requires a range of skills embedded in linguistic, cultural and social knowledge that is influenced by upbringing, education, life experience and other variables (Fairclough, 1992). Gaps in knowledge may hinder comprehension (Smith & Higgins, 2013).

In terms of Māori news, a person's ability to decode and understand is wholly related to their fluency in te reo Māori. If an individual is a fluent speaker, we can safely assume that they have a grasp of tikanga and the nuances of figurative speech related to the spiritual and temporal worlds. However, the fluent comprise a relatively small number of people; a far larger group has a moderate understanding of reo and tikanga, which means there may be gaps in individual comprehension.

Journalists working in te reo have to strike a balance between extending the language used by competent speakers and ensuring the largest possible number understand. Looking at television content, it was clear from the survey week that content that was symbolic rather than informational was not translated, and into this category fell the sentry's call, the incantation to begin a speech, ritual chant, and the metaphors used in greetings. They served to set a certain tone, but in themselves did not convey new information.

However, care was taken with informational content – that is, news stories themselves – to aid comprehension, and journalists employed various strategies. They used straightforward language in short sentences, mostly structured in the inverted pyramid style common to news stories (Hannis, 2014). If they deviated, they took care to take the listener with them as much as was possible in the time available. For example, we earlier saw (p. 132) how radio journalist Eruera Lee-Morgan ensured any proverb he used to open a story was explained briefly and in plain language in the next sentence.

The language revitalisation agenda demands that journalists model a varied and authentic vocabulary, but there is tension between those who believe that Māori news should be delivered in plain language and those who believe that carrying te reo into the future means exposing consumers to the new and unfamiliar (see p. 23). *Te Karere* presenter Scotty Morrison said:

> There's people on both sides of the debate. I sit in the middle; I think it's a balance, and I think that it's a waka hourua [double-hulled canoe]; there no reason why the two can't go hand-in-hand.

When scripting, Scotty employs two strategies to ensure viewer understanding. One is to introduce unfamiliar words in such a way that the context makes meaning clear. Another tactic is to define the meaning of an unfamiliar word immediately afterwards, prefacing it with "arā" [that is to say].

> So I might say 'kei te hanepī ngā whakaaro o te iwi, arā, kei te rangirua ngā whakaaro o te iwi' [people are worried] ... and people will understand rangirua [concerned] and then they'll make the connection: 'Oh, that's what hanepī is, it means to be confused'.

But Scotty added that intelligibility was paramount:

You do have to be careful. I think I did fall into the trap, after [attending elite language school] Panekiretanga, of using too many words that weren't in common usage … and using too many of them at one time. That would have started to confuse the audience.

On the issue of proverbs and figures of speech, it was clear that journalists and presenters chose sayings that were relatively well-known across the tribes; they were the sorts of sayings taught in reo-Māori education settings from primary school upwards. This restricted repertoire was necessary to ensure the largest number of people understood, said Arana Taumata, executive producer of *Te Karere.* But he sometimes wished his reporters could employ a broader range:

We've got a language that's so rich and colourful, but here's the rub. As we know, we are trying to save our language, and only a small percentage of our people are lucky enough to be brought up as native speakers ... out of those native speakers, there's probably an even smaller percentage that get that richness and beauty that our tūpuna [ancestors] had 300 or 400 years ago.

So I guess the point I am trying to make is that our language is going through a revitalisation process … so the use of metaphor, idiom and all that sort of stuff is probably not as utilised as much as it could or should be.

The corollary, he said, was that some of the most well-known sayings had become overused. As an example, he cited the proverb "Ka pū te rūhā ka hao te rangatahi", which translates as "when the old net lies in a heap, the new net goes fishing" (Mead & Grove, 2003, p. 181). It's a metaphor for the succession of a younger person to the position of a retiring elder, and is often used in news stories about changes of leadership. "That's almost clichéd," said Arana. "We don't use that anymore. We haven't banned it, but I haven't heard anyone use it for quite a few years." Still, the fact that a whakataukī is becoming overused is a good sign, he said, "because it shows that our language is growing and developing".

5.7.3   Taking karakia to news settings

In formal ceremonies, once tapu is called forth by karanga and karakia, we exist in that state of tapu until it is neutralised by the hongi [the nose press], exchange of breath and shared food, which serve to "decommission participants" (Durie, 2012, p. 78). In these settings, karakia are a powerful way to call the tapu and the mana of our atua

and our tūpuna to us; the formulaic nature of karakia ensures that we are speaking as they spoke (Shirres, 1997): "This is a oneness with the living, but also with all those who have gone before them, and a oneness which extends right back into te kore, the 'nothingness' of the beginning of creation" (p. 90). Durie (2011) wrote that such ritual allowed one to "enter safely into atua-specific domains and activities with an enhanced sense of sensory awareness and preparedness" (p. 78). The power of karakia come from the atua, and their effectiveness "depended on the faith of the people using the chants" (Shirres, 1997, p. 85).

Pre-contact, that faith was strong. Everyone adhered to rituals, processes and protocols, as survival meant maintaining good faith with the atua of the various domains that sustained life (Durie, 2012, p. 78). According to academic Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal, quoted in Durie (2011), "Māori lived in and around a very tapu culture ... in the past there was a very strong belief that if you infringe a tikanga or a kawa [fixed ritual] that you would face a very strong retribution of some kind" (p. 110-111).

The most important rituals of life, such as death, exhumation, and the lifting of tapu, were overseen by men trained in the priestly arts (Marsden 2003), and their chants were seen to have great power (Hiroa, 1949). However, every person had a stock of karakia for everyday life to, for example, help heal wounds or broken limbs; appease Tangaroa, god of the sea, for the first fish caught; and ensure success in hunting and gardening (Shirres, 1997).

We now live in a world, where society – and survival – is no longer predicated on tapu and noa and the mechanisms of social and individual control they fostered. Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal said, "I don't think people are beholden to the tapu system any more ... attitudes and ideas about cause and effect have changed". People were no longer "psychologically bound up with certain assumptions, and a common set of understandings ... just isn't there. Our people have widely diverse views of the world and experiences of the world" (quoted in Durie, 2011, p. 111). As Radio Waatea broadcaster Tumamao Harawira observed, "We don't have a real-world experience of what it means to live in a world that is tapu and noa."

Time passes and customs change. As Mead (2012) wrote:

> Mātauranga Māori continues to evolve both in the way it is understood and in the range of ways it is applied in today's world. Within the basket of knowledge itself, some ideas are held to be crucial and critical, while other ideas are subject to amendment or better left alone, and there is a wide range of new ideas to select from and to embrace (p. 12).

Among these new ideas is the use of karakia in domains beyond the sacred; these are reflections of tikanga as "spontaneous and organic" growing from our "earthly reality" (Durie, 2011, pp. 114-115). Karakia, with their focus on creation, the gods and the forces that brought Māori to Aotearoa New Zealand, are not just calls to higher powers, but stories of who we are and how we think, making them powerful statements of identity.

For example, contemporary Māori musicians combine the power of music and the eloquence of old karakia in their work, or compose new ones.[37] Many tribal reports, while written largely in English, open with a karakia, as do books and academic theses written by Māori. Recordings of karakia are on the internet so people can learn them. As academic Amster Reedy said:

> The point about karakia and kawa is not how far back you can go but how far forward you can take it. We should not put ourselves in the position of living in the past, but should see that our culture is very relevant to the world that our children and grandchildren will live in (Durie, 2011, p. 129).

Karakia in media contexts form part of the agenda of language and cultural revitalisation, and their use in these settings is part of the "evolving and dynamic nature of tikanga" (Durie, 2012, p. 80). People may no longer live strictly by tapu and noa, but to hear the distinctive cadence and words of a karakia in a news setting or in music ensures that the link to the past is not forgotten; karakia have the power to focus our minds on the primacy of whakapapa, the spiritual realm and the mana of te reo Māori.

However, the way in which tikanga is reworked brings caveats. In adapting Māori practices for new contexts, wrote Durie (2012), a "theoretical and philosophical base that is derived from mātauranga Māori" must be maintained, and this required "a type

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[37] Among them are Tiki Taane, Maisey Rika and Moana Maniapoto.

of leadership that can mediate between yesterday and tomorrow" (p. 85). Those leaders, he wrote, needed to be thoroughly versed in reo and tikanga, but aware that tikanga had to adapt to survive.

The public nature of the journalist's work means that there is great incentive for the best possible exponents of te reo and tikanga to be chosen for on-air work. To use something inauthentically risks an immediate and embarrassing correction by your own community (Mead, 2003). However, Māori journalists took different approaches with karakia according to their backgrounds and understandings. *Te Karere* presenter Scotty Morrison performs ancient karakia for a wide variety of purposes, just as the ancestors did, to help heal illness or remove psychological harm wrought by others. This work brings responsibilities, he said, among them delivering word-perfect chants, having the right manawataki [cadence] to gain the gods' attention, the ability to be the kauwaka [vessel] for atua, dealing with heightened levels of tapu and also handling the dynamics of the situation for which karakia are needed. In his media work, Scotty does not use ancient incantations "to protect the integrity and sanctity of those karakia".

In contrast, *Manako* host Tumamao Harawira recites ancient karakia on radio, but only when he has time to recite them in full; this is to maintain "the integrity of the karakia." Below is one he often uses to open *Manako;* it was recorded during a day I spent observing him for fieldwork:

> Whakatau hā, whakatau hā
> Whakatau hā te rangi e tu iho nei
> Whakatau hā te papa e takoto nei
> Whakatau hā te mātuku mai i Rarotonga
> Ko ia i rukuhia manawa pou roto
> Ko ia i rukuhia manawa pou waho
> Whakatina kia tina, te more i Hawaiki
> Haumi e, hui e, taiki e (*Manako*, March 20, 2017).

This chant and its variants are believed to date from the era of migration (Orbell & McLean, 2002; Salmond, 2004); its age and obscure language makes an accurate translation difficult, and the reader is directed to Orbell and McLean (2002, pp. 49-51) for insight into how it has been understood by various iwi. However, the chant's wairua, or its essence, evokes the Māori migration from Hawaiki. It contains several metaphors relating to firmness and stability, such as the sky above and the earth

below, and the strength of the more, the tap root, and Hawaiki as a source of ritual power, strength and identity. Tumamao Harawira saw the chant as a good way "to set the stage" for his show; it was also short, taking up 20 s of a one-minute intro.

Fellow *Manako* host Eruera Lee-Morgan said it was important for broadcasters to be creative in their use of language, but he did not believe that imaginative reworking diminished "the stuff of our ancient past". In one opening, he used a core element of the chant above – the phrase "whakatau hā" – to unify the elements that needed to be present: Acknowledgement of the primal parents; acknowledgements to the dead; greetings to the living; and an invitation to listeners to enter the figurative marae of *Manako*. He interpreted "whakatau hā" in this context as "welcome".

This was the mihi to Rangi and Papa:

> Whakatau hā, whakatau hā, whakatau hā te rangi e tū iho nei,
> whakatau hā te papa e takoto nei.
> [Welcome, welcome, welcome the sky father, welcome the earth
> mother].

The next part paid homage to the dead, describing them in terms of Hine-nui-te-pō, the guardian of the dead:

> Whakatau hā ō tātou tini aituā ki a Hine-nui-te-pō.
> [Welcome our numerous deceased dwelling in the realm of Hine-nui-
> te-pō].

Eruera then turned to the living, using the metaphor of Tāne, who created the world of light after pushing his parents apart (see p. 6):

> Whakatau hā tātou ko te hunga ora ki a Tāne-te-waiora.
> [Welcome us, the living, in the realm of Tāne-te-waiora].

Listeners were greeted:

> Whakatau hā koutou e ngā iwi o te motu ki te marae areare o
> *Manako* e whakatau nei i a koutou.
>
> [Welcome the tribes of the country to the marae of *Manako* hereby
> greeting you] (*Manako*, August 24, 2017). (Radio Waatea, 2017).

This appealing reworking weaves links between the past and present, and between all of those linked at that moment by their shared listenership. It is also pithy: The words above took 18 s to deliver in a 1 min 06 s introduction. Eruera summed up his

approach with the phrase, "He iti te kupu kia nui te kōrero", or "A short address expresses a great deal". Brevity and clarity, he said, were at the heart of the "art of oratory ... no matter what the platform is, on marae or on the airwaves".

It is pertinent to note that men's voices dominate this chapter, particularly those from *Manako*; of the four shows studied here, it has the greatest scope to incorporate elements of karakia and whaikōrero. These presenters are well versed in the male domains of karakia and oratory; for them, the change of domain from marae to radio studio is not a difficult conceptual or practical leap. When and if *Manako* gains long-term female hosts, it will be interesting to see what choices they might make and whether they might adapt and use features of tikanga reserved for women, such as karanga or ceremonial calling (see also p. 109).

5.8   Conclusion

Through intertextual analysis, this chapter has demonstrated how elements of the art of oratory have become part of news, both in the language of news stories and the elements that frame them. This chapter has traced the various ways in which reporters and presenters bring their intertextual creativity to bear. The impetus to refashion elements of whaikōrero arises from each reporter's cultural skillset and their sense of what is contextually appropriate, and it is clear that presenters and reporters feel trusted to make the right decisions. However, they are conscious that they have to balance both news and language revitalisation goals, and, within their creativity, need to employ a vocabulary that is broadly understood. *Te Karere* presenter Scotty Morrison reflected a common sentiment when he said that bringing elements of whaikōrero to news was simply an expression of cultural evolution, "which is what tikanga is. It evolves, we create it".

In the preceding two chapters, the nature of Māori news output has been defined. In the following chapter, we look at what tikanga means to journalists on a personal and professional level, and how they align the demands of newswork with indigenous cultural principles.

Chapter 6: The influence of tikanga in newswork

6.1   Introduction

In this chapter, we explore what aspects of tikanga reporters perceive to have the most bearing on their work. They describe the situations in which the requirements of tikanga and the needs of news cause personal and professional tensions, and how they negotiate these. This chapter does not have separate discussion and conclusion sections as the issues discussed here are tightly intertwined with the topics in the following chapter, titled The influence of tapu and noa in newswork (p. 169). Therefore, the two chapters are discussed together (p. 227).

6.2   Tikanga: "Something you can't turn off"

Journalists in this study described tikanga as a set of values, a way of seeing themselves and the world, and a guide to decision-making based on the teachings of their iwi. For example, to *Te Kāea* news editor Gloria Taumaunu, tikanga was "a code of good practice". To *The Hui* producer Annabelle Lee-Mather, tikanga was "the way you connect to other people, to your environment. It encapsulates your philosophies, it guides your behaviour". For *Te Karere* producer Arana Taumata, tikanga encapsulated "a unique set of values that I live by". For Raiha Johns, a reporter for *The Hui,* a life shaped by tikanga meant that:

> We speak Māori at home, my child speaks only Māori. We do karakia and we sing a lot of waiata; it's just the language that we operate in. We do the basic tikanga stuff… when we have manuhiri [guests] we look after them, we operate by aroha and manaakitanga … and the same when I am at mahi [work]. Tikanga is something you can't turn off.

For those who had grown up in tikanga and te reo – the majority of this study's participants – cultural lenses strongly shaped the way they engaged with the world and its spiritual dimension. Those who had learned te reo and tikanga later in life, a minority in this research, had incorporated various practices and perspectives into their lives to varying degrees.

However, what united every single reporter in this study was their attention to environmental cues about expected behaviour, particularly on marae and in Māori

homes and communal spaces. Following tikanga on marae or in private homes was not just about showing respect and aligning with their own values as Māori; it was also about ensuring that others were not made to feel uncomfortable. Discussing this, several reporters quoted the proverb "When in Rome, do as the Romans do". Radio reporter Ana Tapiata quoted one of Māoridom's most well-known proverbs: "He aha te mea nui o te ao? He tangata, he tangata, he tangata". [What is the most important thing in the world? It is people, people, people]. As a reporter, she said, "everything comes down to that relationship, even if it's a short relationship. It's about trying to create an environment that's comfortable for the person that you're interviewing".

Cultural practices that differed from those with which reporters were familiar were not remarked upon, in the interests of manaaki. Annabelle Lee-Mather gave an example:

> No offence to Te Arawa, but I go into their marae, and I see all the old kuia [women] sitting on the ground while the young men sit on chairs and I think, 'What the …?' But I'll never question it. It's not my marae; it's not my place to challenge what they do on their marae. So you just go with the flow. But that doesn't mean that I don't think in my head, 'None of my tāua [elders] would sit on the ground for any of my young male cousins.' They'd tell them to nick off.

Reporters unsure of what they could do somewhere usually sought advice, and on marae, they usually approached an elder. However, they might not get the same advice from two different people, and at times, inadvertently caused offence. All reporters could do was apologise, said RNZ reporter Shannon Haunui-Thompson:

> So one group of people who are at the marae, say 'Yes, please come, please interview,' but then you get the odd kuia or kaumatua [elderly man] saying 'Hey, what are doing there? Get off, get back in the carpark!' kind of thing. You've just got to say, 'Look, sorry, we were told we were allowed here, we were told we were allowed to record here, but if you don't want me here, that's fine' – I'll just move on. It's not worth getting into an argument over those kinds of things. There's always another way.

6.3 Tika, pono and aroha: A fundamental approach

An approach to life and work that emerged strongly in this research but which was absent in the literature was the concept of tika, pono and aroha as a fundamental approach to life and professional activities. We can translate the tripartite as "doing

the right thing with integrity and with love" (Peters, 2000, p. 1); Tate (2010) described tika, pono and aroha as "principles of action and encounter" (p. 113).

The concepts are so pervasive in Māori thought that they were the motto of a 19th-century Māori-language newspaper[38] and appear in various 20th-century songs.[39] The concept has been a lens for academic research into Māori literature[40] and shapes the value statements of organisations, both non-Māori and Māori. One of the latter is Māori Television; its value statement translates tika, pono and aroha in a way that emphasises how they should be expressed in a Māori business context, not just a journalistic one:

> **Kia tika:** Kia ngaio, kia mau ki ngā taumata tiketike. Be professional
> and maintain high standards;
> **Kia pono:** Kia pono, kia tika, kia ngākau tapatahi. Be truthful, honest
> and act with integrity;
> **Kia aroha:** Kia mataara, kia whakaaro nui ki tētahi atu. Be respectful
> and demonstrate empathy;

Māori Television adds a fourth value:

> **Kia Māori:** Kia mau kia ū ki te hōhonutanga o ngā tikanga Māori.
> Maintain and uphold core Māori values (MTS, 2018).

For *Te Karere* reporter Kereama Wright, tika, pono and aroha were the cornerstones of his childhood and the values he aims to transmit to his children. To him, tika, pono and aroha encompass:

> He mihi ki te tangata, he kawe i ngā mahi katoa i runga i te tika, i te
> pono [acknowledging people, doing things with fairness and
> maintaining integrity], acknowledging each person's mana, try not to

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[38] *Te Waka Maori O Ahuriri*, 1863-1871, whose motto was "Ko te Tika, ko te Pono, ko te Aroha" (Paterson, 2006).
[39] For example, the well-known song written by Henare Te Owai of Ngāti Porou in 1933 contains the verse below:
Mā wai rā e taurima te marae i waho nei?/Who will attend to the marae outside?
Mā te tika, mā te pono me te aroha e/Tika, pono and aroha will be the attendants.
[40] See, for example, Peters' 2000 masters thesis, *Tika, Pono and Aroha in Three Novels by Patricia Grace.*

> trample on each person's mana in amongst all the ... daily activities of a normal home.
>
> And then, in the workplace, it's obviously trying to transfer all those into everything that we do ... out in the field, with different talent, it's not always easy ... because different situations or circumstances provide different challenges.

Asked his guiding principles in journalism, Julian Wilcox, a former head of news at Māori Television, said that his interviewees should expect that he would act "in accordance with tika, pono and aroha". He gave several examples, among them explaining in full to people why he wanted to talk to them, keeping the camera off until subjects were ready, and ensuring that they were comfortable with proceedings:

> I think there's the expectation that even though you may have done all the groundwork on the telephone, when you get into their house, get onto their marae, when you sit down in front of them, they need to know and feel and touch and growl or whatever with you first, so you go through it all again. They say, 'Yep, OK, ready to go.' Bang, you do the interview, you finish, then you put it [the camera] away and ask, 'How do you feel about that?'
>
> And you never, ever, go empty-handed. Always take something, even if it's a packet of biscuits. Many an interview has eventuated because of the relish I provided to the obligatory cup of tea from the host.

In the next section, we look at the nuances that tika, pono and aroha acquire in the context of newswork.

Tika can translate as being correct, and, in a Māori paradigm, that means things are done according to accepted standards of output or behaviour. Mead (2003) defined the word to mean "appropriate behaviour; good grace" (p. 368), and Williams (1971) as "just, fair, right and correct" (p. 416). Tate (2010) wrote that as a principle of action, "tika includes the elements of <u>what</u> should be done, <u>how</u> it should be done, and <u>why</u> it should be done" (p. 127).

The reporters in this research said that in a work context, tika also meant being accurate. "Tika to me is getting it right, getting your facts right," said *Te Karere* executive producer Arana Taumata. "That's a fundamental of journalism." To his MTS counterpart, Maramena Roderick, a story that was tika displayed "accuracy, fairness

and balance". To be tika in the context of Māori journalism, she added, also meant having the courage to ask the questions that needed to be asked, even if doing so made both parties uncomfortable: "Ask the questions. Search for knowledge and don't be afraid to." She said:

> I remember a story where I asked a kaumatua whether his iwi deserved to have their land returned. Another Māori journalist commented: 'I'm glad you asked that because I've been brought up differently, not to question my kaumātua.' If I hadn't asked, someone else would have, and it could have been spun very differently. But the answer was so honest and dignified it effectively closed down any negative follow-up.

Likewise, Arana Taumata saw tika in journalism as working without fear or favour and adhering to journalistic principles. He understood why some Māori were suspicious of the media and felt that Māori journalists should focus on the positive (see also p. 159). However, Māori culture had always valued transparent and robust public discussion: "Our people used to debate issues hard on the marae. Back in the day, if leadership was found to be wanting, people would ask questions. They would demand answers from their rangatira [leaders]."

For Maramena Roderick, the word tika also encapsulated good judgement. "I expect that when crews are on the marae, proper protocols are met, that they have spoken to the right people, that they have permission to film on that marae." She was also clear what was not tika: "When we go to tangihanga, when we're at these sad events, I don't want to see any of my reporters taking selfies. You see that a lot now. I find that self-promotion appalling."

Pono often translates as to be true, valid, honest, and genuine (Williams, 1971; Moorfield, n.d.). Beazley (2017) wrote: "When there is pono, there is a sense of truth and integrity about the occasion or the interaction" (para. 10). In journalism, this was generally interpreted as being open and honest about what one sought and why. Ana Tapiata saw pono as acting with integrity: "People will … make a call in relation to your actions." However, Arana Taumata said that the desire to be entirely transparent could be tested when dealing with contentious issues or evasive people: "Sometimes it can be really challenging ... but I've always found that being honest and upfront with people and not being deceitful [will] … work very well for you".

Aroha often translates as love, compassion and charitableness towards others (Williams, 1971). Wrote Beazley (2017): "When acting in a spirit of aroha, our words and actions express not only love but also a myriad of other elements such as compassion, respect and empathy for others and for the environment around us" (para. 11).

Within the interlocking nature of tikanga, aroha is an expected dimension of whanaungatanga and an essential part of manaakitanga (Mead, 2003). Radio Waatea's Tumamao Harawira said that aroha was not only about emotions, "it's the thought pattern that you have. The word aroha, you break it into two words: It's aro [to pay attention to] and ha [breath, essence] and that means to acknowledge someone's life force, acknowledge someone's mauri." This understanding, he said, reminded him to be temperate, not tabloid, in the way he wrote news.

For RNZ's Shannon Haunui-Thompson, aroha in journalism encompassed the recognition that engaging with a reporter could be stressful: "You have to have empathy, you have to have love for the people in your story ... it's their story and they're letting you into their lives, telling some very vulnerable moments sometimes." Aroha drove her logistical decision-making at times. One instance involved a kuia who had 65 priceless taonga such as greenstone clubs, spears made of whale bone, mats and cloaks stolen in the 1960s while they were supposedly safe in a bank vault. Having been unable to find out what had happened to them, the family made a claim for redress (Haunui-Thompson, 2016). [41]

When Shannon spoke to the kuia on the phone, her hurt was so palpable that Shannon knew the story had to be done face-to-face: "It was a real gut feeling, just hearing her kōrero." Shannon insisted to her producers that she do the story in person. After flying to the region where the kuia lived and arriving at her home, she was received formally:

> They had all these other whānau members there, and they did a little
> karakia when I first arrived, before the interview ... they had a tikanga
> and a process and they acknowledged the fact that I had come from
> Auckland ... they opened their home to me, we had this huge hākari
> [meal] afterwards, and then they took me down to the marae ... they

[41] Haunui-Thompson, S. (2016, March 14). Stolen taonga: 'The Crown lost them all'.
https://www.radionz.co.nz/news/te-manu-korihi/298905/stolen-taonga-'the-crown-lost-them-all'

were sharing something that was really personal, that no one else had actually listened to.

Throughout her interview with the kuia, who was nervous, Shannon held her hand. The day provided not just a compelling story, but a moving experience: "You kind of had to be in the same room, to feel the wairua."

Aroha also meant practical help. After an earthquake in Kaikōura in 2016 displaced hundreds of people, MTS reporters who flew in by helicopter took food and water to distribute. Said MTS's Maramena Roderick, "You do so because it's the right thing to do. I didn't have to ask them." Showing aroha did not compromise newsgathering: "I don't think you lose objectivity by doing what you can to help."

Aroha was also a critical part of reporter relationships with colleagues. *Marae* producer Tini Molyneux described her colleagues as whānau, in this context meaning that people united in a purpose supported each other:

> When I've gone out, I've always – me and the cameraman and whoever our crew is – gone out as a whānau. We've got each other's backs and always explain to each to other what it is you're doing and what it is you want from the stories. So if you go in as a team, you're more likely to achieve that.

Beazley (2017) wrote that tika, pono and aroha were necessarily intertwined because "aroha is at once the source of tika and pono and it is also the fruit of tika and pono" (para. 11). He didn't elaborate on what he meant by this, but my interpretation is that someone approaching their activities with thoughtfulness, care and concern for others will be motivated to do them well. If the activities in one's private and public life are carried out to the accepted and expected standards, everyone benefits and a virtuous circle is built by the interlocking strands of tika, pono and aroha.

6.4 Journalism, mana and manaakitanga

It will be clear from the above that behaving for the well-being of the collective is a critical concept in Māori life. Personal and group relationships in the Māori world are mediated and guided by the high value placed upon mana. As described in the literature review (p. 27), mana is a quality bestowed by the gods from whom we descend (mana atua), but mana is also inherited from an illustrious lineage (mana

whakapapa) or bestowed by the iwi for important achievements or contributions (mana tuku iho) (Duncan & Rewi, 2018a; Mead, 2003; Tauroa & Tauroa, 2009). The mana of others must be respected, and their humanity and dignity recognised. This is effected by demonstrating manaakitanga, a closely linked concept that involves treating people with care and concern for their well-being, and this was a prime concern for the journalists in this study. As an example, when reporting youth sport, MTS's Wepiha Te Kanawa made a point of seeking out the parents of any young people he interviewed to acknowledge the success of their child as well as their contribution: "I just feel that's important for me ... but also it uplifts those mātua [parents] and their mana."

RNZ's Justine Murray was among several journalists who said that manaakitanga was her "utmost whakaaro" [thought] in interviews: "It's important to enter and leave a space with your mana and the other person's mana intact ... kaua rā e whakaiti i te tangata, ahakoa ko wai [don't diminish or denigrate the person, no matter who]."

Radio Waatea's Tumamao Harawira believed that manaakitanga relaxed people and that led to a good interview:

> Manaakitanga ... is one of the key things that I use, to get people to open up. If they can understand that the way that you're talking and the questions that you're asking are coming from a place of warmth, a place of love and a place of understanding, then they are going to be more open.
>
> It's almost like the exact opposite of how mainstream media would interview, they would interview with a certain aggressiveness in the nature, in the way that they ask questions. And it gets the exact opposite of what they want. The aggressiveness actually breeds aggressiveness.

Former MTS head of news Julian Wilcox had a strategy to remind himself about the maintenance of others' mana and his own in live broadcast settings:

> You've got to treat everyone, whoever you talk to, like their mother
> is sitting beside them. There are very few instances in the world
> where mothers don't think their sons and daughters are the greatest
> alive, and if you keep that in mind, that keeps not just their mana
> intact, but your own mana intact.

TVNZ's Irena Smith said to be "pushy and forceful" in pursuit of a story risked trampling someone's mana:

> I'm not prepared to stand on anyone's mana to get what I need. But I feel like I can still get what I need by taking the approach that I take, which is to establish that I'm there to do a job, and I'm gonna try my hardest to get that job done without stepping on your personal mana.

The interwoven nature of Māori life and the imperative to uphold mana meant that reporters tried to avoid discourtesy, even if they disliked someone. Wepiha Te Kanawa said, "Who am I to step on that mana? Because that's all a person has – their mana."

Maintaining people's mana was particularly important when reporters interviewed people who were not fluent speakers and who might be dealing with language anxiety (Te Huia, 2013). A striking feature of this research was the ways in which journalists employed aroha and manaakitanga in understanding interviewees' anxiety and avoiding judgement while trying get the best possible grabs from them. This will not be discussed here as the issue is critical for Māori-language reporters and is covered in Chapter 8: Reporters as agents of language revitalisation and the intersection with tikanga (p. 232).

Manaakitanga also encompassed caring for those unused to the media. For example, *The Hui* producer Annabelle Lee-Mather paid attention to interviewees' appearance:

> If they're looking a big roughed up, you just say, 'Have a look in the mirror, I'll straighten your tie' … he mana tō ia tangata, and he kawenga tō te hunga pāpāho ki te āta tiaki i a rātou [everyone has mana, and journalists are obliged to take care with them].

At Māori Television, manaaki was part of the "office dynamics", said news editor Gloria Taumaunu, and that usually took the form of tuakana/teina. This means older sibling, younger sibling (see also p. 29) and captures the cultural norm that older, more experienced people looked after their juniors. She explained:

> A lot of the staff are inexperienced when they walk through that door, including myself. There's a whole lot of learning that goes on, and hapa [mistakes] and hē [difficulties], and you have to manaaki those kaimahi [staff] as they are coming up and learning more ... to me, if you have a good sense of manaaki tangata, that person will

come out with the mātauranga needed, but also a sense of dignity; their dignity is still intact.

6.4.1 Newsroom dilemmas

However, the principle of manaakitanga could conflict with the desire to get a good story to air. Julian Wilcox, a former head of news at MTS, recounted two instances when a decision to prioritise manaakitanga led to stories being delayed. The first concerned the death on July 20, 2011 of notable former politician Tini Marama Tirikātene-Sullivan, known as Whetu. She was 79 and had been a high achiever: Social worker, dancer, designer, sportswoman, academic, and Parliamentarian for nearly 30 years (Brown, 2018).

However, in accordance with Whetu's wishes, media were not informed of her death, and despite her stature, there was no tangi. From a Māori perspective, both decisions were unusual. Māori Television's newsroom found out about Whetu's death the day after it happened, but was told by the Minister of Māori Affairs not to break the news until the family was ready. The newsroom was in a dilemma, Julian said: The death was news, as was the lack of a tangi, and they had the facts they needed to report. Although the minister had no power to control what reporters chose to do, he was genuinely respected and his words carried weight. The risk, said Julian, was that if the newsroom went against the family's wishes, reporters might be refused access when the whānau was ready to talk. The story was held.

Two days after her death, Whetu was farewelled by her immediate family in a private service, and *Te Kāea* was then given permission to break the news. Whetu's younger brother, Kukupa, appeared live to explain that Whetu had asked that her death be kept quiet to protect her family (Wilcox & Taylor, 2011). The next day, Julian Wilcox interviewed Kukupa at his home. At the end of their discussion, he asked Kukupa to deliver a poroporoaki, or farewell address to his sister, to the camera. Kukupa did so as if he were addressing her at a tangi, then segued into a family waiata (Wilcox, 2011). It was touching and authentic television that might not have come about had the newsroom put timeliness before manaakitanga.

The other instance when manaakitanga trumped news imperatives involved rugby league coach Stephen Kearney – but here, said Julian, there was no journalistic payoff,

and *Te Kāea* was scooped in the process. The coach's grandmother, who was well-known in her community, died suddenly in the week he was to take the Kiwis rugby league team into its first test against Australia; at the time, squad and coach were in Australia preparing. *Te Kāea* had a reporter on site who got an interview with one of the players about the kuia's death and how this might affect her son's test preparation. The story was an hour from going to air when the team's media manager rang and asked that the story not be aired, as it would upset the family. Julian argued against, as mainstream media also had the story. But at the last minute, he removed it from the line-up:

> I thought about what Stephen's whānau would think about Māori TV doing this story about his grandmother passing away and how it's affecting their brother or son … and he's got his Anzac test.[42]

The next morning, a mainstream breakfast show broke the story. Recalled Julian: "Everyone was going, 'We got scooped! We had the story!' and I said, 'Yeah, some things are worth doing sometimes.' Even if it doesn't directly pay you back." *Te Kāea'*s manaaki didn't lead to any favours from the rugby establishment later on, he said. Reflecting, however, Julian wondered if the story was more gossip than news. "Wearing my Māori hat, I can understand if someone doesn't want that to be put on the Māori news." He added, "His grandmother died, yes; he didn't go back, yes; yes, it probably was having an effect on the Kiwis team. But when you think about it, that's his whānau. And whānau is the most important thing to everyone, eh."

6.5   Whanaungatanga: Relationships

The above illustrates that Māori journalists pay close attention to the impact of their decisions on others, a consideration driven by the realities of a small, interrelated society. Whanaungatanga is an important dimension of tikanga (Mead, 2003), and as we have seen (pp. 26-50), the close ties across Māori society bring advantages and disadvantages for reporters. "Aotearoa is a small world, and te ao Māori is even smaller," said Julian Wilcox. "The chances of you needing to speak to people again is pretty high – and relationships in this game are crucial." Relationships have entwined professional, personal and cultural planes, said journalist Oriini Kaipara; building

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[42] Tiananga, T. (2013, April 7). Kiwis coach mourns grandmother's passing. Retrieved from https://www.maoritelevision.com/news/sport/kiwis-coach-mourns-grandmothers-passing

relationships is important not just for your story, "but for your own credibility and reputation as a Māori first and foremost, then as a Māori journalist".

In te ao Māori, the word whanaungatanga means a kinship network that provides "a cultural framework for Māori identity" (Ka'ai & Higgins, 2004, p. 18). Add the prefix whaka [to cause something to happen] to the word whanaungatanga, and you have whakawhanaungatanga, which describes the process by which relationships are formed. Julian Wilcox described this in terms of meeting an interviewee:

> If they know me, then I don't have to reintroduce myself. If they don't know me, then I can say, 'This is who I am, and by the way I'm your cousin or nephew, or so and so's cousin, or so and so's relation,' because you have to establish those relationships ... you should expect that to occur, and prepare accordingly.

These exchanges could take some time. Said Radio Waatea manager Bernie O'Donnell: "Drives me crazy! But that's exactly how it happens, and long may it reign." However, such introductions could provide unexpected treasures. One reporter recalled an encounter with an esteemed elder:

> I had to sit there for like an hour and listen to him talk about whakapapa, which I loved. I learn so much when I do that part of the engagement with talent. And when they observe that you take what they're talking about seriously, from a Māori point of view, they are much more willing to engage with you on the more serious stuff.

Several reporters who started their careers in the early days of Māori news, when Māori were often suspicious of any media, said that whakawhanaungatanga was critical to overcoming resistance. "There were barriers that you had to break down," said *Te Karere* head Arana Taumata. "Hononga [connection] was a very important tool".

Many of the journalists reported that while younger generations often took an informal approach to whakawhanaungatanga, not necessarily seeking much detail about the journalist before them, elders often preferred to sit down with a cup of tea to talk. Said *Te Karere* reporter Kereama Wright:

> That's their tikanga of manaakitanga. And as a journalist with a 4pm deadline, that's always hard, to accept that cup of tea, because of the

time constraints. The only way in is to have that initial conversation, is to have that cup of tea and a biscuit, and I get that.

Te Kāea reporter Mere McLean said that the pull between what her producers wanted, the long travel times in her region and deadlines often meant that she wasn't able to put the effort into nurturing relationships as she would like:

> Some kuia or koroua wants you to stay just to have a cup of tea with them and you have to go, 'Oh, sorry nan, I have to go and do my job'... I feel mamae [pained] for them, because I can't spend time with them ... to me, that's breaking tikanga ... that's a kuia – you should listen to your kuia, and, you know, that's how I was brought up.

The intergenerational, interlinked nature of whanaungatanga was vividly illustrated for Ana Tapiata when she was stockpiling election preview stories in 2014. The political candidate she was interviewing didn't speak te reo, so directed Ana to her grandfather's house so he could speak for her. At the house, the candidate's grandmother appeared at the door and called Ana and her camera operator in with a ceremonial karanga or call, much to Ana's surprise. However, once they got inside, she found that the grandfather and his wife had enjoyed a long working relationship with Ana's late father, and that made Ana significant to them. "I didn't even have a relationship with them," said Ana, "but they had it with my father and therefore it was with me."

After the grandfather had spoken, Ana talked about her late father and her mother. Then everyone ate together, doing the interview afterwards. Ana and the camera operator didn't have a strict deadline, but were conscious of time. Still, she said, tikanga dictated they followed the wishes of their hosts, and that was useful from a reporter's perspective: "I think what that does is slow down the process, to allow you to focus on what you're supposed to be doing later."

Although whanaungatanga could give journalists an advantage, Oriini Kaipara warned that tribal ties could never be taken for granted:

> You still have to work hard and make your own mark. Getting through doors off the back of someone you know, I feel, can be a burden because you're riding on their good work or reputation. You have to live up to that. There's no two ways about it. If not, it's on you and it also falls on them.

6.5.1 The drawbacks of reporting on your own community

In a small and inter-related world with an age-related pecking order (see also p. 34), journalists found that negative feedback could be swift and painful. Māori Television current affairs producer Carmen Parahi said:

> Our community is smaller; we know more people personally, or my cousin knows that person, or my cousin's cousin knows that aunty who's married on that side, who knows that person ... if you do something wrong, it comes back to you faster than if you were in mainstream. And it comes through personal channels rather than official ones, and I think it's a real battle for a lot of Māori journalists.

Another battle for journalists was the poor image of journalists among some Māori. MTS's Oriini Kaipara said:

> We're all tarnished with the same brush: 'We're all media. We're all the same. We're vultures'. Those are just some of the constant remarks I've seen and heard about media. I know it stems from a lot of poor media coverage of Māori in the past to this present day. It sucks, because we're not all like that.

Negative feedback often accused reporters of harming their own people, said MTS head of news Maramena Roderick:

> The criticism gets personal. It's not aimed at the organisation, it's to that person, how they have sullied the name of their whānau or iwi, when in fact they did their job honestly. So that can be hurtful for reporters. They need to get a very hard skin, actually.

On the other hand, an organisation's failings might be heaped on an individual reporter. Oriini Kaipara was at a non-work-related tribal hui when a speaker singled her out for a perceived failing by her employer:

> I got called out in front of my iwi, my peers, and iwi leaders. I laughed it off but took it seriously. I went back to my office and called a hui with my seniors, told them it wasn't a good look for our company, and then pushed for a special broadcast around the issue.

Te Karere reporter Kereama Wright said that to be a Māori journalist meant living with tension between kinship and work roles: "We're all conflicted ... we're all whānau, so it's hard to do a story on someone without it upsetting someone from your whānau, because we're all so tight-knit." Carmen Parahi added:

> Non-Māori journalists can pop into a situation and get out unscathed – or scathed, but don't care about it – whereas a Māori journalist will go into a situation and feel the weight of responsibility, even if they don't know these people; someone they know might know them.

A fear of negative feedback from one's own people could inhibit reporting. News editors reported that young journalists, in particular, could struggle to ask necessary but confronting questions out of discomfort and a fear of negative consequences. A number of senior journalists were concerned that younger reporters were not getting enough training and support in this area. Among them was RNZ reporter Mihingaarangi Forbes, who said that skill-building required training and good mentors:

> What you see and hear around you matters. Do our Māori newsrooms have the key mentors working alongside our budding reporters? Is the balance in a Māori newsroom right? Are there enough experienced journalists? Have they spent decades challenging those in power on behalf of the vulnerable?

In her experience, she said, this wasn't the case.

Newsroom leaders also identified an aversion among some of their staff to doing stories that showed Māori in a negative light. Some reporters felt pressure to focus on positive, good-news stories about Māori as a counterbalance to many years of negative and racist representations in mainstream media. MTS's Carmen Parahi said she felt that this was one reason why Māori journalism was perceived to be less adversarial than the mainstream:

> It's because it's very difficult for us to be, especially when there's this overriding feeling that Māori as a group of people have got to fight for everything anyway … so who are we as journalists to add to that?

While it was easy for Māori to relate to other Māori, she often had to remind journalists about the need to remain fair, accurate and balanced:

> Because it's Māori Television, they feel there is a perception that Maori Television is always on the side of Māori … we're on the side of te reo and tikanga Māori, but as Māori journalists … it's important that they [stories] are neutral but delivered respectfully, and I think that's what makes us different.

For former MTS head of news Julian Wilcox, journalism in the Māori world has to mean "holding our people to account as well." He understood why some found that problematic:

> For years, mainstream media has hammered us, hasn't told our positive stories, and for once … we have a couple of platforms that enable us to be able to tell our stories … but you've got to be able to tell the black and the white, the good and the bad … I would rather that my people hold me to account than the Pākehā journalists I don't know and don't trust.

While Maori journalists had to stick to the "main tenets of broadcasting: Fairness, balance and accuracy," he said, tikanga brought "that process of tika, pono, aroha, whanaungatanga – all those Māori values that underpin the way that we interact with each other".

Numerous reporters said that Māori politicians, in particular, expected an easier ride from their own. On that theme, MTS's Maramena Roderick said:

> Occasionally you hear the odd 'You're there for us,' and of course, we're there for our stories, but don't mistake that with, 'You're there for me and you're going to do it the way I want you to do it.' That then … breaks the normal protocols of fairness, or opens us up to editorial interference.

The challenge for Māori broadcasting was upholding editorial independence in a small world, she said:

> We are all constantly pressured. There is a perception that because we are there for our people, we can be influenced to a point of interference. That's unacceptable. We are there for all our people, not just those in positions of power.

Numerous journalists said that they gave controversial or negative stories on their immediate iwi to journalists from other tribes in order to maintain personal relationships and to avoid perceptions of a lack of objectivity. "People don't want to do bad stories on their own iwi," said *Te Kāea* news editor Gloria Taumaunu. "We can do these stories, but they need to be given to the right people to do."

Whanaungatanga could be a double-edged sword. On uncomplicated stories, inside knowledge and existing relationships were a bonus. But editors might expect staff to

use those same attributes to pursue negative stories in their own tribe. This could put reporters in a difficult position, said one: "I'd say to them, 'I don't feel comfortable going to do this story' … and they'd use excuses like 'You're the most senior journalist that can tackle this that's rostered on at the moment'." There were, the reporter said, arguments over the issue. After she reported a drawn-out court case involving extended family, several personal relationships suffered. That was the point at which she started moving out of hard news to avoid jeopardising long-standing relationships:

> I started to shrink back … when you stand out, your bosses are going to make you do the big stories, so I started to find entertainment and arts stories that were safe journalistically. I was sent less to do the hard-hitting stories. And I was quite happy with that, personally.

6.6   Asking the hard questions

Māori are raised to revere elders and leaders, but in a society with an age-related hierarchy, reporters who push for answers or display scepticism at what they are told can be accused of a lack of manaakitanga. This isn't unique to Māori reporters, of course: "Most people don't like to be rude or confrontational, particularly to those in leadership," said *The Hui* producer Annabelle Lee-Mather. "Learning to ask hard questions while maintaining relationships comes with experience."

Te Karere reporter Kereama Wright said that when he was a junior journalist, he had to consciously give himself permission to ask what needed to be asked. He was raised with the words "Kaua e whakahōhā, kaua e whakahōhā i ngā pakeke!" [Don't be annoying, don't annoy your elders], and when he started at *Te Karere*, learning on the job, those words echoed:

> It's kind of what I had in the back of the mind, 'kaua e whakahōhā' [don't be a nuisance]. But then, early in, I realised 'no, you need to be the hōhā [nuisance]'. In order to do this work, you need to be the hōhā. Ki te kore koe e whakahōhā, kāore koe e whai kaikōrero, kāore he kaupapa, nē? [If you don't make a nuisance of yourself, you won't get your interviewee, and you won't have the story, will you?]

He decided that he would ask the necessary questions, but with humility:

> A tikanga that I've kind of created for myself is be the hōhā [nuisance] ... but be the hōhā with respect and be the hōhā ā-ngākau Māori nei [a nuisance, but with kindness and respect]. So a lot of the time, I

approach everyone respectfully and ko te reo Māori te reo kōrero [and speak in Māori].

Te Kāea news editor Gloria Taumaunu took the same approach: "It's in how you handle things. You're not entitled to their whakautu [a response], or their whakaaro [thoughts], but you can ask respectfully." In addition, it was only fair to give notice of potentially confronting questions, which aligned with manaakitanga. Gloria said:

> I think you have to make them aware that you are going to ask the questions. You can't lull them into 'Okay, it's just a kōrero, a chat,' and then hit them while they're sitting there in front of you, because you get them on the back foot.

Mihingaarangi Forbes and Annabelle Lee-Mather have earned reputations for being unafraid to push for answers (p. 29); they said that to expect accountability was no contravention of tikanga. Mihingaarangi said, "Asking questions doesn't impinge on anyone's mana; it's their answer that does that." However, manaakitanga was key: "Making sure the person is treated with dignity is key." Annabelle took a similar stance: "Their answers will either enhance their mana or diminish it." She was upfront with interviewees about her intentions and reminded them of the possible outcomes:

> I say to them, 'I'm going to be asking you some tough questions that might make you feel uncomfortable, but this gives you the chance to front-foot this take [issue] in your own words. If I don't ask you, then people will think I've given you a patsy interview and that makes both of us look bad.' Most accept this. And if they don't, they don't – you just have to suck it up and do your job.

To avoid asking difficult but necessary questions, she said, was:

> An insult to both the talent and our audience … it's important to remind ourselves that our responsibility is to the ordinary Māori who pay our salary through the tax dollars that funds our programmes. Our job is to seek the truth for them.

As earlier described, Mihingaarangi and Annabelle were among the *Native Affairs* team that investigated the financial dealings of the Kōhanga Reo National Trust, asking questions on behalf of member kōhanga reo that felt their concerns were being dismissed. Some in the Māori world felt that it was not culturally acceptable for the trust's leaders, revered stalwarts of the language revitalisation movement, to be

questioned, and made their feelings known (Forbes, 2016a; Steward, 2013). In an interview, veteran reporter Maramena Roderick, who was not at MTS at the time, firmly rejected this view:

> What's forgotten in the kōhanga reo story is that it was a number of kōhanga reo themselves who raised the concerns. They protested. They had a right to be heard also. So what is a Māori way? Not to question? Not to do any story that may bring Māori into disrepute? That's not journalism. I don't even think it's Māori.

Revisiting the story, Annabelle said it was hard for her to challenge the board, as she regarded two of its members, Tīmoti Kāretu and Te Wharehuia Milroy, as mentors; they had been her teachers in language school Te Panekiretanga o te Reo. For months, *Native Affairs* encouraged the board to talk, she said: "I sent through the entire question line ... we weren't trying to ambush them or catch them out ...we just wanted to get them to the table and have this discussion and, of course, they wouldn't do it."

As she worked on the story, a proverb she had learned from the men stuck in her mind: "Takahia te tikanga kia ora ai te tikanga", or trample tikanga for the greater good (Kāretu & Milroy, 2018):

> I had to keep that in my head all the time because we were questioning the governance practices of the Kōhanga Reo National Trust and that included two men who I adore and hero-worship, and who have mentored me, who have been very generous kaiako [teachers] to me, and it was seen as a direct challenge to them. It wasn't – it was a challenge of the governance of that organisation and that case was a quintessential example of 'takahi te tikanga kia ora ai te tikanga'.

There were, she said, big issues at stake around the health of the kōhanga reo movement, and they had to be examined:

> We did it because we wanted to draw attention to the fact that it's a bit broken and needs some people to come in and take a look at it and figure out how to make it better again.

Despite the "massive blowback" from those who felt that questioning elders was an attack on mana, Annabelle "felt good that those people who really needed a voice and a platform … got it". Viewers noticed, and in following months, *Native Affairs* was "inundated" with tip-offs:

> Message after message about dodgy kōhanga, dodgy marae, dodgy kaumātua, dodgy sports clubs, dodgy this, dodgy that. Our people are crying out for an outlet to have their nawe [complaints] heard, and they don't want to take it to mainstream.

The *Native Affairs* team, while the most high-profile journalists to date to be accused of trampling tikanga, are not alone. Several journalists reported that when investigating stories, people had cited tikanga to try to prevent them asking questions or taking footage. MTS's Maramena Roderick described this as using tikanga as a weapon, and said, "Too often, Māori media are pressured from Māori who say, 'You can't do this story because of tikanga.' What they're really saying is 'Know your place'." This was generally a signal, she said, that they didn't know the answer or were trying to hide something, "which immediately raises a big, fat, red flag". She added:

> Those who have nothing to hide will be very upfront; they will ask for time to investigate. That's fair. But those who threaten are usually trying to hide, and that's a reason for media to dig even harder.

6.7   Interviewing kaumātua: Gently, gently

As culture-related stories are often news, and as kaumātua are cultural guardians, they are often news subjects. A number of the journalists said that they handled elders with more care, patience and solicitude than their own or younger generations, aware that their elders might be unfamiliar with interviews and/or might need time to formulate their thoughts. The key to interviewing kaumātua, said RNZ's Shannon Haunui-Thompson, is talking face-to-face and having patience: "If you are wanting a quick-turnaround news story with a quick grab, don't even go there."

Several of the journalists in this study were clear that interrupting elders was disrespectful. This put Peata Melbourne of *Te Karere* in a difficult position during fieldwork when she was interviewing an elder who had a formal demeanour. Halfway through one of his sentences, the camera operator suddenly stopped filming because there was an empty chair in the background that he wanted to frame out. "I kind of held my breath, because I was thinking 'don't do that!'" recalled Peata. "I don't think I would have cared if it was not a kaumatua, but I just don't like interrupting kaumātua for anything. It's a bloody chair, who cares?" She frowned, but said nothing to the cameraman.

6.8 The role of karakia

As we saw in Chapter 5, karakia have power and are a central part of tikanga. A number of journalists said that karakia helped them feel safe in the field, most commonly around tapu places or events and in situations when they needed to re-find equilibrium. *Te Kāea* reporter Wepiha Te Kanawa occasionally performed protective karakia, which he described as "a spiritual protection/cloak, to ensure that everything goes as planned". One such time was before he entered an ana kōiwi, a cave where bodies had once been interred, and was thus tapu: "I just did a small little karakia for my cameraman and my soundie and I, just to protect us going into that area."

Journalists occasionally found that interviewees started proceedings with karakia. *The Hui* reporter Raiha Johns described one such instance when she was about to interview a tikanga expert: "I sat down to talk with him and he stood up – because we were in his turf – and so nāna māua i whakatau, kātahi i tuku tana karakia [he welcomed us, then he recited his karakia]." For him to take the lead was entirely appropriate.[43]

Karakia to start proceedings on a positive footing was also part of the reo-Māori current affairs show *Te Tēpu* (Māori Television, 2006-2014), which often explored difficult social issues. While some guests were regulars and sought no formalities, said producer Hone Edwards, the majority preferred to start and end taping with a karakia:

> The bulk … found karakia an intrinsic part of any Māori gathering,
> and particularly afterwards if we had been talking about issues like
> child abuse, suicide, those sorts of topics. It was always appropriate
> to bring the talent out and back down into reality with a karakia.

Te Kāea reporter Mere McLean also used karakia to address breaches of tapu or tikanga:

> To get things done, you have to be a journalist, but … some of the
> things that you have to do to get your job done does, in my opinion,
> cross tikanga. And I've broken tikanga so many times and thought,
> 'Oh my god!'

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[43] As a researcher, I also took the lead from those I was with. For example, after I arrived to interview a journalist, she delivered a Christian karakia, asking for blessings upon the interview "kia pai ai te rere o te wairua" [to ensure a positive mood between us]. Later, she said that she was feeling anxious about being interviewed and delivered the karakia as a way to create a focused, positive atmosphere between us.

As a response, she said, "I usually would do a karakia for me, and for my cameraman … or I would go to the river to iriiri me [sprinkle water] just to safeguard me."

MTS reporter Semiramis Holland used karakia for protection and to regain her equilibrium when reporting on the fatal police shooting of Anthony Ratahi in 2014 (Holland, 2011); (see also p. 35). The family believed the shooting was unwarranted, and asked her to film Anthony's body and its wounds: Police-dog bites and a fatal gunshot wound through the left eye. When she first saw the body, Semiramis felt the need to do a protective karakia. She generally does karakia to her nan and koro [grandmother and grandfather], and such was the case here: "Words of protection, bless the family, please help them through this." The benefit, she said, was:

> It put me at ease … it felt like I was protected spiritually, mentally, physically, because I knew it was going to be a very long night.
> Actually, I think I knew it was going to be a very long week.

And so it proved. Semiramis attended the three-day funeral on the family's marae, eating with the family and helping out in the kitchen while she awaited permission to interview Anthony's daughters. Semiramis felt fine while on the marae, she said, but back in her motel room, unease settled. The sight of Anthony's body played on her mind – the tapes were in cases in her room for safekeeping – and she felt her spiritual health was being affected:

> I was doing hard-out karakia, I was not sleeping, had the lights on, getting frights, sprinkling water all over the tapes … I just felt a bit more comfortable with cleansing the tapu away a little bit.

6.8.1   The Māori Television morning karakia

A number of journalists at Māori Television talked about the value of the voluntary morning karakia session, which took place just before 9 am every day. It was instigated by Pouroto Ngaropo, the head of people, language and culture from 2015 to 2018, and aimed to support tikanga Māori in the workplace. Staff members gathered, standing, in the open space between the kitchen facilities and the seating area. In the context of MTS, said Pouroto in an interview, the karakia acted to clear the way for staff and to keep them safe. "If there's anything that they have on them that's heavy, that it will be cleared." Pou usually started, and the karakia he used most often is one believed to

have been recited by Hoturoa, the captain of the migratory Tainui waka, to ensure a safe landing as it approached the shores of present-day Auckland.

Staff, both men and women, took turns to recite karakia, and shared those of their various faiths. I attended several sessions, which each lasted about 10 minutes, and heard karakia from Ringatū, Christian and Pai Mārire faiths.[44]

Karakia are a powerful force in news editor Gloria Taumaunu's life, and she goes to every karakia session she can:

> I love it and I attend because number one, he ātaahua āna karakia [Pouroto's karakia are beautiful]. Actually, his very first karakia here, I felt ... like I had been in a pure [purification], and my wairua [spirit, soul] was so positive the whole day afterwards. And it just set me on the right course that day. That's why I attend karakia.

Hearing the different karakia is also "an enrichening experience":

> Sharing the knowledge is, I think, about enlightening yourself to those cultural differences. Ahakoa he Māori, he Māori tahi tātou, nō waka kē [although we are all Māori, we are from different canoes (faiths)] and I think there's beauty in that.

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[44] Ringatū and Pai Mārire combine both Christian and Māori beliefs. Both were founded during the turmoil of the 1860s, when the government was systematically alienating iwi from their lands (Stenhouse & Paterson, 2004).

Chapter 7: The influence of tapu and noa in newswork

7.1   Introduction

Tapu, a state of being set apart, and noa, to be free from restriction, or to be in a state of balance or neutrality (see p. 34) are potent forces in the Māori world (Mead, 2003), and they are often important considerations in Māori newswork for both personal and professional reasons. Many of the places and events that journalists report on involve tapu, which places constraints on all present. Although the word tapu is often translated as sacred, this doesn't quite capture its essence. Something tapu has a value that must be respected:

> It places a sanction on a person, an object or a place. Tapu is largely a matter for the individual because it requires protective and disciplinary responses. It is more than mere native superstition, it acts as a means of social control (Tauroa & Tauroa, 2009, p. 151).

To break the conventions of ritual under tapu is to invite misfortune (Manihera & Pēwhairangi, 1992; Marsden, 2003; Shirres, 1997). RNZ reporter Justine Murray said that during her childhood, the tapu areas of the marae were "really drummed into us kids." She added:

> We didn't realise as young kids that it was tikanga; it was just a way of doing things. Getting older you start to ask the 'why' questions and learn about te ao wairua [the spiritual world].

Te Karere reporter Irena Smith said that her mother raised her to have a strong sense of tapu and noa:

> You don't cut your nails at night time, don't cut your hair at night time … your head is extremely sacred, you don't let people just touch your head and play with your hair. Some people might see those as … things that aren't really needed in this day and age, but I guess that's how she was taught, so she passed those down to me.

As an explanation, in times gone by, there was a belief that if you cut your nails or hair at night, you might not see where the pieces went and they might be taken by a malevolent person to use against you (August, 2004; Mead, 2003). The head is sacred because it contains the vulnerable brain, and the tapu serves as a warning to take care (Hooker, 2008). In adulthood, Irena is still careful to keep tapu and noa separate, but

doesn't observe other tikanga to the extent that her mother had, "because I think it's up to me".

In places run on tikanga, the separation of tapu and noa remain important. At Māori Television, all staff, whether Māori or not, are expected to observe tapu and noa, said news editor Gloria Taumaunu. "Things like sitting on tables, and hairbrushes on tables, keeping those boundaries between tapu and noa – that's very important here." She occasionally comes across people who don't observe these tikanga or are unaware of them, and takes a gentle approach to raising awareness:

> My attitude is one of educating them rather than growling them. That's tikanga Māori as well – me manaaki te tangata, me manaaki hoki te hunga kūare [we must be kind to people and support those who are ignorant].

In the field, journalists sometimes find themselves in situations where they have to weigh up tapu and newswork. As an example, carved meeting houses under construction are tapu and women, being a source of noa in this context, are barred from going in until completion (Mead, 2003). *The Hui* reporter Raiha Johns, sent to cover an incomplete whare whakairo, needed shots of the carvers at work inside but would not enter it herself:

> Ko ngā tapu o te wāhine me te tapu o ngā tāne, kia kaua e miki rapu, kei takahi i te taha wairua o te whare, o ngā whakairo o ngā tūpuna.

> [You must not mix the tapu of men and women, lest you trample the spiritual essence of the house and the carvings of the ancestors].

Raiha sent in her male camera operator while she waited in the carpark. On another occasion, she wouldn't enter a burial cave that still contained bones: "That to me is tapu, so I didn't go in." Her cameraman was Samoan and "had no qualms" about entering. In contrast, MTS reporter Wepiha Te Kanawa went into a burial cave for a story (p. 166) but only after reciting a karakia. Although both reporters perceived these places to be tapu and that they needed to protect themselves, they had different ways of balancing their spiritual beliefs with the need to get the reporting done.

Certain cultural practices are tapu and journalists are often not permitted to record them, particularly karakia recited in formal settings such as tā i te kawa, the ceremony

held at dawn to lift tapu from a new building. *Te Karere* reporter Kereama Wright explained why:

> The tohunga [experts] don't like being recorded because they have concerns or fears that some people will try and learn their karakia through that recording ... along with those karakia come tikanga, and some of them are incantations and there could be a spiritual and physical threat to someone who does not learn them properly. So it's about protecting themselves and protecting others.

When a new museum at the Waitangi Treaty Grounds was opened in a dawn ceremony in 2016, organisers asked media not to record a specific karakia. For RNZ's Shannon Haunui-Thompson, compliance was automatic: "If someone doesn't want something recorded or taken pictures of, it's not an issue." However, TVNZ's Arana Taumata said that it could be frustrating being unable to film, as house openings made for beautiful images. He has sometimes been able to negotiate filming snippets of sacred karakia as background audio only. If he can't, he won't record them at all, and not just to conform to host wishes: "I don't want to muck around with that sort of stuff [tapu]".

In her career, RNZ journalist Ana Tapiata has been asked not to record karakia, iwi stories and the recitation of genealogies. Such information is generally collectively-held within a tribe, she said, and an individual might not have the right to make it public. "I think that from a Māori point of view, not all information is everybody's information," she said. "In mainstream, the idea is that 'I'm entitled to everything', whereas in Māoridom that's not true". Tribal entities are oriented to, and responsible to, their own people and cultural practices, rather than the wider Māori or public sphere.

7.2   Pōwhiri

The observance of tikanga is most critical on marae, particularly when many people are present to take part in formal rituals of encounter. The most important of these is the pōwhiri. Most often, pōwhiri preface the newsworthy activity for which reporters are present, but at times they are the story, particularly when overseas celebrities popular with Māori are welcomed to the country.[45] In the past, people arriving at a

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[45] See, for example, the pōwhiri for American celebrity Oprah Winfrey in December 2015 (https://www.maoritelevision.com/news/national/exclusive-oprah-winfrey-bonds-maori-orakei-marae) and that for Barack Obama in March 2018 (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z-DiqqHF06A).

marae might have peaceful or hostile intent; pōwhiri processes discerned that intent and provided a space for controlled discussion. Pōwhiri encapsulate a highly tapu set of processes that have persisted, unchanged, for hundreds of years; they "mediate the coming together of two sets of tapu and mana, the tapu and mana of the tangata whenua [the local people] and the tapu and mana of the manuhiri" (Duncan & Rewi, 2018a, p. 124).

As a ritual, a pōwhiri passes from tapu to noa. The karanga, or female call that summons visitors, calls forth the dead and the state of tapu, and that tapu remains on all throughout the oratory and waiata that follow. At the conclusion of speeches, noa, or "a state of balance" (Mead, 2003, p. 118) is reached with the hongi, the ceremonial nose-press and exchange of breath that symbolically unites hosts and guests. At this point, participants can interact normally and visitors are able to move around the marae. As cooked food is noa, sharing food concludes the ritual, which could take several hours (Salmond, 2004; Tauroa & Tauroa, 2009).

The reporters in this study said they had a cultural duty to follow marae protocol to the best of their ability while on the job. To formally enter a marae under the gaze of the locals was colloquially called "going on"; reporters would usually enter a pōwhiri with the main group for whom the pōwhiri was being held. Going on was particularly important when a journalist was visiting a marae for the first time. Newcomers were called waewae tapu, which means feet set apart; this placed tapu on them that had to be neutralised through ritual (Mead, 2003; Salmond, 2004). RNZ's Justine Murray said that waewae tapu "need to make that transformation tapu-noa" and she stressed that in engaging in ritual, a reporter is not merely an individual doing a job:

> It's not just me going into a marae. It's my whakapapa, my genealogy, my tūpuna … I am not only bringing my physical ā-tinana [body] to the marae, but I'm bringing in my wairua as well as my ancestors'.

For TVNZ's Kereama Wright, the very nature of pōwhiri – to clear the way between peoples – is a good way for a journalist to remove any "negativity" or "spiritual obstacles" that might exist between the parties and "ensure that our first contact is on positive terms". There is value in hosts seeing reporters adhering to protocol: "I think they respect the fact that we're going through those practices ... sometimes it has been the key to getting in there for a story. In other cases, not so much."

7.3 Tapu and time

However, journalists said they often attended pōwhiri with concerns about having enough time to balance formalities and interviews. MTS journalist Renee Kahukura-Iosefa recalled that when she was a junior reporter, she entered a marae as waewae tapu, following her beliefs, but the pōwhiri took so long that she missed her deadline. Back in the office, a superior told her that when attending an event on a marae, she was there as a reporter and didn't have time to sit through formalities. His advice was to perform a short karakia to spiritually clear the way before entering the marae, a strategy she adopted and which she has seen others use.

Conversely, turning up at an unfamiliar marae one day to find that there was no process made RNZ journalist Justine Murray deeply uncomfortable. Although she was waewae tapu, the hosts dispensed with tikanga and took her straight onto the marae. Justine felt that the situation, which she characterised as "not a good space to be in", affected the quality of her work:

> At the start of that interview, I didn't feel good, and in fact, when I listen back, I can tell in the way I'm interviewing. Maybe it's nerves, because I knew that I had been on their marae ... without being accorded the tikanga.

Once back in her car, Justine opened a bottle of water and sprinkled some drops over herself as she recited a karakia. She was trying to stem the conflict she felt between her identity as Māori and her role as journalist:

> That is an example of me having to walk a tightrope as both producer and Justine, because I needed to leave that place with my story, but in order to get that story I had to go against my beliefs and my own way of how I practise tōku Tauranga Moanatanga [my tribal practices].

However, she wasn't passing judgement on the marae: "Kāore ahau i te whakawā, i te whakaiti i te tangata [I'm not judging or disparaging others] but some people ... practise differently than what I'm used to ... I sometimes have a little internal battle with myself." Justine said that she has done karakia in similar work-related circumstances "about five times maybe".

Like Justine, MTS reporter Mere McLean believes that newsworkers faced with a conflict between tikanga and their work have to take responsibility for themselves. Although Mere has been to nearly every marae in her region and is rarely waewae tapu, her camera operators are sometimes strangers at marae where no formalities are planned. She advises them to recite a protective karakia as they enter the marae: "I always tell them, 'Karakia! Karakia within yourself because within your karakia, you're protecting your mauri and within your mauri you're asking their ancestors if you could come on to their marae'." In her view, any breach of tikanga around entry to a marae has to be addressed: "If you don't take responsibility for yourself, don't blame the marae if something bad happened to you down the track."

However, three journalists rationalised that it was not necessary for them to be welcomed onto unfamiliar marae under spiritual protocol as they were a third party present to do a job. During fieldwork, TVNZ's Peata Melbourne did a story about a group of Auckland kaumātua who met at Hoani Waititi marae, a place where she saw herself as waewae tapu. She greeted the visitors waiting at the marae gate with a cheerful "Mōrena!" [Morning!], then entered the marae around the side before the karanga started. This was clearly not an issue for the hosts, who greeted her warmly. In explanation, Peata said, "they're not welcoming me on ... at the end of the day I have been asked to come and be here, so that's my invitation ... to be there without having to go through the formalities." As guests filed in the front door of the whare nui for whaikōrero, she entered by a side door.

A reporter who covered two tangi during fieldwork said that being given permission to attend them covered her as waewae tapu:

> For me, the first contact initially makes you noa, whether you've gone to the marae or not ... once you have the approval of the whānau pani, you have the covering ... you're there to do this part of the job.

Again, this appeared to pose no issue for the hosts. A third reporter said she would never skirt pōwhiri for time reasons as a private individual, but newswork forced compromises. However, in fieldwork, journalists who skipped pōwhiri still followed the tikanga that they could control, such as taking their shoes off in a whare nui and remaining seated while a speech was in train. This approach can be seen, perhaps, as a

tikanga of convenience – avoiding the activities that would hold journalists up, but acknowledging tikanga where performance rested with the individual. We will return to this issue in the Discussion section (p. 227).

7.4   Māori hat, journalist hat

A journalist attending a pōwhiri is not expected to speak and/or give an account of themselves; their presence is invariably pre-arranged and, as earlier noted, journalists usually enter with the primary guests. However, TVNZ's Kereama Wright twice found himself in the position of having to deliver a speech because there were no men among the manuwhiri [guests] who could do so. Here, his Māori identity was foregrounded over his journalistic identity by the need to uphold tikanga.

The first occasion was in Minginui, a remote settlement in the eastern North Island, where Kereama was covering the visit of two government ministers (Wright, 2013b).[46] As he was waewae tapu, he went into the marae at the back of the government party. A kaikaranga or ceremonial caller from the host marae led the group on, a move that is not unusual when a visiting group doesn't have the skill among its number. But there were no Māori-speaking orators among the government party – a serious oversight, as speakers can't be provided by the hosts. Kereama knew something was wrong when the hosts, having completed their speeches, looked expectantly across at the guests: "Everyone looked down the line and I was the end of the line! My own tikanga would suggest don't get up, me noho wahangū [stay silent] because my father's still alive, and he wasn't there."

As explanation, the roles of kaikaranga [caller] and kaikōrero [orator] are reserved for the oldest in a whakapapa, whether parents, uncles or aunts, or older siblings or cousins (Rewi, 2010). But Kereama didn't feel he could do nothing: "I felt it would be inappropriate for the Government ministers to arrive in Minginui and have no kaikōrero. So I got up and did a whaikōrero ... and kind of was the spokesperson for the Crown."

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[46] Wright, K. (2013, September 10). Impoverished Māori community gets visit from ministers. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7paC-RktlNU

82In speaking for the ill-prepared government party, Kereama was not identifying with them. However, he was ensuring that tikanga was upheld, and, by extension, the mana of the Crown:

> You did what needed to be done. You can always take off your reporter's hat, but you can never take off your Māori hat. That was a perfect example of i haere Māori atu i te tuatahi [one is Māori first].

A similar situation arose a year later. Kereama covered a murder that sparked inter-gang feuding. On the day of the burial, Kereama was the only journalist allowed on the marae where the final service was to be held, but again, there was no orator among the guests. He felt that he had to stand and deliver a speech to maintain tikanga. At that point, he did not have permission to film, and had been intending to ask the family for its assent after the pōwhiri. But as Kereama stood, he changed his mind:

> I felt that it would be more appropriate to lay my tono [request] to the whānau, for us to film the rā nehu [day of burial], on the marae ātea as opposed to going and talking to them privately. It was out there, so the whānau could hear, and the hapū and the iwi could hear.

Kereama upheld tikanga by performing the role that no one else could, but made the most of the situation to make his request. After the pōwhiri, his request was declined, but Kereama stayed for the service. Later, back in the office, he did a live cross to *Te Karere*. Kereama began by thanking the two tribes to whom the marae belonged for letting him stay (Wright, 2014a), a demonstration of manaakitanga.[47]

7.5 Pulling people out of ceremonial occasions

Although pōwhiri-related time pressures could be mitigated with careful pre-planning, that wasn't always possible, and reporters sometimes had to ask someone to come out of a pōwhiri or hui for interview. *Te Karere* veteran Hinerangi Goodman had no compunction:

> I do it in the most feared iwi, Tūhoe, but they know who I am, and they know I know our tikanga, and they know I have a job, too, they know I have deadlines. I always say, 'Aroha mai, mōhio ana koe ā te

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[47] Wright, K. (2014, July 18). Joe Collier laid to rest. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gof4uOJ7SIU

whā karaka te kaupapa nei' [I'm sorry, but you know the show's at 4pm] ... and they never question me or tell me to go away.

However, not all reporters had her social capital or confidence. Approaching someone during a formal event risked causing offence. MTS's Oriini Kaipara reflected that as a junior reporter, "it took a lot of courage, for me to ... just pull them out and say, 'I need you to talk to me now'." Interrupting made her uncomfortable, as her upbringing had taught her to be patient.

A common thread throughout this study was that time pressures saw reporters cut corners on tikanga all the time, but it was important to mitigate this by acknowledging it to other parties. "Short-cuts are being made every day, every hour," said MTS's Gloria Taumaunu, "but the thing is ... you're upfront with whatever your transgression was. You ask them for their forgiveness." She cited cutting whakawhanaungatanga short as an example:

> Like when you're ringing a whaea [older woman] to be a talent on a story, and she'll want to know are you married, where you're from, how many kids you've got ... and you have to go, 'Aroha mai Nan, hoi anō he poto te wā ki a tāua' [sorry, Nan, but we have very little time]. I always felt so rude on the phone because the reality is, five minutes max is the amount of time I can give to each phone call.

It's the nature of the news business, she said, that "tika and pono gets pushed out the door when ... your atua [god] becomes time and story and news." However, journalists in this study noted that Māori were becoming more accommodating as they became familiar with journalists' work: "They're a lot more lenient with us now than they used to be," said *Te Karere* reporter Peata Melbourne. MTS journalist Mere McLean reported that in her region, marae were so used to her being unable to stay for post-pōwhiri meals that they usually bagged food for her to take away.

7.6 Tapu, tikanga and the framing of shots

Tapu can also apply to the framing of shots, and here the prime consideration is viewer reception. *The Hui* producer Annabelle Lee-Mather was among a number of reporters who said they avoided shots that cut off the tops of interviewees' heads:

> He tapu te mahunga o te tangata [the head is tapu] and I know that some people are particularly sensitive around that sort of stuff. So I

try to encourage our cameras, certainly when I am out on a shoot,
not to completely cut off [the head].

MTS's Gloria Taumaunu says that the ideal frame was what she called "the Māori TV frame" with "a lot of headroom". However, by the time subtitles and/or keys were inserted on a medium close-up with headroom, they could obscure the lower face, as in the screen grab below:
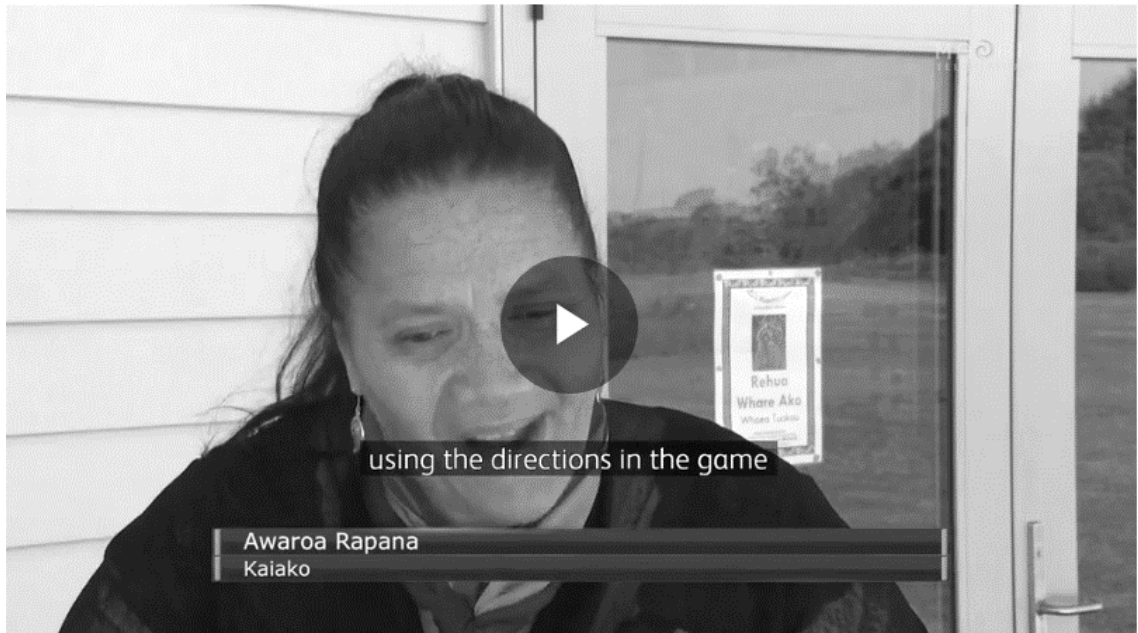
Figure 10. The Māori TV frame

Source: *Te Kāea*, December 7, 2018.

Subtitles obscuring the lower face is an aesthetic issue rather than a cultural one. Pulling back a little, while not going to a full medium shot, gives better headroom and space for subtitles and captions, as below:

Figure 11. Framing to fit subtitles and captions

Source: *Te Kāea*, Wednesday January 2, 2019.

At the time of writing, framing the head so it remained whole wasn't a practice universally followed in Māori-language television news, as a viewing of January 2019 *Te Karere* and *Te Kāea* bulletins showed.

Several journalists raised the issue of separating life and death on screen as well as in life. Former MTS head of news Julian Wilcox avoided framing an interviewee with a picture of the dead in shot unless the deceased was the subject of the story. He also kept food and images of the dead apart.

Although a marae is at once a private and public space, it is a negotiated space for journalists. Reporters were often unable to film the insides of whare nui if photos of the deceased would be captured. In the face of restrictions, said TVNZ's Peata Melbourne, "we just find a way to work around it … it's about being considerate". However, some situations left few options. MTS journalist Semiramis Holland found herself at a tangi where the deceased was lying in a whare nui with photos on all four walls, none of which could be filmed. Semiramis said she couldn't afford to be frustrated: "I just stuck to whatever they agreed to; I couldn't do anything about it."

On many marae, tikanga dictates that the door to the whare nui must be open when people are present to show that visitors are welcome, and several reporters raised a tikanga-led filming practice that they had learned at Māori Television: If a whare nui is

in shot, its door should be open. MTS's Gloria Taumaunu said that she expected reporters to take care not to shoot closed doors, expecting them to either find a keyholder to open it or choose another background. To her, a closed door sends the message that "you're stealing in, you're not going there in an open way and an official way … you're not there with permission". However, it is unknown at present how widespread this practice is across the Māori media sector.

7.7   Tapu, tikanga and non-Māori camera operators

During fieldwork, it was notable how many of the camera operators were older Pākehā men. This was particularly obvious at state broadcaster TVNZ, where *Te Karere* and mainstream news staff share camera resources; 85% of TVNZ's field camera operators are male, and of that group, just a handful identify as Maori. The age and sex profile is historical: Many cameramen have been with the state broadcaster since its inception (B. McAnulty, personal communication, February 22, 2019). However, fieldwork showed that Māori Television also used non-Māori camera operators, among them Pākehā and Pacific Islanders. This raises an issue unique to reo-Māori newsgathering: The responsibility that falls on journalists to ensure that camera operators don't breach tikanga and upset hosts. MTS reporter Oriini Kaipara said:

> Most Pākehā crew don't know tikanga Māori or te ao Māori. They don't get trained on tikanga or kawa … it's always up to the reporter to teach, tell, or remind crew of tikanga and kawa. There have been a couple of times where I've had to pull up a cameraman because he's casually walking across the ātea during whaikōrero [across the lawn in front of the meeting house during speeches] or is filming where he shouldn't be, after I've clearly instructed him not to.[48]

TVNZ's Peata Melbourne said that many of the non-Māori cameramen she worked with understood in broad terms what they could and couldn't do, but she still monitored them. Behaviour on marae didn't go unnoticed, and she didn't want her station to get a reputation, even accidentally, for having staff who trampled tikanga.

Dawn ceremonies could be difficult for camera operators, as bright lights were generally prohibited. MTS's Oriini Kaipara said she "gently" reminded camera operators of the rules: "Don't go in front of the tohunga [priest], do not film the

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[48] At pōwhiri, the space between hosts and guests during oratory is tapu, and no one is to walk in between the groups.

karakia … and please *do not* turn your light on." Still, the message didn't always get through or impatience took over. Oriini recalled a cameraman at a dawn ceremony turning his light on, directly at an elder who had begun to chant:

> I couldn't believe it! I was in shock more than anything, thinking 'Really?!' … I was so ashamed. I heard some of the nannies saying, 'Wī! Ki a koe hoki!' [Heck! What the hell are you doing?] 'Whose is that cameraman?' 'Where are they from?'

Oriini couldn't call out to the camera operator while the karakia was underway, so waved her arms until he noticed her. However, she understood the issues: "It is hard when that cameraman has another shoot to get to, because you're sharing resources and there are at least three other reporters waiting for them to go film. It's hard on everyone." A number of reporters in this study said that they tried to book tikanga-literate Māori camera operators for marae-based events to reduce the risk of embarrassment.

7.8   Covering tangihanga

Tangihanga are among the most unchanged of Māori rituals. They generally last three days, with the tūpāpuku [body] welcomed on the first day with a pōwhiri, then lying in state until the third day, when farewells are made. In between there are songs, haka, tears, meals, whaikōrero and pōwhiri for arriving groups. Visually, tangi are arresting and staples of Māori news, but they can present challenges for reporters: They are times of increased tapu, heightened emotion and many guests, some of whom might not appreciate the presence of journalists.

Although some reporters would bypass general pōwhiri formalities if they were short of time, as discussed earlier, the consensus was that with tangi, reporters should go on not just for their own tikanga but as a sign of respect for the deceased, who was their story. *Te Karere* reporter Hinerangi Goodman was among those who went on, even if she knew the host marae well. Otherwise, she said, "he haere pēnei i te whānako … it's like a thief in the night; you're going to get the story and didn't even pay your respects." MTS's Semiramis Holland spoke similarly, using a mouse simile:

> You cannot be labelled a kiore [mouse] in Māoridom. You need to be seen to be paying your respects first, to the tūpāpaku, before you can do anything else on that marae. It's just how it is. And you don't want

that label when you're out and about in the community, especially the Māori community, or they won't let you back on. Your face will get remembered. They're watching. Māori are watching you very closely, and so you need to be seen to be adhering to tikanga.

The Hui reporter Raiha Johns also went on if she was covering a tangi, aware that she was representing not just her employer, but her family:

> Outside of my mahi [work], I have whakapapa and I have my own mana and so do my parents and my grandparents, and so if I'm seen to be disrespectful, or mēnā kei te hē taku kawe i a au i roto i ērā ao, ka hoki ērā kōrero ka whakamā i tō whānau, kāore e kore [or if I don't behave appropriately in these places, it will come back and doubtless embarrass my family].

However, there were times when reporters just didn't have time. *Te Karere* head Arana Taumata used karakia to settle his wairua, particularly when he found himself with too little time to go through the formalities. "These are the dilemmas you have to face as a Māori journalist." He did a personal karakia to acknowledge the tūpāpaku "for my own protection ... as we know, the tangihanga is probably the most tapu event and so I was always acutely aware of that, and that's not something that can be trifled with". He would also apologise to the hosts, saying that while their story was important, to show it to the world he had to meet a deadline. Asked how hosts responded, he said, "That's the beautiful thing about our people. Gosh, I couldn't think of one person that was offended by it."

7.8.1 What can be filmed?

Tangi are generally held with the casket open, but all the reporters said general practice was not to broadcast any images of the body; showing the coffin or part of it was generally permissible. At most tangi, the coffin lies flat on the floor of the porch or inside the whare and is constantly surrounded by whānau, so it is easy enough to film and still hide the face of the deceased.

Marae haven't always been so open to tangi being filmed. MTS producer Hone Edwards was at *Te Karere* when it started filming tangi in the 1980s:

> People just freaked ... it wasn't so much seeing us and the camera crews at tangis, it was seeing it on air that night ... everything just slammed shut, because Māoridom were trying to, I think, then,

ascertain to what extent they would allow that kind of exposure on issues that were kind of sacrosanct.

However, as tikanga, technology and broadcasting have found an accommodation with each other, Māori have become more willing to have reporters document funerals and broadcast them live. Any conceptual barriers to broadcasting tangi appeared to fall in 2006, when the final day of the tangi for Dame Te Atairangikaahu, the sixth Māori monarch, was broadcast live on Television New Zealand and Māori Television. The "tele-tangi" was visually compelling and attracted more than 430,000 viewers (NZ On Screen, n.d.).

Since then, the tangi of many other notables have been livestreamed, and a large driver has been to allow participation by those who can't be present or live overseas.[49] As an example, the live-stream of the 2013 tangi of popular Parliamentarian Parekura Horomia drew 29,000 log-ins from 103 different countries (Newshub, 2013; RNZ, 2013). An important point about livestreaming tangi is that they capture the very best speakers and performers, so play an important role in presenting exemplars of language and culture.

However, journalists have sometimes been criticised for their tangi coverage, said TVNZ's Kereama Wright, and he felt that was misplaced. "Tangihanga is a completely normal practice," he said. "Our kids grow up around tūpāpaku, we have open caskets for days. So why are we as Māori media being criticised for showing the practice that is completely normal to Māori on television?"

7.8.2 Interviewing the family of the bereaved

Another contentious issue in Māori journalism is whether reporters should speak to direct relatives of the deceased at tangi. Close blood relatives of the deceased, called kirimate, are under the tapu of death and are left to grieve (Mead, 2003). A common tikanga is that three generations around the deceased do not speak publicly (Kāretu, 2010; Rewi, 2005; Kelly, 2015), and for many years those people would not speak to

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[49] It is estimated that nearly one in five Māori live outside New Zealand, and a significant share are foreign-born (National Institute of Demographic and Economic Analysis, n.d.).

reporters either. However, in the past decade, that had changed, said MTS's Hone Edwards:

> It's happened because media, both Māori and mainstream, have approached the kirimate for comment and in their state of mourning (they) have accepted the responsibility to speak publicly … the media approach has forced their hand to discuss the achievements of their family members, especially if that person was a public figure.

After politician Parekura Horomia died in office in 2013, Kereama Wright asked if a member of the family might be interviewed for *Te Karere*, and was surprised to be directed to the family. One of Parekura's brothers agreed to an interview, given the interest in Parekura's life. "I was surprised," recalled Kereama, "but I took the opportunity" (Wright, 2013a).[50]

However, such interviews remain rare enough that reporters may explain why they have come to pass. For example, when *Te Kāea* reporter Maiki Sherman covered the tangi of Ngāti Hine leader Erima Henare, his son Peeni, a Parliamentarian, was interviewed. The report (Sherman, 2015) explained why:

> (Reporter voice-over) Ehara i te tikanga e kitea whānuitia ana, arā, kia whakapuaki kōrero te kirimate. Heoi ko tā Ngāti Hine he poipoi i ana uri kia tū pakari ai rātou ki ngā take katoa. He tauira o te kāwai whakapapa i ahu mai ai a Erima Henare.
>
> [Subtitles: It's unusual for the immediate bereaved family to speak. However, Ngāti Hine believes it's important to raise their descendants to stand strong on all matters. It's an example of the prestigious lineage of which Erima Henare is a descendant].
>
> (Grab, Hirini Henare, an elder): Kāhore mātou āwangawanga ki tērā mō Ngāti Hine tīmata mātou o mātou tamariki kia tū pakari rātou heoi anō i a mātou i konei koia tō mātou hiahia tū mai.
>
> [Grab, Hirini Henare, an elder: We are not concerned by that, as we of Ngāti Hine teach our children to stand strong. So on this occasion we want them to do the same].[51]

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[50] Wright, K. (2013, May 1). Parekura Horomia's brother talks about upbringing. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I8e-leWDRfI

[51] Sherman, M. (2015, May 8). Ka mihi atu te whānau o Erima Henare ki te motu mō te āwhina i a rātou. Retrieved from https://teaomaori.news/mi/ka-mihi-atu-te-whanau-o-erima-henare-ki-te-motu-mo-te-awhina-i-ratou

It appears that this tribe doesn't adhere to the tikanga of kirimate as do others, for the reason cited above. However, the reporter was aware that as the tikanga of silence was widely known, a departure needed to be explained.

MTS reporter Mere McLean was torn over interviewing kirimate. As a journalist, she wanted to talk to someone as close as possible to the deceased: "That is the scoop." But as a Māori, "I don't want to do that, lest I trample the mana of that family. But with my reporter's hat on, I have to ask the question ... in my opinion, that's breaking tikanga." In the past, she had often sought an interview from a designated spokesperson, but now went straight to a family member to ask. She felt that most of the people who agreed to be interviewed were aware of the tikanga of kirimate, but put it aside for what they perceived as a greater need:

> Maybe they feel this death can teach other people something.
> Usually the families that have experienced suicide are the ones that
> would kōrero to me, because ... they don't want ... another family to
> go through it.

In contrast, TVNZ's Kereama Wright wondered if kirimate remaining silent was an outdated tikanga. He also observed that mainstream reporters who talked to relatives of a deceased were not criticised by viewers, but Māori reporters often were. "I don't understand our people," he said. "It's not okay for us to do a story and interview kirimate, but our people still read the story that the Pākehā did with the grabs from the kirimate." This sentiment arose several times in discussion with journalists: Pākehā reporters were assumed to be ignorant of tikanga, so they got away with things that, done by Māori journalists, earned a reprimand.

7.9   Interaction 1: Dealing with death on Kawe Kōrero – Reporters

As we have seen, the presence of death brings a high level of tapu; invoking the dead requires that they are separated from the living with an appropriate farewell (Mead, 2003; Rewi, 2010); see p. 122. In this interaction, we explore what happens when death is invoked live in a television studio and the linguistic and cultural resources journalists draw on to create separation, farewell the dead and settle themselves.

7.9.1 Setting and context

Kawe Kōrero – Reporters was a "pacey news talk show" that ran for a half-hour on weekday evenings on Māori Television from 2016-2018 (MTS, 2016, para. 7). MTS journalists discussed the news circulating on social media, with interviewees brought into the studio using video chat applications. The host was Kawe Roes, and the show's title was more than a play on his first name. Kawe as a verb means to carry, convey, take or bear, and the word kōrero means to speak. In te reo Māori, one of the words for reporter is kaikawekōrero; the prefix kai- indicates a role or job, so the compound kai + kawe + kōrero means the person who brings the news. Kawe was joined each night by a rotating panel of two senior reporters from the newsroom; all three questioned interviewees and shared opinions. They spoke only te reo Māori between each other on screen, and the show was allowed no more than two interviews per show in English.

On March 1, 2017, Kawe (K in Figure. 12, the transcript that follows) was joined by reporter Peata Melbourne (P) and news editor Gloria Taumaunu (G). That night, *Kawe Kōrero – Reporters* was less light and bright than usual, with reports of a death and a funeral taking up the first half (Edwards, 2017).[52] High-profile netballer Tania Dalton had died that morning from a brain aneurysm, aged 45. Although Pākehā, Dalton was well-known in the Māori world, where netball is the dominant women's sport. The show had a representative of Netball New Zealand speaking in English about Dalton's legacy and a Māori doctor speaking in te reo about brain aneurysms. The funeral was for the Queen Mother of Tonga, 90-year-old Halaevalu Mata'aho, who had died in Auckland 10 days previously; her body had been taken back to Tonga for burial.[53] A pre-recorded interview with a reporter in Tonga, in English, described the Queen Mother's funeral. Once the interview ended, Kawe turned to the camera and delivered a mihi mate then a mihi ora (see p. 122):

> E ngā mate, haere atu rā. Ki te ao mārama, e hoa mā. Ā muri ake i te
> pūreirei whakamatua, ka hoki mai anō mātou ki te matapaki marau.

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[52] Edwards, H. (Producer). (2017, March 1). Kawe Kōrero – Reporters. Retrieved from https://www.maoritelevision.com/shows/kawekorero/S02E003/kawe-korero-reporters-series-2-episode-3
[53] Tonga is a Polynesian nation with close cultural and social ties to Aotearoa New Zealand, particularly between the royal family of Tonga and the Kīngitanga; this is why the funeral was relevant.

[Translation: You the dead, go to your rest. Now to the world of the light, my friends. After the ad break, we'll be back to discuss more topics].

The show's theme music ran for six seconds. As it ended, Kawe, his upper body shivering and his expression one of distaste, raised his hands and turned them inwards, towards his body, then flicked them outwards, palms facing outward, three times as if flicking something unwanted off them.

While he was doing this, Peata's eyes were fixed on the iPad on the desk in front of her. Kawe's gesture attracted her attention, and she turned her head and raised her gaze to him. Kawe said to her, "Been like having a tangihanga angle"; at the first word, Peata smiled at him briefly. She was still smiling as she turned her head away from him, towards the floor manager, who was standing to her far left, and gazed at him as she said, "Was a bit, eh?"

Kawe remarked to the room, "Was heavy for part one," grimacing momentarily as he finished. At the same time, Peata, her words overlapping with Kawe's, said, "just death, death, death", all at the same pitch but her last word substantially louder. At the first "death" she still appeared to be holding the floor manager's gaze; at the second iteration, she dropped her gaze to the desk.

Gloria had been silent to this point. As Peata said "death" the first time, Gloria, expressionless and with her eyes downcast, raised her right hand, palm towards her and the hand cupped, and mimed throwing or flicking something over her head, opening her fingers as she did so. She did this five times in all, her arm moving right side/across the body to the left side/right side/right side/right side.

At this point, the show was still in an ad break. As Gloria was finishing her gesture, Kawe turned his head and glanced briefly across at her. As he turned his head back, he started saying, "Ashes to ashes, dust to dust, that is us, let's get to kapa haka (the next item)." On the first "ashes", he flicked his right arm and hand out in front of him as if he were brushing something away, then on the first "dust" raised his left forearm to repeat the gesture. His gaze followed his hands. The exchange ended there as the floor manager posed a technical question to the reporters. The ad break ended and the show resumed.

Below is the transcript, with translations in italics.

1	K	e ngā mate haere atu rā *you the dead go to your rest*	
2		ki te ao mārama e hoa mā *to the world of light my friends*	
3		ā muri ake i te pūreirei whakamatua *after the ad break*	
4		.hh ka hoki mai anō mātou .hh *we'll be back*	
5		ki te matapaki marau *to discuss more topics*	
6		(0.6)	
7		((theme music 6.0))	
8	K	been like having a tangihanga angle	
9		(0.3)	
10	P	.hh was a bit eh?	
11		(1.80)	
12	K	[was heavy for part one]	
13	P	[°just death° death ↑<u>death</u>]	
14	K	hum ((groan, 0.48))	
15		(1.90)	
16	K	ashes to ashes dust to dust that is us	
17		let's get to kapa haka	
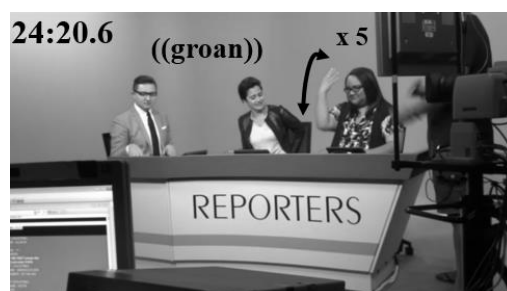
Figure 12. Transcript of Interaction 1: Death on *Kawe Kōrero – Reporters*

7.9.2 Addressing the dead and protecting the living

The phrase "You the dead go to your rest" (Figure 12, line 1) is a mihi mate, a greeting to the dead widely used in reo-Māori oratory (Barlow, 1991; King, 1992; Rewi, 2010; Salmond, 2004) that has been imported into Māori news (see also p. 122). In oratory, it is followed by a greeting to the living called a mihi ora, here "To the world of light my friends."

One sentence to the dead and one to the living is the minimum that can be said, and an acceptable solution here given the time constraints. The pairing reflects the Māori view that the physical world and the spiritual realm are integrated; in the spiritual world, the dead dwell alongside the atua [gods] (Barlow, 1991; Patterson, 1992; Pere, 1994), and this perspective explains the direct address.

According to *Kawe Kōrero – Reporters* producer Hone Edwards, inserting the mihi after stories involving deaths simply follows tikanga: "It's a clean delineation between dealing with the dead and dealing with the living". The mihi are "cultural stops" that keep staff safe, "because they have … strong spiritual beliefs, and I'm always aware of respecting those boundaries".

Hone does not script individual mihi mate/mihi ora for non-Māori, as to do so, he said, was not culturally appropriate; in this case, the deaths involved a Pākehā and a Tongan.[54] But to reflect tikanga for the benefit of both viewers and staff, both were acknowledged as well as the many dead who had gone before, and the focus returned to the living. Kawe said he had to find a way to balance the tone required of a mihi mate and the lighter aspect demanded by an outro:

> I was cognisant of the fact that I had to go from a tangihanga-mode voice that has a bit of sympathy in it, and once I had said (my mihi to the) hunga ora, jump into a bit more of a happier space that showed life, but not too much smile ... so it had the right synergy to go in with that whole segment.

But he didn't find the transition easy, and later explained what he was thinking as he prepared himself:

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[54] This contrasts with p. 149, where a news presenter chose to spontaneously deliver a mihi mate to a Pākehā.

I remember two things: Make sure I say 'marau' [topic] properly, and how heavy that kaupapa was ... we had started ... with Tania Dalton and then went on into the Queen Mother of Tonga passing, and I was like, 'Jeekers, hell, this is some pretty hard-core death stuff. This is some pretty tapu, toimaha [weighty]-type business', so I could feel my goose bumps and the hair around my head and my neck all standing to attention when I was doing 'haere ngā mate, rātou ki a rātou' [Go you dead, the dead to the dead]. And I think at that moment it sort of hit in that, 'Jeekers, you know, you're talking about dead people.'

7.9.3 Shaking off the mantle of death

While there is a certain individuality to all human speech and gesture, both modes are shaped by socialisation into shared cultural, gestural and linguistic codes (Gruber et al., 2016; Kendon, 2004; Metge & Kinloch, 2001; Tannen, 2009). Māori who live in a Māori way are "necessarily bicultural" (Holmes, 2003, p. 133) and navigate two worlds, one shaped by the Judaeo-Christian values brought with colonisation and the other by tikanga Māori (Holmes, 2005). While gestures in the Anglophone world have been well traversed, there has been no research on Māori gesture in talk-in-interaction.[55]

Symbolic gestures, such as pantomimes that signify action, are autonomous, can take the place of words, and act as a complete utterance in their own right (McNeill, 2006). In the studio, while the outro music was playing at volume, Kawe was unable to speak. But his grimace, coupled with the shivering upper body and the forelimb movements constituted an emotion-driven pantomime of unease.

Forelimb movements are the focus of gesture studies, and they fall into various families, characterised by distinct hand shapes and movements that bear a shared semantic theme (Kendon, 2004); these spontaneous gestures of the concrete world become metaphors communicating affect (Cienki & Müller, 2008). Kawe employed two gestures (images 2, 5) that both fall into the "away" family of gestures. Both create a symbolic "cleared body space" and communicate "negation, refusal or a negative assessment" (Müller, 2014, p. 145; Müller, Bressem, & Ladewig, 2013). The first of

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[55] The sole paper located on Māori gesture found that when reo-Māori speakers who practised haka [posture dance] were asked to retell a story – which is not talk-in-interaction – there was a prevalence of flat-handed motions, gestures of the head, and eyebrow flashes common to the art form (Gruber et al., 2016).

Kawe's gestures (image 2) is the brushing away, where the palms turn inwards towards the body and flick out from the wrist, in the way you might shoo away an insect. The brushing-away gesture signifies "getting rid of, removing and dismissing [an] annoying topic of talk by rapidly brushing it away" from the body (Müller, 2014, p. 145). Immediately following are two instances of "throwing away", where the palm faces downwards and the hand flaps downward from the wrist as if throwing something into a rubbish bin. In this gesture, "an imaginary topic of talk, sitting in the palm of the hand, is dismissed by throwing it away" (Müller et al., 2013, p. 721).

7.9.4 The "tangihanga angle"

In saying, "Been like having a tangihanga angle" (line 8), Kawe expressed his opinion that the show had contained too much death. Kawe's use of the Māori word tangihanga in an English sentence is a "very conspicuous" feature of New Zealand English (Kennedy & Yamazaki, 2000, p. 33); such code-switching among Maori speaking English is a marker of identity, but permits speakers to choose the most precise word when discussing Māori topics with other bilinguals (Deverson, 1991; Kennedy, 2001).[56] Indeed, the words tangihanga and funeral encode very different cultural approaches to farewelling the dead.

Peata responded to Kawe's statement "Been like having a tangihanga angle" with a tag question to the floor manager (line 10): "Was a bit eh?" (As she said this, she leaned forward to adjust the power pack attached to the waistband at the back of her trousers, as seen in images 3 to 5). A tag question is a declarative statement or imperative turned into a question by adding an interrogative fragment, and it is common in what Bell (1999) called Māori vernacular English; it also acts as a marker of in-group identity (Stubbe & Holmes, 1999). Bell (1999) suggests that "eh" can be non-questioning confirmation of what has just been said (as in "I think") or questioning ("Don't you think?" "Isn't it?") Here, it is the latter and is accompanied by another common feature of New Zealand English – the high rising intonation. This is more common among Māori than Pākehā (Bell, 1999; Britain, 1992), and here acts as a positive politeness marker that emphasises speaker-hearer solidarity (Britain, 1992;

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[56] The definition of what constitutes code-switching is an ongoing debate (Bullock & Toribio, 2009). Here, I define code-switching as encompassing a broad range of phenomena from the insertion of single words to the alternate use of two languages in longer stretches of conversation, both of which are common among bilingual speakers of English and Māori.

Meyerhoff, 1994). Taken together, the end tag and the rising intonation seek to establish empathy between Peata and her addressees in an affiliative conversational strategy; in this case, the trio in the studio, all of whom are feeling uncomfortable and expressing that in different ways.

Peata appears to address her question and her gaze to the floor manager, who can be seen on the right of images 3-5, in expectation of an answer. The "eh" and the intonation seems to form the first part of an adjacency pair – a question that seeks a response from the addressee that is reinforced by the gaze (Liddicoat, 2011). But the floor manager does not answer in what might otherwise have been a natural occurrence of turn-taking, as the 1.80 s gap shows (Jefferson, 1988). Silence of this length is significant as it suggests either reluctance to respond or indicates that the intended recipient's attention is elsewhere (Cappella, 1979; Jefferson, 1986, 1988). His gesture at the time, pointing to the iPad in front of Gloria, suggests he was focused on a technical issue and was waiting for a break in talk to raise it.

7.9.5   Filling the silence

Repair refers to what speakers do to correct problems that arise in talk (Liddicoat, 2011) – here, the lack of response. Peata and Kawe both filled the gap by speaking at once. Kawe offered the agreement Peata's comment had been seeking – "was heavy for part one" (line 12). Peata's self-repetition – °just death° death ↑<u>death</u> – was possibly an attempt to repair by answering her own question (Norrick, 1987), and in doing foregrounded exactly what was causing the discomfort; death had been evoked but until that point, the word was unspoken. Here, the reduplication indicates emphasis and intensity (Norrick, 1987; Tannen 2009). The rising pitch on Peata's last word, the pitch peak (Schegloff, 1998), signals that she is summarising and ending her turn in the conversation.

Peata later said that she found the two death-related stories "quite heavy" fare for what she describes as a "quite light" show. She said,

> It was just, wow, that's quite full-on topics to talk about, especially one after the other ... you could expect a death, talking about a death of someone for one (story), but then when it went on to a second one ...

For Peata, the heaviness appeared to be more a commentary on the tenor of the interviews and the responsibility of carrying out live interviews in that context than an effect on her mood. She didn't know either woman, or the people interviewed on air, but was aware that she had to tread carefully talking about Dalton's death, which had happened that very morning, to meet audience expectations. "Someone's passed away that's well respected by your audience, and ... there's that sense of responsibility of dealing with it in a respectful way, which makes it heavy, even if you don't personally feel the mamae [pain]."

7.9.6   A karakia and sprinkling 'water' to remove tapu: A Māori response

Gloria's gesture (images 3-4) was instantly recognisable to Māori eyes. In mimicking scooping up water with a cupped hand and throwing it over her head and shoulders, she was performing a metaphorical whakanoa, or a removal of the tapu surrounding death (Mead, 2003; Sullivan, 2012); also see p. 166. Water is often used to clear tapu and restore equilibrium (Barlow, 1991; King, 1992; Mead, 2003; Sullivan, 2012). At the same time, Gloria was conveying a wordless karakia to the wāhi ngaro, to those who have gone before, who are a source of strength for her. She later said that she was feeling "a bit of tingle, a bit of taumaha [spiritual heaviness]" at the time; she was also experiencing some discomfort with "āhuatanga tapu" – subjects imbued with tapu – being treated in a necessarily superficial way given the show's short-bites format:

> You do have to acknowledge your feelings about it, because it's not
> sitting right with you ... I decided that what was required at that
> moment, was an imaginary ruirui wai [sprinkling of water] ... that was
> a physical way of addressing the taumahatanga [heaviness] ... ask for
> that clearance .... because I always want to conduct myself in an
> appropriate manner.

Gloria's whakanoa was "for my own self":

> You've got to move your mind from something taumaha [heavy or
> serious] to being able to talk about something light; you know,
> you've got to give permission to yourself to move on ... and if
> anything, it was that, so you're not just so blasé about moving from
> one person's mate [death] on to another kaupapa. If anything, it's a
> sign of respect to the kaupapa you've just spoken about.

Gloria said she expresses her tikanga as naturally at work as she does at home. Karakia is, for her, a normal response to anything that makes her feel spiritually ill-at-ease: "It

comes in the heavy times, at times of stress, and if you are someone who's spiritual, you karakia whenever you've had a bad day." She said that karakia "puts you in that space where you're centred, you centre yourself ... having said that, you need to be able to understand the power of karakia to enjoy its benefits".

7.9.7 "Ashes to ashes": a response from Judaeo-Christian culture

As Gloria was ending her sprinkling gesture, Kawe simultaneously glanced at her and made an audible, nasalised outbreath (line 14, image 4). Such a groan or sigh (Poyatos, 1991) has been shown to function as emotional re-setter at a time of negative emotion (Vlemincx, Meulders, & Abelson, 2017). To the room, he said, "Ashes to ashes, dust to dust, that is us, let's get to the kapa haka" (lines 16-17) with a co-expressive, representational gesture of scattering ashes into a grave, known as enactment (Kendon, 2004). Kawe subverted a ritualistic, fixed phrase that is rooted in the Bible, became part of the set text of the Anglican burial service, and is now a widely-used proverb – and often a parody – about the impermanence of human life (Kitchin, 1967; "Ashes to Ashes", 1992). Proverbs are "essentially conversational" (Norrick, 1985, p. 12) and English-speakers tend to use them ironically (Tannen, 2009), or to raise a laugh (Norrick, 1985).

Interviewed later, Kawe said that he felt that his response was driven by the need to find a more upbeat frame of mind appropriate to the next subject – haka competition Te Matatini. His words and gestures were a case of "just moving on, that was part one, it's over and dusted, now let's get into part two, let's get into that head space", suggesting that he was engaging in irony and humour to lighten the mood. Live television didn't give much time to adjust between segments, he said: "When you do a tangihanga at a marae ... you have literally a day to process those emotions and that feeling. When you have a TV show, you have 30 seconds."

7.10 Interaction 2: Doing a story in a wāhi tapu

Tapu also pertains to places of cultural significance, called wāhi tapu, sacred places, and they bear different levels of tapu and restriction (Mead, 2003, p. 68). In this section, a two-part interaction illustrates how a journalist deals with a tikanga-journalism clash when she wants to film something in a way that is forbidden by the caretaking iwi. Given the intertwined nature of tikanga, many cultural concepts are

present in this interaction, among them the maintenance of relationships; the proscription of behaviour in tapu places; differing perceptions of how certain tikanga should be interpreted; koha, or giving a gift, as a negotiation tool; the respect accorded to elders; local tribes as mana whenua, or overseers of land use; and the value placed on collective decision-making.

7.10.1 Setting and context

Rēhia (a pseudonym)[57] has gone to a cold-water spring that is a tourist attraction due to the clarity of its water. She wants to shoot a 10-minute story to document the work that local iwi have undertaken to protect the springs. Three local iwi, the local council and the national wilderness authority co-manage the spring; eating, drinking alcohol and smoking are prohibited there. Also in force is a conservation rāhui (Mead, 2003) over the water to preserve its sanctity and restore its mauri, or life force; in the past, people swam and dived there, which upset the iwi. The rāhui forbids any and all human contact with the water, such as swimming, diving, wading, taking water and drinking, summed up by a sign at the water's edge: "Thank you for respecting this wāhi tapu by avoiding contact with the water".

At the spring, Rēhia meets two senior members of the management group, kaumatua Tai and his sister Miri (both names are pseudonyms), who perform a short mihi whakatau or an informal greeting with karakia and song, during which everyone identifies their tribe and acknowledges the reason for the meeting. Rēhia tells them that she belongs to one of the three iwi through a grandparent (but not that of Tai and Miri). Rēhia addresses Tai as "koro", a respectful address to an older man, and Miri as "whaea", a respectful address an older woman; to do so is a solidarity strategy very common among Māori speaking English (Johnston & Robertson, 1993).

Our interaction (Figure 13 below) takes place an hour later. Tai, who is blind, has been guided to the edge of a boardwalk jutting into the springs in preparation for the interview, and stands, hands clasped on top of his tokotoko. Miri and Rēhia stand by, watching. Rēhia has been telling Tai how she would love to live in the area, but the small talk lapses as her camera operator fits Tai's lapel microphone.

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[57] For privacy reasons, the broadcast related to this interaction is not referenced.

A speaker requesting a particular action from another can use a variety of linguistic and non-linguistic tools to try to achieve their interactional goal (Taleghani-Nikazm, 2006). Here, Rēhia's interactional goal is to get permission to film Tai touching the water with his hands to show the physical and spiritual connection between the iwi and the spring. Tai refuses, as the iwi considers the rāhui to encompass all forms of bodily contact by anyone, whatever the context and whomever the person. Rēhia tries to persuade Tai and Miri to agree to the shot, but they hold their ground, explaining why it is important that everyone respects the rāhui. Below is the transcript of the interaction.

1	R	and then <u>ano</u>ther thing is I wanna <u>ni:ce</u>
2		somewhere cos I want him to be able to
3		I wanna not a shot just of him by
4		him<u>self</u> (0.6) but where he gets to
5		touch the <u>wa</u>ter? [somewhere]
6	M	[but you're not]
7		allowed to touch the water=
8	R	=yeah (0.8) or is [there somewhere
9	T	[I can put me stick in
10	R	(1.3) you can you're the you're the
11		rangatira here
12	T	(0.3) >but I mean<=
13	R	=you know cos it'd be nice if you just
14		sort of (1.5) um (0.9) you know so the
15		question that I'm gonna ask you
16		around here it can show that? (0.5) you
17		know like just you touching the <u>wa</u>ter
18		(1.6)

19   M   you can't °touch the water°

20   (0.6)

21   T   we [we tell everybody

22   M   cos   [then everywa- (0.3) THEN

23   EVERYONE da- wants to touch the

24   water=

25   T   =yeah=

26   M   =do you know what I mean that's

27   what we end up in when everyone

28   wants back in there (0.2)

29   it's like bloody hell

30   (0.2)

31   R   hmmum

32   (0.3)

33   T   so we [we er we've

34   M   [sorry=

35   R   [= t(h)!

36   T   [been fighting for years to try and b<u>a</u>n

37   swimming and ah (0.5) diving in

38   here?

39   (0.3) so=

40　R　=yeah

41　T　(0.1) uum (0.4) if they s-s(h)-see me

42　　　touching the water they'll be saying

43　　　(.) here he is? (0.5) well we'll go and

44　　　have a swi(h)m (0.4) you know

45　　　(0.4)

46　M　yeah=

47　T　　　=so it [is quite

48　R　　　　　[ye:ah

49　T　we would prefer not to touch it

50　　　(0.9) >but I mean< there must be

51　　　something else we can

52　　　(0.6)

53　M　°do°=

54　T　=you you'll be able to get the

55　　　interaction somehow won't you (0.6)

56　　　it's=

57　R　=yeah so let me just think about that

58　T　(0.3) yeah

Figure 13. Transcript of Interaction 2: Doing a story in a wāhi tapu

7.10.2 Making a request

As we begin a close analysis, there are several principles to bear in mind. A cooperative response is called a preferred response (Liddicoat, 2011). On the other hand, a dispreferred response rejects or disagrees with the talk that has come before

(Schegloff, 2007). In addition, difficulties can arise in talk – the speaker may change his or her mind about what to say, use the wrong word, or hesitate in the search for a word or phrase (Clark & Wasow, 1998), and this break in the flow of talk leads to repair (Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977). We will see many examples of these in the pages to come.

As Rēhia outlines her wish, she says "I want" three times (Figure 13, lines 1-3). The modality in which something is expressed indicates our judgement of probabilities and obligations, the factual content of what we're saying, and also encodes certainty and doubt (Machin & Mayr, 2012). High-modality constructions like "I want" compel and instruct others in order to influence events, whereas low-modality constructions such as "I could " exhibit lesser degrees of certainty about the proposition being made and avoid being specific (Machin & Mayr, 2012). Modals also tell us about the speaker's identity and where they see power as lying. In using "I want" three times in quick succession, Rēhia is employing a high-modality strategy that foregrounds her identity as the journalist in charge of the scene, with a vision of how the story will look.

But trouble lies ahead. She might have chosen to say, "I also want a nice shot of him touching the water, not just one of him by himself", or similar. However, the disfluency in that first turn and six self-initiated self-repairs (Schegloff et al., 1977) foreshadow that she is expecting a dispreferred response and is trying to delay making the utterance that will invoke it (lines 1-5). Disfluency rates tend to increase as greater pressure is put on a speaker's speech planning processes (Bortfeld, Leon, Bloom, Schober & Brennan, 2001) – the more you try to consciously shape what you say, the harder your brain has to work, and errors result.

In Rēhia's first turn at talk, the beginning of each repair is marked / for clarity:

> and then <u>ano</u>ther thing is I wanna <u>ni:ce</u>/somewhere/cos I want him
> to be able to/I wanna/not a shot just of him by him<u>self</u>/(0.6) but
> where he gets to touch the water?/somewhere

Rēhia elongates the word ni:ce. A stretched word commonly precedes a repair (Schegloff, 1979; Schegloff et al., 1977). Although she aborts the sentence at that point, we can infer from the context that the next word could have been a noun such as pictures, coupled with a phrase like "of him touching the water". We find out a few

repairs later that ni:ce was probably intended as a contrast with what she *didn't* want: insufficiently appealing pictures "just of him by him<u>self</u>" (lines 3-4), the restrictor "just" underlining the perceived inadequacy of a static shot and the contrastive marker "but" in line 4 (Schiffrin, 1987) underscoring this distinction.

In spontaneous talk, a silence of more than one beat, or about a tenth of a second, is unnatural to listeners and indicates trouble (Jefferson, 1988; Enfield, 2017; Liddicoat, 2011). There is a significant pause of 0.6 s after "himself" (line 4). In English, pausing is more likely before a word carrying high information content (Goldman-Eisler, 1958) and here, Rēhia has come to the place where she can digress no longer – she has to make her goal explicit. She starts "but where he gets to touch the water?" (lines 4-5) with the intonation that would accompany a high-modality statement or instruction. But the word "water?" (line 5) is delivered with the rising inflection that marks a question (Liddicoat, 2011), indicating that she is softening her stance. She meets Miri's gaze at the word "touch", clearly addressing the query to her and seeking acknowledgement that her message has been received (Kendon, 1967). The gaze and rising pitch signals that her turn at talk is ending (Kendon, 1967; Sidnell, 2011).

As she begins saying "and then <u>ano</u>ther thing" (line 1), her right arm rises from her side (image 1) and she turns to Miri. At "ni:ce", her forearm is raised, her palm facing Miri and her fingers bunched as if she is holding something loosely in her hand – as if she is presenting something to Miri. Because Rēhia then suddenly repaired, we don't know what the following noun would have been. However, given the context, it was very likely to have been something like "pictures". This cupped, raised hand, then, is a metaphoric gesture (Beattie, 2016) – the pictures don't yet exist, but the *idea* of them is presented to Miri as if they were something held in the hand.

When someone repairs speech, their gesture is interrupted as well (Kendon, 2004). As Rēhia says "somewhere 'cos I want him to be able to" (line 2) her hand turns palm down and beats downwards once on "somewhere" and then again on "be able to" (image 1). She then holds the gesture on "be able to" for a significant 0.5s, a post-stroke hold that prolongs the expression (Kendon, 2004). Gestural beats (McNeill, 1992) are named as they look like they are beating musical time. They demarcate the parts of a turn that speakers consider most significant, "regardless of what anybody

else might think" (Beattie, 2016, p. 68). Rēhia's beats on "somewhere" and "be able to" underscore her desire that her water shots must be achievable in some way. The fact that her palm is facing downwards during the beats is noteworthy. Different features of gesture can appear in one movement (McNeill, 2009) and here, the beat gesture she is using for emphasis is coupled with a palm-down gesture that has, since pre-speech times, asserted confidence and dominance (Givens, 2015).

As Rēhia starts saying "I wanna/not a shot just of him by him<u>self</u>" (lines 3-4, image 2) she half-turns away from Miri towards Tai and indicates in his direction, holding her palm facing down. Here, her gesture not only performs a pointing (deictic) function towards him (McNeill, 1992), but elides to a palm-down brushing away gesture showing her negation of the idea (Kendon, 2004; Müller, 2014; Müller et al., 2013) that a setting with Tai alone is sufficient. As she says, "but where he gets to touch the water?" she looks to the ground and her gesture shifts again. With her forearm extended and her hand open with the palm facing down, she traces a circle as if she were indeed stroking something – an iconic gesture (McNeill, 1992) that represents what she wants. She is thinking in visual terms of the story she wants to tell – the relationship of this man and his iwi to their sacred spring – and is very invested in getting shots of a hand touching the water. However, she hasn't explained *why* she wants that particular shot, and doesn't throughout this interaction.

7.10.3 Refusal, reaction and re-negotiation

Dispreferred responses usually contain explanations and justifications for not cooperating (Sidnell, 2011) and Miri's is explicit (lines 6-7, image 3): "But you're not allowed to touch the water". As Miri begins speaking, Rēhia turns her upper body away from her in a cut-off movement that indicates uncertainty or disagreement (Bousmalis, Mehu, & Pantic, 2013; Kendon, 1967; Nielsen, 1962). In effect, it rejects Miri's statement. As Miri says the word "water", she moves a step towards Rēhia, whose head and torso are still turned. Miri is probably trying to retrieve the conversational space (Ciolek & Kendon, 1980; Kendon, 2010) as well as Rēhia's gaze and thus her attention (Goodwin, 1981). Rēhia, her head turning back to meet Miri's gaze, greets the prohibition with "yeah" (line 8), a backchannel response communicating that she hears rather than agrees (Saville-Troike, 2003; Yngve, 1970). The expression that then

flashes across her face – furrowed brow with the top lip lifted and teeth exposed – suggest annoyance and frustration (Rozin, Lowery & Ebert, 1994).

No one fills the silence that follows, and Rēhia takes advantage of the gap to relaunch her campaign with "or is there somewhere" (line 8). Tai overlaps with "I can put me stick in", his use of the modal verb "can" indicating that he would consider this an acceptable compromise. As he starts speaking, Rēhia turns her upper body towards him and as he finishes, turns her upper body back to Miri as she looks down; she appears to be thinking about an appropriate response. Although she is clearly being addressed and what Tai has said presages a preferred response (Liddicoat, 2011) such as "OK then", Rēhia is silent for 1.3 s, suggesting that she is not keen on this option. As Liddicoat (2011) wrote, "withholding collaboration is done by silence" (p. 205).

Rēhia then turns back to Tai, saying "you can, you're the rangatira here" (lines 10-11) which appears to be a contradiction of Miri's earlier prohibition, perhaps motivated by the perception that Tai isn't completely inflexible given that he has offered to put the bottom of his stick in the water. Tai has made an offer and might have expected assent or refusal; instead, what follows is an ambiguous statement whose subtext appears to be that as Tai is an iwi leader, he can do what he likes, which might include touching the water with his hands. As Rēhia says this, she walks towards Tai.

Tai's response is delayed, suggesting he is trying to make sense of what he has just heard. When he responds with ">but I mean<" (line 12), the words come quickly and urgently, in marked contrast to the measured way he generally speaks. This indicates that he is leaping in because he wants to be heard; the contrastive marker "but" heralds a challenge and "I mean" suggests that he has a clarification in mind (Schiffrin, 1987). However, he is cut off as Rēhia continues, using the discourse marker "you know" as an opener to appeal to his rangatira status (Fox Tree & Schrock, 2002) and as a prelude to asking him to use that status to help her gain what she wants.

If we read Rēhia's two utterances, with Tai's interjection removed, we have "you can, you're the you're the rangatira here you know cos it'd be nice if you ..." The phrase "it'd be nice" (line 13) appears to be the opening of a negative politeness strategy (Holmes, 2013), where she is giving Miri and Tai the opening to say "yes", but that tack is dropped. The discourse markers "just" (line 13) and "sort of" (line 14) are often used

together, and are hedges that aim to soften the impact (Aijrner, 1984) of what Rēhia's about to say. By now, she is looking down at the boardwalk, in a look away or thinking gesture that suggests she's under high cognitive load but wants to hold the turn (Morency, Christoudias, & Darrell, 2006; Nielsen, 1962), although the repairs inherent in "sort of (1.5) um (0.9)" (line 14) herald trouble. After a phrase such as "it would be nice if you sort of" the next logical word is a verb such as "touch". But no verb emerges, and the pause/um/pause sequence is disfluent.

Rēhia restarts with another "you know" (line 14), here indicating a topic shift (Fox Tree & Schrock, 2002). At the same time, her right hand, in an open-hand, palm-down gesture, moves left to right across her body as if she were stroking something, a repeat of her earlier stroking-the-water gesture. She then takes a less direct tack at persuasion, contextualising and foregrounding the question she aims to ask ("the question I'm gonna ask you around here") so the trouble source is delayed. What starts as a high-modality statement becomes more tentative as it emerges, with the rising intonation on "show that?" (line 16) turning it into a question. The discourse marker "you know" (lines 16-17) aims to establish a shared understanding (Stubbe, 1999) and "like just" (line 17) is a hedge to minimise the coming request (Aijrner, 1984; Jucker & Smith, 1998). As she speaks, Rēhia holds the palm-down gesture and again moves her hand as if she is stroking something. As she reaches "show that?" (line 16) she half-turns her body and turns her gaze briefly to Miri, before turning her gaze back to her stroking gesture, the fourth iteration, as she says "touching the water" (line 17).

Miri says, "you can't touch the water" (line 19) in a quieter voice than before. Tai tries to take a turn at talk, using the pronoun "we" to include, presumably, Miri and the wider iwi. Miri raises her voice and firmly takes the turn with "then everywa- (0.3) THEN EVERYONE da- wants to touch the water" (lines 22, 23). Tai backs her up, his "yeah" (line 25) latching onto her talk (Liddicoat, 2011); Miri's next turn "do you know what I mean" (line 26) latches on to his. The latter phrase, a monitoring feature (Kendon, 1967; Goddard & Carey, 2017) is Miri's way of checking that Rēhia is paying attention before she re-states why the iwi doesn't want people in the water – "everyone wants back in there" (lines 27-28, image 5,). Her speech moves from a description of the unwanted scenario to an assessment of it with "it's like bloody hell" (line 29, image 6). Here, "it's like" introduces the potential comment quotation

(Schourup, 1985) Miri might make if she saw people swimming in the water; the exclamation of dismay underlines how emotionally upsetting the sight would be.

Rēhia has now turned her body completely towards Miri, shielding her eyes from the sun with her right hand; she is standing still and paying close attention to what's being said. As Miri reaches "everyone", she turns her head away from Rēhia and looks to her right, along the boardwalk leading into the bush, and remains in this stance until she has finished speaking. By breaking eye contact, she signals her disengagement (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1987); she doesn't want to continue this conversation. Rēhia offers "hmmum" (line 31), a passive acknowledgement, or non-lexical backchannelling, communicating that while she is listening, she doesn't necessarily agree (Saville-Troike, 2003; Yngve, 1970).

As Tai attempts to take a turn in the conversation, with "so we" (line 33), Miri looks at Rēhia and says "sorry" (line 34) to acknowledge that they can't give the reporter what she wants. Rēhia responds with a t! dental click accompanied by a half-laugh (line 35). In natural conversation, laughs are rarely about humour; rather, they are about awkwardness, discomfort or frustration (Potter & Hepburn, 2010) and here, is likely to be the latter.

As Tai starts saying "we er we've been fighting for years to try and ban swimming and ah (0.5) diving in here? (0.3) so=" (lines 36-38, image 7), Rēhia turns to face him, still shielding her eyes with her right hand. Tai 's use of the word "fighting for years" rather than the less emotive "trying for years" suggests that the spring's guardians have struggled to get the public to respect the rāhui. Rēhia offers a backchannel "yeah" (line 40) to show she is listening, if not in agreement (Saville-Troike, 2003). Tai's "um" signals that he still intends to hold the floor (Clark & Fox Tree, 2002), and he continues (line 41) by explaining "if they s-s(h)-see me touching the water they'll be saying here he is? (0.5) well we'll go and have a sw(h)im". Laugh particles within words, as Tai does here, are "flags of trouble" (Potter & Hepburn, 2010, p. 1543), each "planted in a word to show it is ... problematic" (Potter & Hepburn, 2010, p. 1547). Here, Tai's half-laughs punctuate two critical words, "see" and "swim", that pinpoint precisely what he wants to avoid – people seeing him touch the water and taking that as an invitation to swim. The message is clear: Were a leader like himself seen breaching the rāhui, the ban

would be undermined. For privacy reasons, we can't show his face, but at the time he was making his half-laughs, his lips were lifting a non-Duchenne smile – that is, a non-emotional smile that has nothing to do with amusement or enjoyment, and which doesn't engage the muscles around the eyes as an amused smile does (Ambadar, Cohn, & Reed, 2009).

Tai doesn't gesture much in this exchange; he is on the edge of a boardwalk that he can't see and therefore needs to stand still, and he does so with both hands resting on his stick. But as he starts the sentence "so (0.1) umm (0.4) if they s-s(h)-see me" his left hand rises with palm vertical and open (lines 41-42, image 8). This holding away gesture communicates refusal (Bressem & Müller, 2013).[58] He holds the stroke for a significant 2.7 s on the words "if they see me", metaphorically holding away this unwanted outcome, a breach of the rāhui. His "you know" (line 44) at the end is addressee-oriented, reinforcing the validity of what he has just said and appealing for Rēhia to understand his position (Stubbe & Holmes, 1995). Miri's "yeah" is a clear and unambiguous agreement (Lambertz, 2011). Rēhia's stretched "ye:ah" in line 48 serves a different function to Miri's: It's a continuer (Lambertz, 2011) that shows she is listening and not about to interrupt.

Tai then prepares to conclude his explanation by saying "so it is quite" (line 47) in what looks like the beginning of a high-modality statement such as "so it is quite important we are not seen to touch the water". But then he self-repairs and offers a lower-modality, more conciliatory statement (line 48): "We would prefer not to touch it". Given that he alone has been asked to touch the water, his use of "we" here makes it clear that he is acting as agent for his sister and the iwi, emphasising that decisions are not his alone. After a pause, he repairs with the more appeasing "but I mean there must be something else we can" (lines 50-51). His use of "but I mean" can be seen to presage a less-face-threatening rephrasing (Fox Tree & Schrock, 2002, p. 733), and indeed, his use of "we" (line 51) encompasses Rēhia and signals his willingness to cooperate in some other way.

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[58] Blind people gesture just like the sighted, and gesture even when they know are talking to another blind person (Iverson & Goldin-Meadow, 1998), which is "dramatic evidence of a speech-gesture bond" (McNeill, 2009, p. 301).

As Tai says "you you'll be able to get the interaction somehow won't you" (lines 54-55), he turns his head and upper body in the direction of the water, a deictic use of his head (McNeill, 2009), as his hands are resting on top of his stick. It's a statement, not a question. He's made his stance clear, and is now handing resolution of this problem back to Rēhia. After a pause, Rēhia says "yeah, so let me just think about that" (line 57, image 9). At "so", her left hand rises to the level of her waist, towards Tai, palm down, with "just" the high point of the gesture before her hand falls again. This open hand, palm down gesture indicates negation (Bressem & Müller, 2013; Kendon, 2004) – in this case, of Tai's assertion that there will be another way to get acceptable substitute images.

7.10.4 Discussion

This was a difficult conversation for both parties; they had differing goals and the general disfluency told of strain on both sides. Television journalists need to show as well as tell; they seek to create a strong visual vocabulary (Malcolm, 2014). Rēhia's certainty about the shot she wanted was expressed in high-modality language. Her first turn at talk contained "I want" three times, and among her gestures, four mimicked stroking the water. In a semi-structured interview later that same day, Rēhia said that she wanted Tai to touch the water to create "a nice moment – it's like being at one with your awa ... ko au te awa, ko te awa ko au [I am the river and the river is me] ... it speaks for itself, that one shot." Tai's blindness, she felt, would add poignancy – the rangatira touching the water he could no longer see.

For Tai and Miri, the issue was bigger than their beliefs about appropriate behaviour at their sacred place; it was about their obligation to role-model and enforce collective decisions. Initially, Rēhia was not receptive to the reasons why Tai and Miri would not agree to the water being touched. However, as the latter pair regained control of the conversation and further explained their position, Rēhia adopted a lower-modality stance with more hedging, perhaps realising the risk that they might withdraw cooperation.

The above interaction and later semi-structured interviews suggested that Rēhia saw the rāhui as an unduly strict strategy to keep swimmers out, particularly as Miri had said that the springs had been used by the ancestors for rituals involving childbirth. In

a later interview, Rēhia said that in her view, freshwater was "a life source that's used for ... health and wellbeing". In addition, her perception of what was acceptable in a wāhi tapu diverged from that of the iwi. To her, such a place was "sacred, and respect goes with it ... they just don't want people swimming and diving and desecrating it. But touching it" – here she made a stroking gesture with her hand – "it's not that bad. I've just gotta see how I can get around that."

In the next interaction, we'll look at how negotiations continued, with Rēhia taking another tack to get the water shots she wanted.

7.11 Interaction 3: Seeking permission to put a camera underwater

7.11.1 Setting and context

This interaction begins the next day at the springs, just before 9 am.[59] Rēhia has an alternative strategy for getting water shots. She tells Miri, who is present without Tai, that she wants to put a Go-Pro, an outdoor camera, into the water; Miri says that Rēhia that she will have to seek permission from Tai. After Miri leaves, Rēhia calls Tai's phone twice, but gets no answer. She carries out a pre-arranged interview with a scientist, Aaron, about the physical features that make the springs special.

By 11.30 am, only she and the camera operator remain on site. The latter, who is non-Māori, speaks little and defers to Rēhia. At 11.36 am, getting short of time, Rēhia rings the iwi's public relations agent, Sally, who is also a member of Ngāti Tita and with whom she has had prior contact. Rēhia hopes that Sally will give her permission or facilitate permission to use the Go-Pro before she has to leave the site around 1pm to catch a plane.

1. R   hey↑tēnā koe Sally↑

2.   (1.2)

3. S   how are you doing.=

4. R   =um yes so we're um doing really

5.   good we just finished doing the:

---

[59] For privacy reasons, the broadcast related to this interaction is not referenced.

6.   um science Aaron's um interview

7.   (0.3) so that was really [good

8. S   [great

9.   (0.3)

10. R   um but <u>hey</u> I have a <u>really</u> <u>big</u> request

11.   to make (0.6) um [and

12. S   [yes

13. R   it's quite important as well (0.6)

14.   [uh:um

15. S   [yeah

16. R   so I spoke to:o u::m (0.2) t! aunty

17.   Miri this morning and she said um

18.   to try and get a hold of (0.5) um t!

19.   koro Tai? but I've sp- phoned him

20.   a few times this morning and I

21.   can't seem to get through (0.5)

22.   u:m and so my request is that

23.   we've got a Go-Pro? (1.3) and [I

24. S   [yeah

25. R   really wanna put it in the water?

26.   (2.0)

27. S   oh:::h yeah (0.3) to get permission

28.   (0.2)

29. R   [yeah yeah

30. S   [yeah (0.8) yeah

31.   (0.2)

32. R   and [it'll just you know

33. S   [okay

34. R   because it'll just give that (0.8)

35.   you know like we've- you know

36.   and we've shot (0.5) you know a

37.   [who:le

38. S   [yeah

39. R   lots of different varieties of shots

40.   of the pictures (0.7) [but

41. S   [yeah

42. R   you know to ac- wha- we- you

43.   know in none of the shots we you

44.   know we're not actually at <u>one</u> with

45.   the water? so we <u>need</u> to be <u>in</u> the water

46.   we need to show that perspective?

47.   and the other thing that I said to the

48.   whānau was (0.7) um that um (1.10) t!

49.   you know we would be w- you know I

50.   I we would be willing to provide the

51.   raw footage from this as long as it

52.   wasn't gunna be used for anything

53.   commercially? (0.4) but as a taonga

54.   and as an archive fo:r th:e um (0.5) t!

55.   you know for Ngāti Tita? (0.6) and

56.   [so it's

57. S   [yeah yeah

58. R   it's really important that we get that

59.   (0.6) you know that we get the

60.   perspective of actually <u>in</u> the water?

61.   (0.7)

62. S   yeah (0.4) .hh okay well I:ll u:mm t!

63.   (0.7) I don't wanna make

64.   <that decision> without having a

65.   kōrero with a couple of other

66.   whānau I'll try Tai and I'll give you a

67.   quick call back as well just let me call

68.   a few people (0.7) um (0.6) you know

69.   just to let them know what your

70.   request is [cos

71. R   [yeah

72. S   best we're always talking and doing

73.   things all together? (0.3) uh:mm (0.4)

74.   [just give me a couple of minutes

75. R   [so yeah I RECKON INSTEAD OF

76.   yeah I reckon instead of ringing a few

77.   different people just ring the main
         ones

78.   [so if it's if

79. S   [oh-

80. R   if it's koro [Tai then just may-

81. S   [yeah

82. R   [you know

83. S   [yeah

84. R   ring him because (0.5) um aun[ty Miri

85. S   [what
did

86.   Miri say?(.)

87. R   oh she just said cos I explained to her

88.   and she was like o:hh okay (0.4) um

89.   she said o:h she just said oh just for

90.   that it'd be best to call him?

91.   (0.7)

92. S   ye:ah=

93. R   =yeah=

94. S   =yeah okay yeah okay

95.   let me- eh- give me give me a few

96.   minutes and I'll see what I can do

97.   (0.2)

98. R   [okay then

99. S   [I'll um give you a ring back (.)

100. R   cool

101.   (1.0)

102. S   t! okay alright [ka kite

103. R   [ka pai

Figure 14. Transcript of Interaction 3: Seeking permission to put a camera underwater

7.11.2 Trying again

As Rēhia dials Sally's number on her mobile phone, she walks down along a path seeking a quieter place to talk, as members of the public in the vicinity are making

noise. Her phone's speaker function enables both sides of the conversation to be recorded, including Sally's "hello token" (Liddicoat, 2011, p. 253). Rēhia, still walking and with the phone in her right hand, responds with "oh hey, ↑tēnā koe Sally↑" (Figure 14, line 1) in a higher, more sing-song intonation than her usual speaking voice. The pitch coupled with the casual "oh hey" frames the conversation to come as a friendly, affiliative exchange (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 1996), or, as Schegloff termed it, an "intimacy ploy" (1968, p. 1078).

However, Sally doesn't respond within the "one-second window" (Enfield, 2017, p. 67), a hesitation that indicates trouble of some sort (Liddicoat, 2011) – she may not immediately recognise who is calling, or, if she is aware that it is Rēhia, is possibly gathering her thoughts about the possible reason for the call. She defaults to the "ritual enquiry" (Schegloff, 1968, p. 1078) of "how are you doing" (line 3) in a business-like manner. Rēhia is anxious to get to the point of her call; she dispenses with a reciprocal "how are you" sequence (Liddicoat, 2011) and says (line 4-5, image 2) that she and the cameraman are going "really good", reinforcing the sentiment by repeating it (line 7). Sally shows her approval with the positive attention signal "great" (Kendon, 1967), then waits to find out what Rēhia is calling about. Rēhia's initial "um" (line 10) signals that she is taking the floor, and the contrastive marker "but" (Schiffrin, 1987) that follows immediately can be read as "but what we just talked about is not what I'm calling about". The interjection "hey", in particular, is an attention-getting or summonsing device – it says "listen here" (Norrick, 2009).

As Rēhia says she has a "really big request to make" (lines 10-11) she slows and crouches on the pathway. We have already seen that Rēhia is frustrated that the iwi won't relax its ban on contact with the water. Nonetheless, she understands that if she is to get underwater shots, she will have to show appropriate deference and ensure that Sally hears this clearly, an example of recipient design (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974). In saying that she has a "a really big request to make" Rēhia adopts a politeness strategy that acknowledges that the iwi will probably be uncomfortable with the request to come (Davidson, 1985; Taleghani-Nikazm, 2006); this is a placatory strategy that aims to reduce the risk of a flat "no". The following comment – "it's quite important as well" (line 13) is a high-modality statement that indicates high certainty (Machin & Mayr, 2012), but it is coupled with suppression of *to whom* the request

would be important. In using an "it" statement rather than saying "I think it's important" Rēhia is avoiding taking ownership of the message (Adler, Rosenfeld, & Proctor, 2004); it is framed as a truth. Rather than outlining her request at that point, Rēhia explains why she has called Sally. In enumerating her difficulty locating Tai, Rēhia is delaying a dispreferred response. She is also framing the issue as a problem that Sally can possibly fix, although this is not explicitly stated.

People still gesture even when they can't see the person they are speaking to, for instance, when on the phone, but they gesture less often (Alibali, Heath, & Myers, 2001; Bavelas, Gerwing, Sutton, & Prevost, 2008; Gerwing & Allison, 2011; McNeill, 1992). When on the phone, gestures appear to serve an individual cognitive function (Gerwing & Allison, 2011) rather than a communicative one, and Rēhia uses several such gestures as she speaks. As Rēhia explains, she holds her chin in her left, phone-free, hand for 4.6 s. This type of spontaneous facial self-touching with the hand has no communicative meaning and is performed unconsciously; however, it often signals stress and tension (Ekman & Friesen, 1972; Grunwald, Mueller, & Rall, 2014) and there is some evidence to suggest that self-touch is an act of self-soothing when under pressure (Givens, 1999). Preoccupation or distraction is linked to word retrieval hiccups (Reason & Mycielska, 1982), and Rēhia's speech contains a number. For example, although she has seen Tai the previous day and Miri that same morning, she struggles to recall both names, uttering an u::m and click (tut) (Wright, 2005) before finding them (lines 16,18). This "tip-of-tongue" situation (or TOT) frequently involves proper names (Brown, 1991) and gesture during a word search often serves as an aid (Krauss, Chen & Gottesman, 2000). Trying to recall Tai's name, Rēhia turns her left hand palm-down and waggles her hand, fingers loose, four times until his name arrives.

As Rēhia says "try and get a hold of", her hand is extended in front of her with the palm facing up (line 18, image 3). This gesture is a common corollary to a conversation about a lack of success in an activity, or not having something (Givens, 2015; Müller, 2004). The repair in the phrase "I've sp-phoned him a few times this morning" shows how focused Rēhia is on her goal (lines 19-20). The word she appears to start saying is "spoken" – this being the desire rather than the reality – which is corrected to "phoned". As Rēhia says "but I've phoned a few times this morning", her thumb and

index finger form a ring shape (Kendon, 2004), and her hand, in that shape, beats twice (lines 19-20, image 4). This gesture means precision or exactness (Kendon, 2004), and the beats underline that she has indeed made those phone calls. In telling Sally that she "can't seem to get through" to Tai, Rēhia's left arm sweeps out from her side, followed by her head, pointing towards the vague area Tai might be, a typical use of an abstract pointing gesture (Kendon, 2004). Sally is largely silent as Rēhia speaks, beyond offering the backchannel responses "yes" and "yeah" (Lambertz, 2011), to confirm that she is listening.

7.11.3 A non-committal response

When Rēhia arrives at the moment where she has to make her desire explicit, she hesitates with a half-second pause (line 21) and an "um", which is common before speakers deliver important content (Goldman-Eisler, 1958). The statement "we've got a Go-Pro?" (line 23) ends on a rising inflection that serves to turn the soften the statement by turning it into a quasi-question (Liddicoat, 2011). After saying the words "Go-Pro", Rēhia makes a significant pause, giving Sally time to take the information in. Sally doesn't respond in the expected time frame beyond a backchannel "yeah" (line 24), so Rēhia self-selects, clarifying what she has just said with a high-modality "want" statement: "and I really wanna put it in the water?" (line 25). This is the single most critical sentence in terms of the purpose of Rēhia's call.

Rēhia doesn't make a direct request for permission as she is trying to avoid a one-word refusal. Her statement is met with a notable 2 s silence from Sally (line 26), a signal of trouble (Enfield, 2017); it appears that Sally doesn't immediately see the point. When she does speak (line 27), saying "oh:::h yeah (0.3) to get permission (0.2)" we see the drawn-out "oh:::h" is a change-of-state token (Heritage, 1984), or, more colloquially, an example of the penny dropping as Sally fills the gap between what has been said ("I want to put the Go-Pro in the water") and its illocutionary force (Austin, 1962), or what is actually being asked ("Can you give me permission to put the Go-Pro in the water?")

Sally is aware of the ramifications of anything going in the water and of her making a unilateral decision. The exchange falters, with both parties using "yeah" (lines 29, 30) to maintain conversational connection (Lambertz, 2011) without advancing the issue. In conversational interaction, agreement or assent comes far more quickly than refusal

(Liddicoat, 2011; Sidnell, 2011), and Rēhia appears to read the situation as a prelude to rejection. She then self-selects (Liddicoat, 2011) and advances an argument for gaining permission, saying that without underwater images, the pictures she has are inadequate (lines 34-46).

Without being able to see Sally's face or her body language, Rēhia has no other clues to inform her attempt at persuasion. As she presses her point for the shots that "we need" (line 45), she uses "you know" no fewer than seven times (lines 32-47). Addressee-oriented phrases like "you know" are said to "perform an indispensable function in oiling the wheels of verbal interaction" (Stubbe & Holmes, 1995, p. 63), and in this context, Rēhia's use of the phrase casts Sally as an ally with a shared understanding of the situation. The sub-text of "you know" is "you understand me and you're on my side."

Rēhia also uses hedging words like "just" (lines 32, 34) to soften the impact of the proposition she is making. Her gestures emphasise key words and ideas. As she says "it'll just give" her hand, in a closed fist, beats once and holds on the word "give" (line 34, image 6). As she says that she and the cameraman have "lots of different varieties of shots" (line 39) her hand opens with the palm down and fingers open, and circles as if she is indicating a collection of images in front of her. As Rēhia says "we're not actually at one with the water" (lines 44-45, image 7) her hand is a fist, beating on the keywords "actually", "at one", "with the" and on both syllables of "water". In the phrase "so we need to be in the water" (line 45), both the beat of the hand and the vocal stress fall on the word "in". The next phrase is "we need to show that perspective?" (line 46); on "show" Rēhia's hand opens in a co-expressive gesture, as if she were presenting the desired images on the palm of her hand (Müller, 2004). On "perspective" she uses a stroking gesture as if she were touching the water's surface, an iconic gesture (McNeill, 1992).

7.11.4 A sweetener and the tikanga of koha

Throughout, Sally has not responded beyond the occasional non-committal backchannel (Lambertz, 2011). Perhaps taking this as a negative sign, Rēhia changes tack from outlining what she wants to describing benefits for the iwi, saying that she "would be willing to provide the raw footage" (lines 50-51). On the word "provide",

her palm is open in a gesture of offering (Kendon, 2004; Müller, 2004). Her palm stays open for the talk that follows, beating on the key words of her argument: "raw footage" and "from this". It is of note here that as Rēhia makes the offer, she vacillates between "I" and "we" and then back to "I" (lines 49-40), suggesting uncertainty that she would have the authority to offer the footage. Clearly, she's not too keen to hand it over unless she has to, as suggested by the low-modality phrase "would be willing" (line 50). By then setting conditions that would prevent the iwi giving the footage to other media or commercial entities, she appears to undermine her own offer. Perhaps having realised this, Rēhia then frames the footage (lines 53-54) as an "archive" for the tribe and as a taonga, which means "property or anything highly prized" (Williams, 1971, p. 381).

The word archive presupposes that the eventual footage would have a long-term value that would make it worth keeping. However, the word of most interest here is taonga, a word that in the context of giving, evokes the custom of koha. A koha is a gift, and can be any prized object such as food, money or a taonga. A receiver is obliged to accept a koha in good grace, and it is expected that this will be returned in some way; the exchange binds giver and receiver (Mead, 2003). It's possible that Rēhia uses this word and the concept attached as a solidarity strategy to reduce the distance between their positions. To underline her point, her hand beats on the words that underline long-term benefits to the tribe: "taonga" and "archive". Sally remains silent beyond a backchannel "yeah, yeah" (line 57) (Lambertz, 2011). Rēhia then repeats what she said earlier: "It's really important that we ... get the perspective of actually <u>in</u> the water?" (line 60).

When she speaks (line 62), Sally begins by repairing several times and then gives a high-modality, dispreferred response with the key words said more slowly than those around them: "I don't wanna make <that decision> without having a kōrero with a couple of other whānau" (lines 63-66). Sally bears dual roles here – one as a member of an iwi and another as public relations counsel to that same iwi. She therefore has personal and professional reasons to resist any suggestion that she alone could make a decision. When Sally expands by saying she will "call a few people ... you know, just to let them know what your request is" (lines 67-70), the "you know" is an appeal to Rēhia to understand her position.

However, Rēhia sees Sally's statement about calling "a few people" as another potential impediment. She is aware that three iwi are involved in management of the springs; the greater the number of people whose opinions are sought, the greater the risk that discussion between them will ensue and she either won't secure permission or gain it in time. As Sally says "just give me a couple of minutes" (line 74), Rēhia makes a competitive overlap (Schegloff, 2000), saying "I RECKON INSTEAD OF yeah I reckon instead of ringing a few different people just ring the main ones" (lines 75-77). The "I reckon" is a hedge to soften her demand; the second iteration of "I reckon instead of" aims to ensure that what she says is "in the clear" (Sidnell, 2011, p. 179) and that Sally has definitely heard it. Rēhia would rather Sally tried to get hold of only Tai. When Sally asks what Miri had said earlier about the issue, Rēhia tells her (lines 87-90, image 13), paraphrasing what Miri has said with the minimiser "just" (three times) to infer that Miri sees Tai's permission as enough, and that the assent of others is not required.

As the conversation closes, both use Māori phrases common in New Zealand English (lines 102-103). Rēhia's "ka pai" in this context means "okay", and Sally's "ka kite" is the equivalent of "see you" (Deverson, 2010, p. 123). Given the strain inherent in the preceding conversation, this code-switching may serve for both as a solidarity strategy (King, 1995) and an attempt to end things on a more positive note. This is the point at which their conversation and our transcript ends.

7.11.5 Disappointment

After the phone call ends, I ask Rēhia what she thinks will happen. She says, "I reckon they're gonna say no", and appears unhappy. Rēhia is aware that researchers put measuring equipment in the springs, and says, "If they let the scientists put all their testing stuff in there, then why can't we?"[60] She briefly entertains the idea of bypassing Ngāti Tita and going to one of the other two iwi for permission, but quickly discards this, knowing that such an action risks damaging her relationship with Ngāti Tita. Within five minutes of the previous phone call ending, Rēhia calls Sally again to hear that the latter can't contact Tai or any other decision-makers. In the meantime,

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[60] This is correct. Documentation in the public domain shows that scientists working in the area deploy underwater instruments, which involves standing in shallow water, but they do not dive.

Rēhia practices her pieces to camera. Before she films them, she puts her hands in the water and smooths her hair.

By mid-day, some 20 minutes later, Rēhia has received no answer and has just an hour more on-site before she and the camera operator need to drive two hours to the nearest airport. Rēhia assembles the Go-Pro and tells the camera operator to put it in the water, reasoning that she should get some footage as journalistic insurance while awaiting a decision. At this point, Rēhia's identity as a reporter is to the fore, and the pictures come above all other considerations. What is less clear is whether, as Māori, she sees herself as responsible for upholding the mana whenua of the iwi, even though they are not present. In an interview later that day, Rēhia explained:

> I wasn't prepared to sit there and wait for four hours. Sometimes you make a choice, and a decision, just you've gotta do it ... what if they phoned me tomorrow and said, 'Yeah, absolutely, Rēhia, absolutely you can do that' and then I didn't have it because I didn't do it? So sometimes you just go with what you need to do at that time.

Just before 3pm that day, on the way to the airport, Rēhia gets an answer. Sally sends two consecutive texts. The first reads:

> Tai called me and declined your request to use go pro in water Rēhia.

The second reads:

> I know you will have enough and your mahi [work] will be powerful
> ☺

Texting is less direct than a phone call, and allows Sally to maintain control of her message. Her texts are a good example of how to deliver bad news and maintain a relationship. As Guffey (2013) outlined, the best way to do so is to present valid reasons for the refusal ("Tai called me and declined your request"); soften the blow by de-emphasising the bad news, perhaps by accentuating the positive ("I know you will have enough") and renew good feelings with a positive closing statement ("your mahi [work] will be powerful"). The emoticons function as a hedge to soften an essentially negative message (Skovholt, Grønning, & Kankaanranta, 2014). Sending a text is less direct than calling, but allows Sally to control the interaction.

Back at the office, Rēhia tells her producer that she has taken underwater footage and risks upsetting the iwi if she uses it without permission. The producer is uncertain about this move: "If your water was tapu and some reporter turned up and chucked their camera in it, would you like that?" Rēhia has the footage edited into the story. The producer admits that the images are indeed beautiful, and leaves Rēhia to see if she can secure permission.

Rēhia phones Sally to tell her about the footage. Sally refers her to Tai, who holds firm: Rēhia does not have permission. As a compromise, he says that he will try and find some pre-rāhui underwater footage owned by the iwi for her to use, but this search is unsuccessful. Rēhia continues negotiating with Tai over the next few days, stressing that her story will make the existence of the rāhui very clear. Tai asks his peers what they think, and the answer is no. Under pressure, Tai says that if Rēhia uses the footage, it will be without his permission. Furthermore, he is not to be identified as knowing anything about it, as a number of people will be upset.

To use the footage without being able to identify its provenance would leave Rēhia and her employer open to criticism from the iwi and the public, and she can't take that risk. Without explicit permission, she decides not to use the footage and it is stripped from the edit. Instead, Rēhia locates some attractive aerial footage of the springs and inserts that into her report.

7.11.6 Discussion

From a journalistic perspective, it's clear why Rēhia wants underwater pictures. She can see enough from the surface, and from pre-rāhui underwater footage already on the internet, to know that the sub-surface is spectacular. For a journalist to talk about the spring's underwater beauty and clarity without showing it breaks the cardinal rule of television reporting. In addition, compelling images may lead to the story gaining a more prominent slot. But Rēhia has two problems: From her experience the previous day, when rangatira Tai had explained the risks of him being seen to touch the water, she knows that getting agreement to use her Go-Pro may be difficult. Secondly, she is short of time, not an ideal starting point for negotiation.

Sally also has a problem. She is not in a position to give permission. She does, however, give Rēhia the time to put her case, and doesn't interrupt her.

Behaviour in wāhi tapu is set by the iwi that has mana whenua, which are historical and territorial rights to an area (Moorfield, n. d.). Here, three tribes working together have set explicit rules to protect their sacred spring. Rangatira Tai is aware of the reach of the mass media. He is willing to put the tip of his walking stick in the water for the camera; such a shot is external to the water. However, an underwater camera is a different proposition. The argument could be made that asking people to avoid contact with the water doesn't necessarily preclude a walking stick or a camera on a pole. But in terms of tikanga, this would be immaterial: Interpretation rests with the three iwi as the bodies responsible for the spiritual and physical health of the springs. The argument could also be made that any underwater shots, however they are taken, give a human's eye view of what lies beneath. These images, disseminated through mass and online media, might attract people who don't respect the ideals of conservation or tikanga; people who put their own cameras in the water, or worse, themselves. We know that Tai is concerned that the ban is seen to be unambiguous.

Speaker sensitivity to the relative status and face needs of others, or politeness, is a universal feature of language. Speakers use a variety of strategies to reassure or compliment the person to whom they are talking (positive or solidarity politeness) or mitigate or minimise impositions (negative or respect politeness) (Brown, 2015), and Rēhia employs several strategies that fall under the latter. By saying she has a "really big request", she acknowledges that the appeal may discomfort iwi leaders. The rising inflection in her voice as she states what she wants makes her statements sound more like questions and therefore less threatening (Britain, 1992). In explaining why she has to have the footage, unexpressed but implied is that a story without underwater shots will be a poorer product. That is possibly of no consequence to the iwi, but has consequences for Rēhia, who needs to return to the office with the best possible pictures.

Code-switching is a choice that speakers make (Bullock & Toribio, 2009), though not always consciously (Gumperz, 1982). As Rēhia and Sally are both Māori, they can make assumptions about the cultural knowledge they share and accepted norms of communication. For example, the prime determiner of status is age (Johnston & Robertson, 1993); Rēhia addresses Sally by her first name, which is acceptable among those who perceive themselves as sharing the same age and status, but she speaks

about Tai with the honorific "koro", and Miri as "aunty". This "fictive use of kinship terms" (Johnston & Robertson, 1993, p. 125) is a common way to show respect to and about older people in Māori settings, whether the speaker is a blood relative or not, and demonstrating this respect is a critical part of Rēhia's negotiation. Rēhia and Sally both use the word "whānau", which is often used to designate a group involved in a collective enterprise (Williams, 1971). Such terms of address decrease social distance (Johnston & Robertson, 1993).

When Rēhia says that the footage would be a taonga to the iwi, thus invoking the tikanga of koha, she chooses words that encode cultural norms around giving and receiving and call on a shared appreciation of what these are. Rēhia knows that Tai and Miri adhere to tikanga from the way they had welcomed and farewelled her on the first day; it's possible she hopes that the iwi will see her offer of film as something to be prized, and that this may soften their stance. However, Sally doesn't respond to this proposal with enthusiasm. The offer of footage is not necessarily enticing; a large amount of underwater film from the springs is already in the public domain, taken before the rāhui was placed. An offer of footage may not carry the weight it might have in the pre-digital past.

Rēhia has a plane to catch and knows that consultation with too many people reduces the likelihood that she will get the permission she seeks in time. This issue faces all journalists, but can be more problematic for Māori reporters, who are more likely than mainstream reporters to deal with iwi groupings that work on consultation and consensus. However, Rēhia also wants to influence the way Sally approaches others, telling her to limit the number of people she calls, and framing her conversation with Miri to suggest that Tai's assent would be enough.

Although Rēhia is prepared to argue her position very strongly, she is also aware that she can't alienate the iwi – she needs to display respect and an understanding of the iwi's position. A practical reason is that she has heard of another story in Ngāti Tita's area that she wants to pursue, so would have to talk to the same leaders again; she can't afford to irritate them. A cultural reason is that she is also a member of one of the three tribes that co-manage the springs; any offence caused may become known,

affecting her professional and personal reputation. In an interview later that day, Rēhia explained why she had to manage the situation carefully:

> At the end of the day it's about relationships, and for us as Māori journos, you've got to keep your relationships really tight. To me that's worth more than anything … I've got whakapapa connections down here so I'd love to come back and see these whānau again and say "Kia ora, kia ora, kei te pēhea koe? [Hi! How are you?] and not be "Oh no (they're not being welcoming) …"

When Rēhia takes the underwater footage, her decision-making is driven primarily by her needs as a journalist. She appears to be hoping that the combination of taking the pictures as insurance and then negotiating will deliver the outcome she seeks. As we have seen, the iwi's approach to tikanga prevailed.

7.12 Guidance on tikanga issues

This study found that there was consensus between journalists and their managers that reporters in the field were best-placed to manage any tikanga-related issues that arose. Said MTS's Maramena Roderick: "Our journos come from their own tikanga base, as did I. They bring that with them. Nothing I say is going to be of more value to them than what their own have already taught them."

TVNZ's Kereama Wright trusted his instincts, saying he was brought up "being conscious of te taha wairua and te whakarongo ki te ngākau [of my spiritual side and listening to my feelings]." However, if he needed to talk something over, he went to his father Rawiri Wright, a former print reporter and journalism teacher:

> I just ring him about different encounters that I have, that's when it's fresh in the mind. So after I've finished and I feel like maybe I might have stepped over the line with somebody, I'll give … my father a call, just to get a gauge on his thoughts on it. He's been a pou [pillar of support] of mine.

Kereama recalled how his father's advice helped him when one of his stories attracted criticism. After more than 40 whales died on a rural beach, the local iwi decided to decapitate them in order to extract a special oil encapsulated in their heads, thereby reviving an ancient custom that had long been dormant. They invited *Te Karere* to

document it (Wright, 2014b).[61] To Kereama, the crux of the story was the revival of an ancient practice:

> I was fascinated. And I thought, "Man, this is something that our kids need to see." I felt it was important for us to show that tikanga is still alive, as a Māori news outfit. That's news, that's Māori news.

In the intro to the story, the presenter warned viewers that some of the images might be distressing. The visuals showed men slicing through a whale's head and then rolling it away, as well as heads lined up on the grass. Experts overseeing the work gave informative interviews. Kereama believed that showing viewers what was happening to the corpses was:

> Important to give them an idea of what happens – it's reality. After those whales are dead, the next part of the tikanga comes into play and I felt it was important to show that. But a lot of Māori disagreed with that.

The story, when posted on Facebook with two photographs of the heads, generated a great deal of discussion. Many posters objected to severed heads being shown: "Some traditions are best left unseen", wrote one. Some were happy to see an ancient practice being revived, and talked of the whales being a gift from Tangaroa, god of the sea. But there was concern that putting the story online left tikanga Māori open to criticism, as one poster wrote (reproduced here as written):

> ... But in all reality fb is not the place for advertising this. as like some said on here people who view this from all over the world that don't have any clue on what is actually going on here could turn this into a world wide hate frenzie against our culture ... (Joe, 2014).

Kereama wasn't surprised about the polarised reaction: "I was expecting it, because you don't see whale heads on TV every day." But as criticism mounted, misgivings set in: "You do start doubting yourself and second-guessing yourself." He called his father, "just to ask him if I did step over the line." His father didn't think so: "He's all about telling Māori stories from a Māori worldview. If you were to look at the story from the Maori worldview, you'd understand, and no offence would set in."

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[61] Wright, K. (2014, November 7). Iwi revive traditional whaling customs. Retrieved from
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ispm6SHMVRg

MTS reporter Mere McLean used to talk to her late grandmother about work-related tikanga issues. She now discusses any dilemmas with her relative Hinerangi Goodman, who spent more than 20 years working on *Te Karere*. Like many Tūhoe, Mere is of the Ringatū faith, and she takes tikanga issues to church elders if she has a problem.

MTS's Wepiha Te Kanawa often turns to the camera and sound people he travels with, who are usually Māori, male, and older:

> I'll always turn to them and say, "Matua, he aha ō whakaaro?"
> [Uncle, what do you think?] And that's the great thing about Māori –
> we look to our elders for counsel when we're not sure, and that's a
> cool thing ... then we'll have a wānanga [discussion] in the car ... we'd
> look at the journalism Pākehā whakaaro [Pākehā ideas around
> journalism] and then we'll also look at the tikanga whakaaro [issues
> around tikanga]. And we try to make sure that they line up and we
> make sure that they're balanced. But obviously, sometimes, tikanga
> takes precedence.

One of those cases was in Rotorua, where he had planned to get some shots with an interviewee on the mahau [porch] of a whare nui on a marae. However, Wepiha and his cameraman were both waewae tapu (see p. 172); neither had been there before, and no one could take them through the ritual that to make them noa. They decided to film outside the gate instead, said Wepiha:

> We came to the conclusion that we shouldn't go onto the marae,
> because we were waewae tapu, and that filming just outside the
> waharoa was fine, and we weren't breaking protocol. They turned
> out really nice, the pictures that day.

Asked to explain the decision in a way that non-Māori might understand, Wepiha said "Because you would never go into anyone's house unannounced."

7.12.1 The Kaunihera Kaumatua at Māori Television

When Māori TV was set up in 2004, it instituted a Kaunihera Kaumātua, or council of elders, to advise staff on tikanga issues. Former head of news Julian Wilcox recalls three occasions when he called on them, the most serious about the police shooting of Anthony Ratahi in 2011 (see p. 35). We will revisit the story here through the lens of elders' advice as a critical element in news decision-making.

Anthony's family believed that the police had overreacted in shooting to kill – the fatal shot was through his left eye – and asked Māori Television reporter Semiramis Holland to film his body in the morgue in Wellington. She felt uncertain about this, so called her producers for advice. One of them, Annabelle Lee-Mather, advised her to film, and in an interview, explained why: "You've got to get it when it's there; you can't go back and re-enact that stuff. So we thought we'd get it and figure out our plan afterwards."

Julian Wilcox approached kaunihera member Huirangi Waikerepuru for advice, as both Huirangi and Anthony were from Taranaki. Huirangi advised the news staff to follow the family's wishes. Annabelle called another member of the council, the late Hone Kaa, who was also a television presenter. His advice, she says, was "If the whānau are okay with it, the taha wairua will be okay, because you are secure in what this whānau wants."

Aware that there would be criticism of the decision to show a body, especially one with such graphic injuries, producers moved carefully, said Annabelle:

> We knew we wanted to put it on air, but we knew that we had to cross off some tikanga boxes to make sure that we were safe, that Māori TV was safe, that Semi's mana was safe, that the whānau weren't acting willy-nilly.
>
> We needed to show that we weren't just running around filming dead people and we needed to show that there was consideration and that there had been a process. So we needed to talk to people who we considered had high tikanga values and mātauranga Māori value and who were respected within the Māori community and get their guidance ... we felt like with all of their powers combined, that we had their blessing, and their whakaaro and guidance, that we would be okay.

Semiramis said she trusted the elders' guidance: "After the discussions, I didn't have a problem with it, especially when Huirangi and Hone Kaa were involved. I was going to go with what they said ... because they are tikanga experts".

The guidance of elders was, then, a critical influence on a news decision. However, the kaunihera appears to have fallen into abeyance. In 2016, RNZ reported that its members had not been consulted for several years and were unhappy about the situation. Members Kingi Ihaka and Huata Holmes said there had been no formal

notification that the pan-tribal group had disbanded (Forbes, 2016b). In 2019, acting Māori Television head Shane Taurima said (personal communication, February 4, 2019) that one of his priorities was to review the Kaunihera Kaumātua. He added that MTS staff were able to draw on a range of expertise in te reo and tikanga among colleagues and also within their own networks.

7.13 When tikanga itself is the story

Tikanga is such a strong influence on Māori life that tikanga itself – or a breach of it – can become news. In 2016, *Te Karere* journalist Peata Melbourne reported how an American company, fineartsamerica.com, printed the heads of Māori chiefs on NZD$100 shower curtains and sold them online. The images were real people painted by Gottfried Lindauer in the 19th century, but one image appeared to be a mokomokai, or preserved head (Melbourne, 2016a). Mixing the head, which is tapu, with things related to washing of the body is offensive – "those are things you keep really, really separate," said Peata – and using images of real ancestors to make money caused great dismay. "There were just so many things wrong with it," she said. "There was the intellectual property scenario; there was the tikanga Māori scenario; they were non-New Zealanders." In compiling the story, Peata said she "tried to keep my calm. I actually got quite angry, because we contacted the people whose website it was and when they spoke to us, we basically just got shoved off".

The importance of the story was highlighted by the length of the first package: An unusual 5 min 39 s, compared to usual *Te Karere* story lengths of 2 min to 2 min 30 s.[62] Although that first package had various experts outlining why the company's move was offensive, the disapproval of both reporter and anchor was clear, if tempered. At the end of one live cross, host Scotty Morrison asked Peata if she would be following up the story. Peata replied:

> Āe, ka tika ka whai au engari kei tēnā kei tēnā o ngā kaitaurima te
> mana ki te whai i tēnei take arā ki te tono atu ki te kamupene me te
> tango i ngā whakaahua.

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[62] Melbourne, P. (2016, June 20). Outrage at shower curtains depicting Māori ancestors for sale. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FTJOSjx_j0w

> (Subtitles): Oh yes, I will be. But all patrons can also submit
> complaints to the company to have the images removed.

As Scotty linked to the next clip, he said, "Te whakarihariha, nē hā", or "Isn't it disgusting" (Melbourne, 2016a). Here, within a Māori paradigm, the assumption was made that viewers would be similarly affronted and that license could be taken to embody that in the language of the presenters and reporters, and even suggest a remedy – that viewers should make their displeasure known. Here, in defence of tikanga, the show took an activist stance. This story, along with others, prompted a concerted social media campaign that saw the offending images taken down within 24 hours (Kupenga, 2016).

However, the following day, a Rotorua man found his own face on the same site, available for printing on carry bags, duvets and cushions; he hadn't been approached to give consent (Melbourne, 2016b). Peata interviewed a lawyer who said that copyright laws did not protect Māori culture. In a live cross to the anchor, Peata opined that this situation was "āhua koretake" [pretty hopeless].

Cultural appropriation is a perennial topic in Māori-language news; as Māori culture has become more visible and appreciated in Aotearoa New Zealand and overseas, so outsiders have tried to commodify it. There have been protests against overseas fashion labels using moko on models (Kenny, 2014; Young, 2018), Israeli cigarettes called Maori Mix (Stokes, 2006) and beer brands named after the ancestors Hinemoa and Tūtanekai (Arthur-Worsop & Miller, 2016). Linking beer and cigarettes with Māori culture causes particular offence; neither existed in Aotearoa New Zealand before colonisation, yet Māori have been disproportionately and negatively affected by both (Cook, 2013).

7.14 Discussion of Chapters 6 and 7

These chapters have addressed, in particular, Research Question 2: In which situations does tikanga most influence decision-making about newswork? In discussing the tensions inherent between the time-bound news model and the process-focused nature of Māori life, it has also touched on Research Question 3: What are the tensions between the tenets of tikanga, the requirements of the language revitalisation agenda and the demands of news production?

It is clear that journalists did their best to align their tikanga with their journalistic work, particularly at places and events run on cultural protocol. Often, this was straightforward; journalists took cues about what overt expressions of tikanga might be required from the environment, letting their interviewee or host lead. This might mean a formal welcome, discussing whakapapa and sharing refreshments (p. 156).

When finely balanced decisions had to be made about how to handle a story, a critical factor was the likely impact on ongoing relationships, as any breakdown had personal as well as professional consequences. This was demonstrated in decisions to delay stories out of respect for bereaved whānau (p. 155), in journalists handing stories about their own iwi to others to preserve relationships and avoid perceptions of bias (p. 161) and in a journalist's back-down on using water photos she had taken without consent (p. 217).

In several areas, alignment between tikanga and journalistic work was harder to find, and this chapter identified several pinch points. What reporters appeared to experience at these times was cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1957). None of them used the phrase, but analysis of their discussions around the issues fitted neatly with Festinger's definition of the condition. Cognition is "any knowledge, opinion, or belief about the environment, about oneself, about one's behaviour" (Festinger, 1957, p. 3). The theory of cognitive dissonance posits that people need their thoughts and behaviour to be consistent; our opinions and attitudes tend to exist in clusters that are internally consistent. Festinger wrote that "Two elements are dissonant if, for one reason or another, they do not fit together. They may be inconsistent or contradictory, culture and group standards may dictate that they do not fit, and so on" (Festinger, 1957, p. 13).

Festinger intended his theory to be applicable across time, place and culture. We have seen that the values embedded in news, such as speed, soundbites and the need for directly relevant images don't always sit comfortably with Māori ways of being and communicating; see, in particular, the discussions on time and tapu (pp. 173, 193).

A number of journalists conceptualised this discomfort through the metaphor of wearing a Māori hat and a journalist hat (see, for example, pp. 156 and 175). The Māori hat, or Māori identity, sat first, and permanently, on one's head; the journalist

hat sitting on top could be removed (see also Hanusch, 2014). MTS reporter Oriini Kaipara said it could be difficult for journalists to observe the values embodied by each hat at once:

> The whole tikanga versus journalism – I feel that sometimes it's hard to wear the two at the same time, it really is. And when, in situations that I'm challenged to wear one or the other, that's when the internal conflict starts within me. It's terrible!

Every journalist had stories about the times their role as Māori and their role as journalist caused cognitive dissonance, and some of them have been related in this chapter. This discomfort sometimes arose because they didn't have time to focus on relationships as they normally would and felt bad about this (see, for example, p. 158) or because a situation brought variance between one's normal spiritual practice and the behaviours that news required (see p. 193). As we saw in this chapter, such situations included going somewhere tapu (p. 170) or being waewae tapu at an unfamiliar marae but too short of time to carry out the necessary ritual (pp. 173, 181). On the issue of entering a marae, hosts would not necessarily know whether a visiting reporter was waewae tapu or not. In fieldwork, reporters were never asked, and they were always greeted courteously. However, reporters were certainly aware of their status.

When thoughts and behaviours are dissonant, people are driven to reduce the psychological discomfort that it causes (Festinger, 1957). Depending on the situation, these journalists had a range of responses, from apologising to hosts to make it clear that the situation was less than optimal from a tikanga point of view (p. 182), to reciting a karakia or sprinkling water (pp. 173, 193). Discomfort was often most pronounced when journalists had to impose their timetable on others during formal hui, pōwhiri or tangi on marae; they not only had to assess what they were expected to observe as guests, they had to manage the fact that key contacts might be unavailable for some time. Journalists reported that they had learned ways to interrupt people or move things along (see pp. 24, 176).

Festinger's experiments in cognitive dissonance led him to write that while some people had a low tolerance for dissonance and found it hard to deal with – he suggested that they saw life in more black-and-white terms – some people could

tolerate a large amount, and he couched this as an ability to deal with the "greys" in cognition. He speculated that these people were able to compartmentalise "different cognitive clusters so they had nothing to do with one another" (p. 271). Although Festinger's theory remains powerful, this particular aspect has not been thoroughly studied (Morvan & O'Connor, 2017). However, we can perhaps apply this thinking to several instances in fieldwork, where two reporters attending marae events as waewae tapu removed the issue of their status as Māori from the equation entirely. They both entered from the side of the marae without ceremony, and later told me that they saw themselves as present to do a job as a journalist – in effect, temporarily foregrounding their journalistic identity above their Māori one (see p. 174).

MTS's Oriini Kaipara was one of several journalists who believed that Māori reporters were still feeling their way through the tikanga/journalism conundrum, with every story bringing different considerations. RNZ reporter Shannon Haunui-Thompson said that being thoughtful was critical:

> There's a whole lot of tikanga in te ao Māori, but there's a whole lot of tikanga around being a journalist, full stop, and it's always just a balance really. You have to be thoughtful in whatever situation you are in … for me, it's always tika, pono, manaakitanga … if I follow those … then … the mana for both parties is upheld.

7.15 Conclusion

Chapters 6 and 7 explored what tikanga meant in reporters' daily lives and how it manifested in their work. For individuals, tikanga encompassed an internally-driven and socially validated set of norms that underpinned interactions. Through three detailed interactions and in-depth discussion, these two chapters entered the journalists' worlds to see what the practice of tikanga meant within the paradigm of journalism, from first encounters with individuals to reporting on tangi.

However, there is no rulebook on how to balance the demands of journalism and the tenets of tikanga. Journalists did their best to align their needs as journalists with expected norms of behaviour, but tensions arose at times, with journalists adopting a range of actions and reasonings to find compromises that they could live with, with the maintenance of relationships a critical factor.

The next chapter explores the constraints imposed by a language-revitalisation funding regime that pays for te reo Māori to be part of the media languagescape rather than for journalism in and of itself, and how its requirements intersect with tikanga and the practice of journalism.

Chapter 8: Reporters as agents of language revitalisation and the intersection with tikanga

8.1 Introduction

As earlier described (p. 19), Māori journalism is funded on a platform of language revitalisation that sets specific language quantity and quality goals. In this chapter, we explore how the Māori reporter's role as an agent of language revitalisation intersects with tikanga and newswork. Three interactions are included and illuminate the issues that were found to routinely arise. The first shows two reporters discussing whether a Parliamentarian should be interviewed in te reo or English. The second shows how a reporter helps a nervous learner focus on what he needs to say. The third interaction shows the ways in which a reporter tries to persuade a fluent but nervous reo speaker to switch from English to Māori. Finally, the chapter discusses how the quality and quantity of language in Māori news is assessed.

8.2 The challenge

Fieldwork and interviews revealed that reo-Māori journalists were under constant pressure to find a rare creature – a subject expert who spoke te reo well. Said *Te Karere* reporter Irena Smith:

> It's always got to be in the forefront of your mind, because at the end of the day, that's our point of difference ... we are here to uphold reo Māori over and above everything else. That's our job, as Māori news ... we're here to revitalise the language and keep it alive.

Several reporters said that the reo-Māori imperative gave them the incentive to maintain networks of strong speakers. However, as MTS producer Hone Edwards pointed out, news and language revitalisation were uneasy bedfellows: "Where you have a remit around revitalising the language, that clashes with the reality of newsgathering."

That reality is that around 50,000 adults, or 10.6% of the Māori population, claim to "speak te reo Māori very well or well; that is, they could speak about almost anything or many things in Māori" (SNZ, 2014, p. 8). From a reporter's perspective, some of these people are newsmakers, so subject expertise and language talent often come in the one person. However, a far larger number of Māori – 257,500 or (55%) of Māori

adults – have "some" ability; "that is, they are able to speak more than a few words or phrases in the language" (SNZ, 2014, p. 8). These people have a limited vocabulary and their ability to express themselves is far less certain.

TMP documentation does not have any expectations around the quality of Māori language in those being interviewed for Māori news (T. Hood, personal communication, June 19, 2019). The agency recognises that many people integral to news stories are monolingual and there are various dynamics in play that journalists can't control, such as the language interviewees choose to use and how comfortable they feel in front of a reporter. Journalists, then, have to rely on their judgement.

Discussing the issues related to the limited number of fluent speakers, I found that myriad practice-related issues and dilemmas emerged. We can sum them up as questions: Do you go for the subject expert who speaks no Māori so has to be interviewed in English, or the fluent speaker who has a lesser knowledge of the issue? If people say they want to be interviewed in te reo but what they say isn't intelligible enough, do you ask them to repeat their sentiments in English and risk embarrassing them? Do you ask interviewees at the start to be interviewed in both languages, and then choose the better version? And if you opt for this, how do you ensure you maintain your subject's mana and their confidence?

Or, from another perspective, how far do you push people to use their imperfect reo? How many grammatical errors are acceptable? What about a competent Māori speaker who won't speak Māori on air for fear of error? If someone asks for help to formulate what they want to say, do you help, and for how long?

Among the news shows, *Manako* faces the biggest challenge; it has to produce nearly five hours of live reo a week. Television news reporters on *Te Karere* and *Te Kāea* often do interviews in English, but these can be kept short and the reo quotient redressed through voiceovers and pieces to camera. *Waatea News* has some flexibility; if a story has no reo-Māori grabs, the presenter can paraphrase the English in a read-only

report.[63] Below, we'll look at some of the situations reporters face around balancing language and information and how they manage them.

8.3 Striking a balance between good language and quality information

In the early days of the first Māori-language television news bulletin, *Te Karere,* news was read to camera and there was minimal video, so a 100% reo quotient was easily maintained. In the early 2000s, when reporter Dean Nathan was working at *Te Karere* and there were more resources, the use of English was "staunchly kept to a bare minimum," he said. "We were urged to constantly expand and develop our contacts of Māori speakers on all issues."

However, the policy has relaxed, and the current TMP requirement is that the two television news shows are at least 70% in te reo (see p. 19). This could be seen as problematic in that it might reduce the incentive for newsmakers with some reo skills to improve. However, according to *Te Karere* executive producer Arana Taumata, allowing more English in news shows was a practical evolution that better balanced subject expertise and language, and led to better news stories as people were not excluded. Greater use of English also helped the show's "mission" of attracting viewers: "It's important to draw non-reo speakers in," he said. "We don't want these people to think they can't watch *Te Karere* because they don't have the reo."

The daily weighing-up journalists do between quality reo and quality information is "not ideal," said MTS's Oriini Kaipara, "but that's how things are." It appears that Māori Television, in particular, has grappled with where to draw the line on the proportion of reo in news shows. As an example, in the early years of *Te Kāea,* any English in a news story was voiced over by the reporter. Former MTS reporter Annabelle Lee-Mather was among the cohort who did so, and said that the move, now discontinued, was the outcome of considerable discussion about what to do when the

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[63] The pressure is much less for Māori-focused news shows that are funded under TMP rubrics requiring a lesser amount of reo. For example, TVNZ's weekly current affairs show *Marae* is funded under the category second-language learners, so has to produce a show that is 30-70% in te reo (TMP, 2018). Producer Tini Molyneux said she aims for a 50/50 English-Māori show, but "sometimes we have our whole bulletin in te reo Māori, subtitled." Three's weekly Māori-focused current affairs programme *The Hui* is funded under the category receptive audiences, so has to include up to 30% reo content (TMP, 2018).

show aimed to be 95% Māori but newsmakers were often monolingual. She believed that voice-overs sent the wrong message:

> Our people can actually speak English … it felt condescending to viewers, and whakaiti [belittling] of our talent. To me, it drew attention to the fact that they couldn't speak Māori and they needed some little young upstart reporter like me to talk over them.

When *Kawe Kōrero* was launched (see p. 186), it had an aspirational aim to be 100% in te reo. However, said producer Hone Edwards, nine times out of 10, the newsmakers didn't speak Māori, and it quickly became clear that amassing talent for interviews five days a week was "an impossible task" for a team of four, not all of whom were fluent speakers themselves. He negotiated with his managers to be allowed a maximum of two interviews in English in each bulletin.

Fieldwork showed that stories completely in Māori were in the minority, and those that were completely in te reo tended to come from formal Māori events where fluent speakers were concentrated. Reporters generally aimed for subject experts, knowing that if they spoke in English, other parts of the story would redress the balance. TVNZ reporter Kereama Wright said:

> I prioritise the right person to speak about that kaupapa. If there is someone who can deliver the same strong message in Māori, then I'll go for the Māori person. But if I had to choose out of the right person and the Māori speaker who doesn't really know about the kaupapa, then I'll be speaking to the English speaker.

MTS's Oriini Kaipara gave an example of how she would script and edit an English interview to increase the amount of Māori:

> If the grabs are all in English, I'll cut them right down and paraphrase the rest of their grab into a voiceover, which is all in te reo. So, while my 1.30 min story has English-only grabs, at least 70% of it will be in te reo – that includes the presenter intro, my voiceovers and maybe a piece to camera.

Although TMP sets a 70% lower limit for *Te Karere*, the show aims for an 80/20 ratio. The show is 22 min 30 s, which allows four to five minutes of interviewees speaking in English. Everything else – presenter introductions, voice-overs and pieces to camera – are in Māori. Executive producer Arana Taumata said that he did spot checks when he

feels the proportion was slipping, but had not yet found the show to be "exceeding our quota of English".

He advises reporters to be transparent about the information they are seeking to help subjects prepare for a reo-Māori interview. However, the success of this depends on the complexity of the topic:

> There have been cases where talent, in an attempt to stay true to te reo and *Te Karere*, insist on doing the interview in te reo. Generally, this is cool; through preparation and keeping it simple, we can usually get a couple of sound grabs in te reo and build the story around that.
>
> If it's a particularly complicated, technical story and the talent is a learner or intermediate, then we might suggest doing an English interview.

In the interaction that follows, two reporters have a conversation of the type often replicated in reo-Māori newsrooms: Whether to interview someone in English or Māori.

8.4   Interaction 4: Māori or English?

8.4.1   Setting and context

Te Karere reporter Peata Melbourne is doing a story about a foreign oil company's exploratory drilling, and plans to interview the area's member of Parliament. This politician, whom we'll call Manu,[64] describes himself as a conversational speaker of te reo rather than fluent, but Peata is not entirely sure about the level of his reo. As a reporter, she needs to secure Māori-language interviews as much as possible. However, she also needs clear information from her subjects, and this is her top priority. As this interaction starts, she is sitting at her desk. Peata looks across to producer Harata Brown, who sits within speaking distance, for her opinion. The camera was focused on Peata only.

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[64] For privacy reasons, the broadcast relating to this interaction is not referenced.

1. P   Harata (0.2) ((clears throat 0.5))

2.   shall we get Manu in Māori or

3.   English¿

4.   (0.5)

5. H   what's ↑that?

6.   (0.6)

7. P   shall we get Manu in Māori or

8.   English¿

9.   (1.1)

10. H   Māori. (.) He's pretty- he's

11.   getting better in Māori

12. P   =is he?

13.   (0.3)

14. H   yeah. (1.4) but for um- might be

15.   a bit (1.3) ↑I reckon he can give

16.   you punchy grabs in Māori.

17. P   =oh okay let's go for Māori

18.   then.

19.   (1.6)

20. H   he's been practising

21.   (1.6)

22. P   has he?=hah hah .hh

23.   ((smile 3.0s))
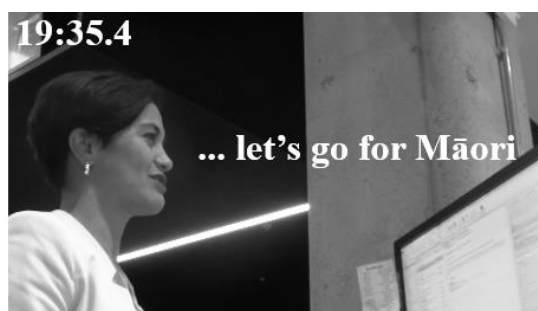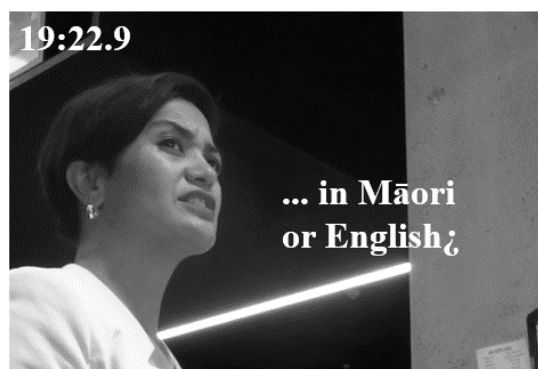
Figure 15. Transcript of Interaction 4: English or Māori?

8.4.2 A common newsroom discussion

In asking "Shall we get Manu in Māori or English¿" (Figure 16, lines 2-3) Peata wants an opinion on Manu's language ability. She's aware that Harata comes from the same tribal area as Manu and knows him well enough to make a judgement. As Peata asks the question, she is frowning slightly, displaying uncertainty; she later said that at that point, she felt "50/50" on using te reo for the interview. Turn-opening frowns persist into the utterances that they anticipate; they become integrated into what is being said, which is generally the presentation of a problem of some kind, as here (Kaukomaa, Peräkylä, & Ruusuvuori, 2014).

Peata's use of "shall we" (lines 2, 7) rather than "shall I" shows her perception of planning as a collaborative exercise. She could have said, "do you want him in Māori or English?" which would have put the decision in Harata's hands. Harata doesn't hear her question clearly the first time (line 5) and asks Peata to repeat it. Harata is being asked for one of two answers. If she was immediately sure of her response it would probably have come within a second, which is the normal outer range of pauses in spontaneous, native-speaker conversation (Jefferson, 1988). However, she pauses for a little more than a second, reflecting. Her answer comes with the downward inflection of a declarative statement: "Māori." (line 10). She then says "He's pretty-" but cuts herself short. The following word was probably going to be a positive adjective like "good". But Harata self-repairs (Schegloff et al., 1977) and gives more specific detail (lines 10-11) saying, "he's getting better in Māori".

8.4.3 Doubt

As Harata starts saying this, Peata's lips roll inwards over her teeth, a sign of cognitive processing, such as thinking or feeling uncertain (Givens, 1999). As Harata says the word "better" (line 11), Peata continues to gaze at her, and her brows lower. This "eyelid tightening" (Stone & Oh, 2008, p. 64) in conversation is usually interpreted as a sign of uncertainty (Givens, 1999; Stone & Oh, 2008). It suggests that Peata may be doubtful about what she is hearing (Givens, 1999) and needs to think about it; frowns "are used conversationally when information needs serious consideration" (Stone & Oh, 2008, p. 59).

As Harata finishes speaking, Peata is quick to reply, saying "=is he?"(line 12), nodding

her head down once in the first word in a beat for emphasis; at the same time, she contracts the muscles of her cheeks and her nose, enough to produce a crease on the upper bridge of her nose, an expression associated with doubt (Chovil, 1991). After she speaks, she adds a non-Duchenne (non-emotional) smile (Ambadar et al., 2009). The words and non-verbal language send the message that she still has reservations about whether the interview should be in Māori.

The camera doesn't capture Harata's face, but we can make an educated guess that she sees the doubt in Peata's facial display (Chovil, 1991) and this may prompt her affirmation that Manu will be able to deliver. She says (line 14) "yeah" with a declarative tone. Then she pauses for 1.4 s, possibly to think. She starts a new sentence with "but", a contrastive marker (Schiffrin, 1987) that suggests she's about to clarify her previous positive assessment. She continues (lines 14-15) "for um- might be a bit", which suggests that she is about to describe what aspects of an interview might be more difficult for Manu. In the 1.3 s pause that follows (line 15), Peata's gaze remains fixed on Harata, and she maintains her sceptical expression. Her lips move slightly as if she might be about to proffer the adjective that Harata is searching for, but she doesn't speak. Harata gets back on track, self-repairs (Schegloff et al., 1977) and offers a firm opinion (lines 15-16): "↑I reckon he can give you punchy grabs in Māori." Here, Harata cuts to the heart of the matter – can Manu provide the pithy but illuminating soundbites that reporters need to bring their stories to life? She believes he can. Grabs generally communicate opinions, ideas and feelings rather than facts, and television reporters often build their stories around them. In lines 14-16, Harata is suggesting that although the MP might not be able to give a word-perfect, lengthy interview about the complexities of the issue, he can probably come up with short, interesting soundbites.

8.4.4 A decision

Peata responds with, "oh okay let's go for Māori then" (lines 17-18), nodding on "oh" and her expression forming into a relaxed Duchenne smile (spontaneous and symmetrical) as she continues to speak, during which she breaks her gaze with Harata and turns back to her screen. The "oh" is a change-of-state token (Heritage, 1984); she has adjusted upwards her opinion of Manu's reo skills, and the nod acts as emphasis.

Peata's "okay" marks acceptance of Harata's advice (Schegloff, 2007); the inference is that she will act on it. Sentences founded on "oh" and "okay" often mark or propose the end of a conversational sequence (Schegloff, 2007) and the talk seems to be over, given the break in gaze (Goodwin, 1981) and the 1.6 s pause that ensues (line 19). Peata's smile fades and she bends her head to look down at her mobile phone.

However, Harata has an afterthought. She quips, "He's been practising" (line 20), which bolsters her earlier explanation that Manu's reo is improving, and also portrays the politician as someone who takes his reo journey seriously.[65] Harata doesn't address Peata when she starts speaking, so Peata's reaction is delayed; she raises her head towards Harata, with the peak of the movement coming as Harata gets to the end of her sentence. Peata's verbal response is also delayed. Her reply "has he?=" (line 22) is delivered with a smile that merges into two pulses of good-natured laughter, accompanied by a Duchenne smile that lingers for 3 s as she looks down at her phone again, bringing the exchange to a close. Her question "has he?=" is rhetorical in this context; she is not looking for an answer, as she already has the information she needs. Both the question and the laughter are affiliative, serving to display hearership to Harata (O'Donnell-Trujillo & Adams, 1983; Schenkein, 2009) rather than commenting on Manu's efforts. Laughter that is closely entwined with the preceding talk can also be read as a signal that the utterance is complete (Schenkein, 2009); such is the case here, and this is where the interaction ends.

8.4.5 Postscript

After this conversation, Peata rang Manu to clarify a few points with him in English. The interview was to be an ear-piece interview, with Peata at her desk on her mobile phone and Manu in his office, wearing an earpiece and sitting in front of a camera operator. When the camera was ready, Peata switched into te reo and the interview ran for six minutes. To end her conversation with Manu, she said, "Okay, choice, ka pai

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[65] The phrase "reo journey" has become widely used in recent years in reo revitalisation circles to designate the many adults who are learning te reo Māori, and it is generally teachers of adults and adult learners themselves who use the phrase. It suggests that the learning of te reo Māori as an adult can be likened to a lengthy journey that has milestones and goals but no real destination; and, as with many journeys, it may have positive moments and negative ones.

[great], thank you!"

Harata later said that she had known Manu since she was a teenage radio announcer on iwi radio in her home region, and over the years she had often seen him in the community. She knew he had been practising his reo as she had seen him not long before this interaction, and Manu had told her that he was making concerted efforts. As Harata had predicted, Manu was able to give two clear grabs.

Speaking later, Peata said she sometimes asks the question "English or Māori?" about fluent or native speakers. But in these cases, she said, she wants to know if the speaker can express herself or himself succinctly: "There are some people who can speak a lot of Māori but can't necessarily get a concept across well in te reo Māori." Grammatical accuracy and a natural syntax, she added, is less important than a subject's ability to make a point in such a way that soundbites can be lifted. "We're not there judging their grammar," she said. "We are just going, 'Can they get their idea across?' "

8.5   Negotiating language

Fieldwork showed that on first making contact with strangers on the phone, the majority of journalists greeted people with common openers such as "kia ora" or "tēnā koe"; the response gave the cue to continue in either English or Māori. If people responded in Māori, said MTS reporter Wepiha Te Kanawa, their fluency quickly became apparent. He adapted to what he heard:

> I'll know if they can speak Māori within the first 10 seconds ... I can hear if it's a native tongue, also if it's a second-language learner, so I base it on that. If they can speak Māori, I'll continue that whole conversation in te reo Māori.

Fieldwork showed that on meeting face-to-face, male Māori journalists usually gave a hongi to other Māori men, and Māori men expected that; in my observation, the hongi is the standard greeting among Māori men in any situation, and it is often accompanied by a handshake with the right hand and the left hand placed on the shoulder or upper arm of the other. However, non-Māori often got a handshake only, with the reporters sticking to the gesture they knew would be understood by the interviewee. Male reporters tended to shake women's hands and kiss them on the cheek, and male interviewees tended to do the same.

Women infrequently did a hongi with other women, usually opting for a handshake and/or kiss. For *Te Karere* reporter Irena Smith, the hongi is associated "with more formal occasions, so it's not an everyday thing". She was among several women who said they took their cue from the person they were meeting:

> I just take my lead off the talent. I stick my hand out first ... mostly I just kiss them, though, rather than hongi, but then, you can tell if they're going in for a hongi, so you go in for the hongi too.

To Hinerangi Goodman, some sort of touch was important to show sincerity:

> Te mea nui, kua pā. Ko te ihi ko te wehi o te tinana kei te rere, nō reira, he rite anō. [The main thing is that there's contact. The life force of the body is shared so it's the same thing (whether one does a hongi or kiss)].

Fieldwork showed that if reporters had already been speaking English to someone and were ready to interview, they would usually ask: "Do you speak Māori?" If they had been speaking Māori, they would generally offer a choice: "Reo Māori, reo Pākehā rānei?" [Māori or English?] As *Marae* producer Tini Molyneux observed, "Some people speak te reo but can't actually articulate themselves as well in te reo as they would in English, and there are some people that are more articulate in te reo Māori than they are in English."

Te Kāea reporter Taroi Black encouraged people to use their reo, whatever the standard. He reasoned that with use came improvement:

> If they are capable to speak te reo Māori, then you go with it. Here and there, they're going to have a few errors, they're not going to be grammatically correct in their reo. But I'm not all about a speaker who's grammatically correct; I'm about a person who knows how to speak enough in te reo and having the confidence to actually utilise the language ... the more you speak it, the better you become.

8.6 Supporting talent who are on their reo journey

For many people learning a new language, anxiety and apprehension can cause a lack of confidence and a reluctance to speak (Te Huia, 2013). This can be compounded among Māori, who may feel whakamā [shame, self-doubt and embarrassment] and also grief that they don't speak their heritage language or have an imperfect grasp

(Hura, 2015, 2017; Walker, 2017). This mix of emotions can strike very painfully at one's mana, sense of identity and self-esteem, and can be acute for those in middle-age and above, who comprise both the urbanised generation that didn't have access to Māori-language education as well as the generations before them who were punished for speaking Māori at school (Chrisp, 2005; Cowell, 2017; Metge, 1986). *The Hui* producer Annabelle Lee-Mather said she never presumed people spoke te reo:

> Because my mum couldn't speak Māori and my grandmothers couldn't speak Māori, and I know first-hand the whakamā they would experience when people presumed that they did and would launch into a te reo Māori conversation with them … so I never want to make anybody else feel – what's the word – whakamā or wanting. That's tikanga too, being mindful that not all of our people have been lucky enough to learn te reo Māori and that is just as much a part of our story.

In this research, it became clear that the language revitalisation imperative encouraged journalists to help interviewees find the right words; they stepped beyond the usual definition of journalist. Kereama Wright, for example, saw his role as cultural ally as well as journalist:

> The thought of speaking Māori on television is daunting. It's about confidence-building. You're not just there to get the story, you're there to empower someone to deliver the message in their native tongue. And I love it. I'm a product of second language-learning parents, and I can see the importance of it. So we'll sit there for half an hour sometimes and practice the kōrero. Or sometimes we'll write it. It happens quite often. Often it's just repetition, repeating the answer until they get confident enough, and we'll take a number of takes.

However, there were limits to how long journalists could spend helping people with grabs. Oriini Kaipara, for example, gives people three practices before she suggests a switch to English. Irena Smith used to coach interviewees, but stopped as she found the results unnatural. She encourages people to speak Māori to see how they go. If she feels that their ability to communicate clearly might be marginal, she asks them to comment in English as well. Fieldwork showed several journalists taking this approach.

Irena Smith said it can feel awkward to ask for interviews in both languages, but she reminds people that clarity is critical:

I just cut to the chase and say, 'Can we do this in English as well, just to give us an option on whether we use your interview in te reo or English?' and ... I say, 'I think you will be able to explain yourself more clearly in English' to try to ... make them feel a bit better about the fact that we're just here to get the story, and we need to get the story in the most clear and succinct way. 'It would help you, and it would make you look better on TV, if you say that in the language that is most comfortable to you.'

Asked how people reacted, she said, "They're usually okay with that. They see that we are probably the best people who can help them in that situation, and they're always conscious of how they look on TV anyway."

Radio journalist Ana Tapiata spent six years until 2010 producing a five-minute RNZ programme called *He Rourou*, which captured people informally discussing various topics in te reo. Her strategy with those less fluent was to keep her questions narrow: "I would focus the interview quite intensely … so that they knew what they had to focus on and not worry about going anywhere else." Many of her less-fluent interviewees were, however, subject experts, and including them was a respectful nod to that expertise: "It had to do with enhancing mana" (see also pp. 27, 152). Ana would ensure that a fluent speaker was recorded as well, even if that person was further removed from the issue, to ensure top-quality reo was also present.

Manako host Tumamao Harawira is aware that interviews are "nerve-wracking" for learners, and his strategy is to keep his language simple. "*Manako* is not in the business of subjecting an already uncertain talent pool, a pool that is the future of the language, I might add, to an environment that is not conducive for them."

Helping people feel comfortable to use the language they have is important, said Waatea manager Bernie O'Donnell, and he might offer to pre-record an interview and edit it. "The pressure is taken off them. I suppose the biggest problem for our speakers is to admit that they are not up there and once you broach that, they seem a little bit relieved."

When preparing scripts, television reporters type out grabs verbatim. However, when translating grabs into English for subtitling, they tidy errors of expression. Below is an example from an interview that MTS reporter Dean Nathan did with a police officer

who worked with young people, and on that day was at high school to watch a touring anti-bullying play.[66] This is the grab Dean used in his story, and the subtitles:

> (Officer): Mō tenei wā āe e kite katoa ngā hara ki runga i te rorohiko, te whakaweti ki runga i te Pukamata pea te ipurangi me rorohiko ā ko au e haere mai nei ki te tautoko i a rātou me ngā kura katoa.

> (Reporter's interpretation and subtitles): At the moment we are (seeing) all types of negative stuff happening online, including cyberbullying, and my role here is to support this initiative amongst all schools.

While the verbs and nouns most critical to meaning are there, such as bully (whakaweti), support (tautoko), computer (rorohiko), internet (ipurangi) and Facebook (Pukamata), the surrounding grammar is imprecise. However, the officer was confident enough to use what he had, and the message was clear: He wanted to visibly back the community's anti-bullying efforts.

In the film, as Dean and the officer were exchanging farewells, the latter, uncertain he had explained himself well, said, "I hope that was alright." Dean replied, "It was cool, bro." As the pair shook hands, Dean switched to Māori, saying, "I rongo au i te wairua o tō kōrero, e hoa." [I felt the spirit/essence of what you were saying, my friend]." In his words of encouragement, he was displaying manaaki and care for the officer's feelings as a learner of te reo.

Discussing the situation later, Dean said he probably wouldn't have used such a grab from an ordinary member of the public; he might have asked for English instead. But he wanted to include the officer in his story as he had personal and positional mana, and was a role model for using the reo he had:

> I don't think I would have accepted that comment from many, if any, others. But in this case I ... took into account the important role that he plays in our community and allowed him the opportunity to comment. Plus he's a good guy.

People's language skills generally improved over time, he said, and this eventually benefited reporters:

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[66] For privacy reasons, the broadcast relating to this exchange is not referenced.

I recall having to edit one particular talent to pieces to get a grab appropriate for news. But in the years to come, this person became one of the most outspoken Māori leaders of their generation and a go-to talent for Māori and mainstream news media alike.

8.6.1 An ethical issue?

It could be argued that it is unethical for a journalist to help any subject work out what they want to say or tidy up their language; indeed, it would be rare for such issues to arise amongst mainstream journalists in Aotearoa New Zealand. However, in the reo-Māori reporting world, the intersection of the limited pool of speakers, manaaki tangata and the funding regime engenders a different perspective. The consensus was that telling people what to think was clearly unethical, but helping them translate their own ideas into Māori was acceptable for clarity and to maintain their mana.

Oriini Kaipara emphasised that Māori journalists had to take on the role of coach at times "whether we like it or not. Our job is not to teach people how to speak Māori, but to help people communicate effectively in te reo by showing manaakitanga." Annabelle Lee-Mather reflected a sentiment often heard in revitalisation circles when she said that all reo-Māori speakers had a duty to provide language support to those who sought it from them. "As journalists, that includes us, and we need to be extra mindful that we give that support in a way that empowers the talent to tell their story in their own words."

8.7 Interaction 5: Supporting people to use their reo

The following interaction demonstrates how a journalist engages with a man who is learning to reo and is nervous about speaking on camera. However, he has decided to do so to honour a colleague as well as adhere to the tikanga of tangi, which are held in te reo Māori. Here, with help from the journalist and support from a workmate, he achieves his goal and the journalist gets her grab.

8.7.1 Setting and context

It's a windy summer afternoon and *Te Karere* reporter Irena Smith and a camera operator are at the marae of an educational institution that is about to host the tangi of a former member and esteemed koroua, Matua (a pseudonym).[67] Irena has called

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[67] For privacy reasons, the broadcast relating to this interaction is not referenced.

ahead to identify a senior spokesperson for interview, and Rihari Hakawai (a pseudonym) has agreed. Irena has determined that once his interview is done, the film will be electronically sent to the office for editing into a grab. She will stay to broadcast live at 3.55 pm and introduce the clip.

Rihari is on his reo journey. To date, he has passed requests for work-related reo-Māori interviews to his colleague Wiki (a pseudonym), but today feels he should do the job as a sign of respect for both Matua and the tikanga of tangi. Rihari has had some time to prepare and has worked out with Wiki's help what he wants to say. He has also asked Wiki if she will stand next to him as support while he is being filmed, and she has agreed. This is not an unusual request in the Māori world; individuals facing a public or stressful situation may ask people to support them by standing close by (Mead, 2003; Spiller, Spiller, & Henare, 2006).

As Rihari is guided to a spot for interview, Wiki asks if she can stand right next to him in shot. However, Irena says that won't be possible. A close-up capturing the shoulders to the top of the head is the standard shot for news interviews (Malcolm, 2014; Tuchman, 1973b) as it takes viewers psychologically into "close personal distance" (Hall, 1966).[68] To have two in a frame, or a shoulder or part of a head that suggests a second person, works against the aim of such a shot – getting viewers close enough to feel an emotional involvement with what is being said (Tuchman, 1973b). We could also argue that to have a second, silent person in a shot undermines the authority of the speaker.

As Rihari hears that Wiki can't be in shot, he frowns and his lips compress. Lips are our most emotionally expressive bodily features, and lip and jaw tension reflects anxiety (Givens, 1999). Rihari looks at Wiki and says, "I want you to stay near me", using a co-expressive, palm-down gesture towards the ground, as if he is designating exactly where she should stand. Wiki is about 3 m away and cheerfully replies, "Yep, I'll be here."

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[68] Edward Hall (1966) defined four types of interpersonal distance: Intimate distance for embracing, touching or whispering (close phase less than 1-2 cm; far phase 15-46 cm); personal distance for interactions among friends or family (close phase 46-76 cm, far phase 76-122 cm); social distance for interactions with acquaintances (close phase 1.2-2.1 m, far phase 2.-3.7 m); and public distance used for public speaking (close phase 3.7-7.6 m; far phase further than 7. 6m).

Irena and Rihari are ready, but the cameraman has been distracted by a phone call. While awaiting instructions, both are silent and gaze at the activity around them. Rihari stands with his hands clasped above his belt buckle, over the bottom of his tie, to stop it from blowing around. Irena, who has her mobile phone in her left hand and the microphone in her right, swings her arms in unison, crossing them in front of her. Rhythmic, repetitive movements like this – like foot tapping and drumming fingers on a table – are self-adaptors, or movements that have no communicative function and of which the actor is largely unaware; they are often idiosyncratic (Ekman & Friesen, 1969; Hartley & Karinch, 2010). Here, the fact that Irena is gazing aimlessly while swinging her arms suggests that the movements are simply an energy-releasing time-filler. She knows the delay is legitimate, but time is short – the film will need to be sent back to the office for her colleagues to edit before she goes live at 4pm, and it's already 3.20pm. Our interaction (Figure 16) begins here, as Irena tells Rihari what she will ask once the camera is ready.

1. I   he aha ana ah:: takoha ki te
       ah what is ah:: his contribution to the

2.   ((crashing sound 0.6))

3.   te whare nei te kura nei?
      institution this school?

4. R   ((leans forward, hand behind ear))

5.   (1.0)

6. I   he aha he aha ōna takoha? ki a
      what is his contribution? to

7.   koutou? o (0.8) te whare nei?
      to you all? of (0.8) this place?

8.   (0.4) te whare akoranga nei?
      (0.4) of this educational institution?

9.   (1.3)

10. R °he aha te takoha°
      °*what's takoha*°

11. I   =takoha. [takoha.]

12. R   [takoha.]

13. I   (.) āna:: ah:: (unclear 0.8) contri<u>bu</u>tion
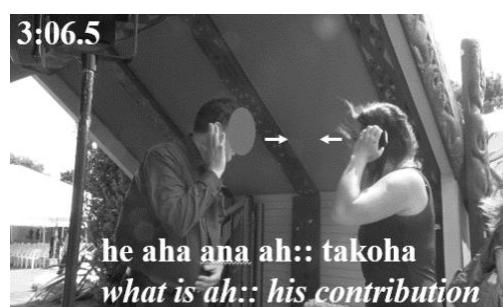
		(.) *hi::s ah:: (unclear 0.8) contri*<u>*bu*</u>*tion*
14.		(0.5)
15.	R	ah oh:: horopaki kia ora ((nods x2))
		oh:: context thanks ((nods x2))
16.		(2.4)
17.	R	u::m
18.	I	=he aha ōna <u>mahi</u>. he aha ōna (2.3)
		=what did he do what were his (2.3)
19.		ngā mea i waihotia mai mā koutou
		the things he left you all
20.		he aha (1.1) ōna <u>momo</u> āwhina
		what (1.1) <u>sort of</u> help he gave
21.		(0.5)
22.	R	āe
		yes
23.	I	=he aha tana <u>tūranga</u>¿
		=what was his <u>position</u>¿
24.		he aha te tikanga o āna <u>mahi</u>
		what was the purpose of his <u>work</u>
25.		(0.7) ērā momo whakaaro.
		(0.7) those sorts of ideas.
26.		(0.7) kei a [koe.
		(0.7) up to you.
27.	R	[kia- kia ora rā
		[okay thanks
28.		(0.5)
29.	I	kei a koe
		up to you

Figure 16. Transcript of Interaction 5: Supporting those on their reo journey

8.7.2 Ensuring comprehension

Irena prepares Rihari by giving him a single, narrow focus: The elder's contribution to the institution (lines 1-3). She is interrupted by a crashing sound (line 2), which resembles a metal tray hitting concrete, and turns briefly towards the sound, her hair blowing across her face. She is still swinging her arms backwards and forwards, but in a lesser arc as she speaks. As she says, "te whare" [the institution] (line 3), the swinging stops and she gestures with her head and left arm towards the administration building near the marae, a deictic (pointing) gesture towards the physical thing she is talking about (Kendon, 2004). Her arm then drops back to her side and she reprises the swinging motion for several arcs.

Throughout Irena's turn at talk, Rihari maintains his gaze on her face, his expression neutral. Once she finishes the turn, he leans towards her, right hand behind right ear, to wordlessly communicate that he has missed something (line 4). As he makes the movement, he keeps his left hand on his tie, but the blade, the shorter piece, escapes its keeper loop and blows in the wind; still, he doesn't break his gaze. Irena repeats her question (lines 6-8, image 1), leaning forward slightly and holding her hair out of her face with her left hand, possibly to ensure her face is clearly seen as she repeats herself. It is also, perhaps, to ensure that her reply is understood that she breaks it into four segments, each ending with a rising intonation: what is his contribution? to you all? of this place? of this educational institution?

Gaze is important to their communication. At the end of each segment, Irena meets Rihari's gaze to check he understands before moving on. He breaks his gaze just once and very briefly, while Irena is mid-segment, to tuck in the offending blade. Irena gestures more in this second iteration of her question, probably to aid his understanding. She gestures with both hands towards Rihari in a deictic way as she says, "you all" and does the same towards the administration building as she says "this place". Once finished, she gazes at him and smiles, a signal that she has finished her turn and that he can take the turn (Kendon, 1967).

There is a gap of 1.3 s (line 9) – a sign of a problem (Enfield, 2017; Jefferson, 1988). If Rihari had understood, he would have responded within a fraction of a second with an affirmative reply (Enfield, 2017; Jefferson, 1988). But the gap suggests he is processing

something, and he asks, "what's takoha" (line 10). Irena says the word twice, appearing to avert her gaze briefly as she searches for the equivalent word in English (line 11). This repetition is a filled pause (Maclay & Osgood, 1959), a place-holder to show that she intends to respond but needs some processing time. Rihari joins her on the second iteration of takoha (line 12), possibly getting used to the word. As Irena's word search continues, her microphone arm rises up and then falls. Gesture plays a direct role in the process of lexical retrieval (Krauss et al. 2000); here, we can see from the wrist rotation that had her hand been free, she would have probably produced a gesture with the palm upwards and fingers open, which is associated with not knowing something (Givens, 2015; Müller, 2004); or, as Ahlsén (2015) wrote, is a "word choice and hesitation gesture" (p. 11).

8.7.3 Finding the right word

As Irena is searching for the word, Rihari gazes silently towards Wiki, who is still standing to his left about 3 m – maybe he will need her help? Wiki, whom we can see on the right in images 2-6, takes a step forward. But as she does so, she sees that there is no need to approach; Irena has found the word. As Irena says "contri<u>bu</u>tion" (line 13, image 2), she leans forward and extends both arms out towards Rihari, phone still in her left hand and microphone in the right, in a gesture that presents the word as if it were a concrete thing in her hand being presented to him (Müller, 2004). Talk of giving often prompts an outstretched, palm-up gesture (Cooperrider, Abner, & Goldin-Meadow, 2018; Givens, 2016; Müller, 2004); it is just coincidence here that the word Irena is supplying here is another word for giving. Normally in this type of gesture, both palms are held open and upwards, but Irena's hands are occupied, so she holds the palm holding her phone as upwards and openly as she can, while the microphone arm rises simultaneously. The high point of her gesture falls on the third syllable of contri<u>bu</u>tion, the syllable that is typically stressed (Deverson & Kennedy, 2005). At the same time, she does a beat of the head for emphasis (Leonard & Cummins, 2011) and leans slightly towards Rihari, possibly to check that he's understood.

Rihari's subsequent "o::h" (line 15) is a change-of-state token (Heritage, 1984) that shows that he has got the message, and it's accompanied by its gestural equivalent, a nod (Liddicoat, 2011; Whitehead, 2011). He also briefly closes his eyes on the initial, upward movement of the head (image 3); this breaking of the gaze is possibly a brief

block of stimuli to assist in gathering his thoughts (Kendon, 1967). As he says "(that's the) context, thanks" (line 15) he does two more small nods, looking downwards. Here, Rihari is saying that he understands that in the current context, one of eulogies and celebration of a life, takoha means contribution in the sense of the legacy a person leaves behind them. As discussed earlier, te reo is a highly polysemic language where a single word standing alone can bear many meanings; context provides clarity. Takoha can mean, depending on context, pledge, contribution, gift, donation, levy, tax, and tip (Moorfield, n. d.).

The conversation lapses for a significant 2.4 s (line 16), with neither taking the turn; Rihari is still gazing downwards and away from Irena, who is gazing at him. Rihari's lips move silently at this point; he may be mouthing the word takoha, which would not be unusual in someone who has just encountered a new word, but the video is inconclusive on this. He returns his gaze to Irena and says "u::m" as if he is about to speak (line 17). Irena appears to take that as a signal that he's still not quite clear on the meaning of takoha, and immediately expands by offering Rihari other questions whose answers would help define the elder's legacy (lines 18-25). Her intonation in this section reflects the recitation of a list, without any downward inflection at the ends of phrases. Note the 2.3 s pause on line 18 and the self-repair: it is possible that she had a particular noun in mind but may have decided to discard it for something simpler, here "the things he left you all" (line 19).

Irena says, "he ana ōna mahi *what did he do*" (line 18) and on mahi *do*, she beats both hands, palms downwards, for emphasis. Rihari makes four small nods in response, a sign of continuing attention (Lewis, 2012) and holds a closed-mouth polite smile (Ambadar et al., 2009); both signal attention (Yngve, 1970). These backchannels, such as non-lexical sounds like "mmm" and nods "tell the speaker that the message is being decoded successfully" (Brunner, 1979, p. 733). As Irena pauses (line 18), Rihari glances briefly at Wiki, perhaps confirming that she is still close. He returns his gaze to Irena, still with a closed-mouth smile that indicates his attention.

As Irena takes the turn by saying "the things he left you all" (line 19) she again uses the arms-out, palm-up gesture, referring to the elder's legacy. When she drops her hands after this motion, she swings her arms backwards and forwards once in what now

appears to be an idiosyncratic self-adaptor (Ekman & Friesen, 1969), then they settle at her sides. When she says, "the sort of help he gave" (line 20), she raises both hands in the palm-up giving gesture (Cooperrider et al., 2018; Givens, 2016; Müller, 2004). Up to this point, Rihari has maintained his gaze, holding the polite smile and continuing small backchannel nods. He then says yes (line 22) and turns his head slightly to his right, briefly breaking his gaze with Irena and then, as she is speaking, giving three small nods before his gaze returns to hers. This can possibly be interpreted as a signal that he has heard enough and is ready to go. As Brunner (1979) wrote, when backchannels such as nods overlap the speech of another, "they may indicate that the auditor is ahead of the speaker and a little less elaboration would be in order" (p. 733).

However, Irena continues, saying "what was his position" (line 23), while pointing with the index finger of her left hand to the building she had indicated earlier, the peak of the gesture falling on the word "position". On the last syllable of the word mahi *work* in the phrase "tikanga o āna mahi *purpose of his <u>work</u>*" (lines 24), both right and left hands beat downwards, once, in emphasis, matching her stress on the word. As she starts saying "ērā momo whakaaro *those sorts of ideas"* (line 25)*,* her arms rise, palms up, then her arms, bent at the elbows, move asymmetrically backwards and forwards once each, reminiscent of the movement of the arms when walking briskly. This appears to be a version of the metaphoric "weighing up" gesture, where the hands move asynchronously to describe, in abstract form, the weighing up for consideration of different ideas (Chui, 2011; Cienki, 1998; Lakoff, 2008).

8.7.4 Ready for interview

As Irena says "whakaaro *ideas*" (line 25), her tone falls – she is at the end of her list. In running through the other questions she might ask, she has primed Rihari on the language she might use and checked he understands. Rihari, still with a closed-lip smile, raises and lowers his eyebrows quickly, most likely communicating assent (Saville-Troike, 2003). Irena reads this as confirmation he is ready, and ends her turn by saying (line 26), "Kei a koe *it's up to you* (what you say)", raising her arms, palms up and towards Rihari in a gesture of ceding choice (Givens, 2016; Kendon, 2004). Rihari thanks her (line 27). Irena once again says "Kei a koe *up to you*" (line 29) as she looks down at the microphone, using her left hand to turn it on.

In this latter part of the conversation, by saying "Kei a koe *up to you*" (lines 26, 29),she seems to be giving Rihari scope to range more widely than suggested by her primary question ("what was his contribution"). The fact she says the phrase twice would suggest that she's reassuring Rihari that she will be happy with whatever he says. This is where the interaction in Figure 17 ends and the interview begins, as the camera is ready.

Irena begins her interview by acknowledging the institution's loss and asking Rihari her primary question:

> He ngarohanga nui a Matua mō koutou. Kōrero mai, he aha ōna takoha nui ki tēnei wāhi?
>
> [Matua's passing is a big loss for you all. Tell me, what is the legacy he leaves behind here?]

Rihari, speaking slowly and carefully, acknowledges the sadness that has accompanied Matua's death, then describes the elder's legacy:

> Tino pōuri mātou nā te wehenga o te kaiako, arā, Matua. He tangata kaingākau ia. Ko te mea nui ki a ia ko te aroha mō te tangata, i manaaki nei i ngā tāngata katoa o tēnei hapori.
>
> Subtitles: We are saddened by the passing away of our beloved navigator, Matua. Most important to him was looking after the needs of others. He used to help all people who lived in this community.

The interview lasts three minutes, during which Irena asks how long the elder had worked for the institution and, also, in two different ways, how Rihari will remember him. The latter questions give him two opportunities to provide a personal reflection on Matua's contribution and Irena two chances to get a good soundbite on that subject.

Once the camera is off, Irena, Rihari and Wiki clarify some information about Matua. Then Wiki and Rihari leave. As they turn away, Wiki faces Rihari and puts her right hand up in a high-five, smiling. Rihari raises his right palm to meet hers, also smiling. The pair clearly have a supportive and collegial relationship, and Wiki is acknowledging that despite Rihari's nerves, he has achieved something important.

Just over an hour later, as preparations for the tangi continue, Irena is speaking live to the show's presenter and throwing to a 20 s grab from her interview. The grab is the first answer Rihari gave, as transcribed above.

8.7.5 Discussion

Reporters often deal with people who are learning te reo and may be anxious. In this situation, Rihari, who said in a later interview with the researcher that he likes to be well-prepared, had enough time before the reporter arrived to work out with Wiki what he needed to say. Wiki also provided the quiet presence during interview that Rihari needed. Irena, in telling Rihari the main question she wanted to ask, focused him on one thing, a strategy journalists use with non-fluent speakers (see also p. 244). Irena said she had not considered doing an interview in English. "His reo was … good enough … it's more about getting the message across, and that being quite clear." Here, she echoed a point made earlier by *Te Karere* colleague Peata Melbourne (p. 241) and Dean Nathan from *Te Kāea* (p. 244): Fluency is less important than a person's ability to make a point.

8.8 Interaction 6: Persuasion

In the previous interaction, Rihari had time to prepare. However, journalists approaching strangers for interview have minimal time to get to know them. Such is the case in the following interaction at a tangi, which explores the dynamics between a reporter and a Māori speaker who is nervous about making mistakes and prefers to be interviewed in English. The reporter tries to encourage her to speak in Māori, to no avail.

8.8.1 Setting and context

Atawhai Morris (a pseudonym) is at the burial day for a koroua.[69] She had arranged to attend the day prior, and after meeting her contact on site, her first interview, in te reo, is with an eloquent Māori Parliamentarian; he is, she says, "a good get". Her contact tries to find reo-speaking adults from the family to speak on camera, but they decline. Atawhai has no luck either, saying that the family members are "shy" – kirimate (p. 183) may have been an influence here – so turns to her next task. At

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[69] For privacy reasons, the broadcast relating to this interaction is not referenced.

elders' tangi, she likes to interview young people so she can ask what they will carry on from the example set by the deceased. Such an approach reflects the cultural importance of elders in guiding the young, particularly in the transmission of cultural and community values and knowledge (Ka'ai, 2004; Mead, 2003).

A young woman in her 20s, whom we'll call Taiahupuke, is brought to Atawhai; she has been volunteered by her aunt to speak for the whānau. As the camera operator is setting up, Atawhai and Taiahupuke spend a minute talking in English about the latter's relationship to the deceased and some of the activities that have been taking place. This transactional exchange (Schnurr, 2012) is accompanied by smiles and goodwill, and establishes that as well as being a direct relative of the deceased, Taiahupuke had performed with her haka group the night before. As they talk, the two are standing about 1.2 m apart. This is social distance – close phase, the 1.2 m-2.1 m "protective sphere or bubble" (Hall, 1966, p. 119) in which acquaintances transact "impersonal business" (Hall, 1966, p. 121).

At the point the transcript starts (Figure 18 below) the camera operator is still setting up.

1.	A	do you speak Māori?
2.		(0.4)
3.	T	I <u>do</u> but can we kōrero i te reo
4.		Pākehā? *speak in English?*
5.	A	=<u>I</u> reckon you'll be <u>fine</u>
6.	T	=no I won't [((unintelligible))
7.	A	[do you know what?
8.	T	=I'm too nervous
9.	A	=do you know what you know what
10.		we only keep about we only take
11.		about 10 seconds (0.7) probably the
12.		main (0.3) especially the stuff
13.		mai i te whatumanawa *from the heart*
14.		((unintelligible 2.3s))

00:02.0
do you speak Māori?

00:04.0
... i te reo Pākehā? *in English?*

00:06.5
no I won't

15.	T	=oh kāo *no* plea:se
16.		[HAH
17.	A	[HAH HAH HAH
18.	T	aroha mai *sorry*=
19.	A	=you'll be fine.
20.		((next 20s is excised, during which reporter and camera operator prepare to record and Taiahu responds to a teasing comment from a relative. The interview begins below))
21.	A	tēnā (0.4) tuatahi ko wai tō ingoa? *now (0.4) firstly, what's your name?*
22.		(0.4)
23.	T	ah ko Taiahupuke Ngaio ahau. *ah I'm Taiahupuke Ngaio.*
24.	A	(0.5)
25.	T	<Taiahu>
26.		(0.2)
27.	T	Puke. Taiahupuke.
28.		(0.3)
29.	A	°ka pai° (1.2)
30.		ah (1.6) he aha te momo tō koroua? *what was your grandfather like?*
31.		(0.9)
32.	T	hh ah:: hh ah:: ((shakes head x2))
33.		(3.1)
34.	T	[could we change?
35.	A	[what was what was koro like.
36.	T	oh: (1.0) oh (0.7) he was a (0.9)
37.		he: wa:s such a humble man (0.6)
38.		he was a humble man with a
39.		generous °heart° (0.7) who gave to
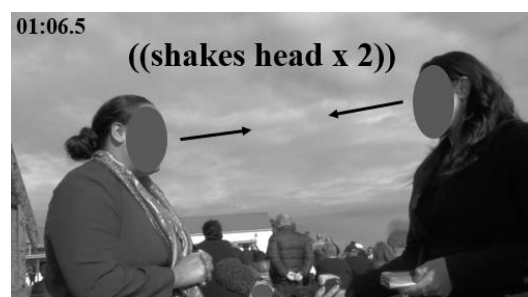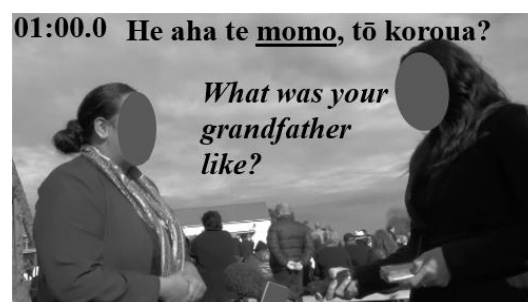
40.		anyone who walked in his- (0.6)
41.		through his gate into his whare
42.		((interview continues in English for 2m 48s)).
43.	M	ka pai. he kōrero whakamutunga āu? *do you have any final comment? a direct address to your grandad?*
44.		(0.2)
45.	T	°yeah°. (0.2) oh papa we <u>love</u> you
46.		we <u>miss</u> you (1.1)
47.		you were our <u>heart</u> our <u>moon</u>
48.		and our <u>sun</u> (1.6)
49.		I'll see you again one day
50.		and so will the rest of the boys hh
51.		(0.6)
52.	A	ka pai *good*
53.		[ka nui *that's plenty*
54.	T	[ohhhh:: so:[ree::
55.	A	[no no kei te pai [*it's fine*
56.	T	=↑so:::[ree:::
57.	A	[no worry hah hah
58.		hah hah hah hey (0.4) what I'll do is
59.		I'll get the spelling of your name
60.		[so I don't muck it up
61.	T	[yes
62.		(0.9)
63.	A	kei te pai *it's okay*
64.	T	=just i- um- wipe it <u>all</u> out
65.	A	=no no [n(h)o(h) (0.5)
66.	T	[HAH HAH HAH HAH
67.	A	=<u>kāo</u>re *no*

04:07.7 ... our <u>moon</u> and our <u>sun</u>

04:14.3 ↑so:::[ree:::
[no no kei te pai
it's fine

04:22.8 =just i- um- wipe it <u>all</u> out
=no no

| 68. | ((Final 26 seconds excised. Atawhai checks the spelling and enters it into her phone. The pair part with a hug)) | |

Figure 17: Transcript of Interaction 6: The reluctant reo speaker

8.8.2 An unexpected answer

At the time this transcript starts, a lull has fallen in the small talk. The reporter, holding her phone in her right hand and the microphone in her left, looks at Taiahupuke and asks whether she speaks Māori (line 1, image 1). The preferred answer to such a polar question (Stivers, 2010) is yes or no. However, Taiahupuke answers unexpectedly, saying, "I do but can we kōrero i te reo Pākehā?" (lines 3-4, image 2); note the emphasis on "do".

Her "but" is a contrastive marker (Adler et al. 2004; Schiffrin, 1987) signalling that the answer won't be straightforward; "but" statements have the effect of negating the preceding statement (Adler et al. 2004). As Taiahupuke starts the phrase "i te reo Pākehā", the reporter's mouth opens in an unspoken "oh"; at the same time her eyebrows lift and eyes widen, the non-verbal equivalent of saying "I'm surprised" (Ekman, 1979).

Taiahupuke's use of "can we" is a low-modality way to make a request – she's happy to do the interview, but on her terms. It's likely that she doesn't want to annoy the reporter, who is essentially a guest on her marae, by using a high-modality statement such as "it will have to be in English". The deferential way she puts her request forms part of a negative politeness strategy, one that aims to minimise imposition (Brown & Levinson, 2006). Taiahupuke's anxiety is reflected in her gestures. As she begins the sentence "I do but can we kōrero i te reo Pākehā", her hands have been clasped, left over right, at waist level. Her hands unclasp and while the right hand remains facing downwards with fingers loose, the left hand rises, palm turned to the body, before becoming vertical with the palm open at the point she arrives at the beginning of "i te reo Pākehā? [in English?]" Goffman (2008) maintained that people asking a question put themselves in a position of social jeopardy; they may not receive the preferred

response, leading to embarrassment. As Givens (2016) wrote, an accompanying "deferential palm-up cue may be extended to appease ... to show no harmful intent" (p. 239), and it's a defensive gesture buried deep in our evolution.

Taiahupuke's "can we" question hands power to the reporter, who might answer in one of three ways. If she says, "Yes, we can do it in English", both parties are satisfied, though that might not be Atawhai's preference. Atawhai might say, "No, it's got to be in Māori", which means both will lose face; either Taiahupuke will be forced to speak Māori, which she is trying to avoid, or, if she refuses, the interview may not take place, causing embarrassment for both. A third option is that Atawhai might ask "Why don't you want to speak te reo?" That might seem a fair request from the perspective of a reo-Māori journalist who must prioritise te reo over English, but asking an interviewee to justify herself could be seen as impolite. Atawhai instead employs a redressive action (Brown & Levinson, 2006), using positive politeness that aims to save face for both. She says, in a reassuring tone, "I reckon you'll be fine" (line 5), although she has no basis on which to assess this; there is goodwill between the pair, but they are strangers.

This relational approach – that is, one that aims at enhancing interpersonal relationships and creating a positive atmosphere (Schnurr, 2012) – can also be seen as a compliance-gaining strategy (Adler et al. 2004); Atawhai's reassurance might ease Taiahupuke's anxiety and encourage her to change her mind. As Atawhai says, "I reckon you'll be fine," her eyebrows are lowered, which can be read as indicating uncertainty (Givens, 1999).

Had Taiahupuke been convinced by Atawhai's reassurance, she might have said, "Okay then, I'll speak Māori." But she contradicts Morris, saying, "No I won't ((unintelligible)) I'm too nervous" (lines 6-8, image 3). As she says this, she lowers her head slightly and puts both hands over her face, and as she finishes speaking, shakes her head twice. The head shake speaks for itself, but the hands-over-face has another purpose. Givens (1999) wrote that "we unconsciously touch our bodies when emotions run high to comfort, relieve, or release stress." These are known as self-adaptors, and are often unconscious habits learned in childhood that are "triggered by a feeling [or], attitude" (Ekman & Friesen, 1969, p. 94); they serve to manage or reduce psychological

discomfort. Taiahupuke's eye-cover gesture has a meaning "relating to preventing sensory input or avoid being seen and is relevant to shame" (Ekman & Friesen, 1969, p. 88). She is feeling stressed about being interviewed and is possibly also embarrassed at denying Atawhai's request; it may be the case that the bilateral face covering is a self-soothing action that lets her "hide away" for a moment. When she lowers her hands, she places them flat on her upper chest, right hand over left – another self-adaptor – while gazing at Atawhai.

8.8.3 Another tack

Atawhai tries another means of persuasion. She steps closer to Taiahupuke, halving the original distance between them and moving into the personal distance (close phase, or 45 cm to 60 cm), which presupposes a greater intimacy (Hall, 1966). Atawhai then says, in a confiding tone (lines 9-14, image 5):

> Do you know what you know what we only keep about we only take about 10 seconds probably the main especially the stuff mai i te whatumanawa [*from the heart*]

The phrase "do you know what" functions in the same way as "guess what" – it prefaces a piece of information or a story that the speaker thinks that hearer will find surprising, interesting or exciting (Sidnell, 2011), and it aims to grab the hearer's attention. Atawhai's gestures intensify her message. On the first "do you know what" (line 7), her eyebrows rise high; this raises the intensity of a facial expression (Givens, 1999). On the second "do you know what" her eyebrows fall. However, on both of the "whats" in "do you know what" (line 10), she beats downwards once with her phone, which is in her right hand; the beats coincide with her peak intonation. The beats signal that Atawhai regards what she is about to say as important; as McNeill (2009) wrote, "one can think of a beat as a gestural yellow highlighter" (p. 301).

Stories are told for a reason, and the reason here is persuasion. Atawhai uses a confidential tone to deliver a person-centred tactic (Waldron & Applegate, 1998) – that is, one that adapts to the other person's feelings, motivations and understanding. Atawhai says she will use probably only 10 s of what is filmed; she is trying to reduce the anxiety that Taiahupuke is feeling by downplaying how much is likely to make it to air. As Atawhai arrives at the words "10 seconds" (line 11), her eyebrows flash

upwards, as if to underscore how short a time this is. The subtext is that such short grabs reduce the likelihood that anything Taiahupuke won't like will make it to air. In sharing this insider knowledge and saying how little she needs – in effect, exposing the realities of the production process – Atawhai aims to demystify the on-camera interview and present it as an activity unworthy of anxiety.

Taiahupuke is gazing intently at Atawhai throughout. As Atawhai speaks, Taiahupuke's hands move from flat on her upper chest to clasped at the same level, one holding the other and gently kneading. This is also a self-soothing gesture. But once Atawhai stops speaking, Taiahupuke maintains her stance, replying: "Oh kāo *no* plea:se" (line 15) – she makes a plea. As she says this, she shakes her head twice and closes her eyes, with an uncertain smile on her face. She then breaks immediately into a laugh of two plosive beats (Glenn, 2003) (line 16) and covers her mouth and then gazes to her left and down.

Studies have shown that embarrassment is marked by gaze aversion, particularly to the left, face touches (Ekman & Friesen, 1972) and a nervous smile that reaches its apex following gaze aversion (Asendorpf, 1990; Keltner, 2005). Atawhai mirrors Taiahupuke's first two laughs and adds a third HAH (line 17), with her mouth open, as she turns away from Taiahupuke to look at the cameraman.

Although the laughter is mutual, it's not about humour. Like speech, laughter is an interactional resource (Adelswärd, 1989). Taiahupuke's laugh suggests that she is embarrassed and uncomfortable (Potter & Hepburn, 2010); what she has just said is disaffiliative and problematic, in that it denies what Atawhai is seeking, and her laughter may serve to head off any further relationship trouble (Glenn, 2003).

Atawhai's laughter, although it mirrors that of Taiahupuke, serves a different purpose; it joins her in an encouraging, face-saving way to try and mitigate her feeling of awkwardness (Adelswärd, 1989). For both, laughter relieves tension. As Atawhai is laughing, she turns half-away from Taiahupuke and starts stepping back to her original position. As she does so, Taiahupuke's hands drop from her mouth and she says "Aroha mai" (line 18), which means "sorry" in the sense of "forgive me". In doing so, she acknowledges that she hasn't delivered what Atawhai was seeking.

The reporter, still stepping back, glances at the camera operator then drops her gaze to her phone, addressing Taiahupuke while gazing downwards, saying, "you'll be fine" (line 19). Fine for what, or to do what? It's not clear here what has been agreed. Taiahupuke licks her lips, a self-adaptor linked to stress (Troisi, 2002); her clasped hands, one held in the palm of the other, fall to waist level.

8.8.4 The interview

The next 20 s (line 20) have been excised as they are not relevant; the camera operator is organising his equipment and Atawhai is looking down at her phone, preparing it to record the interview. Taiahupuke looks around at the crowd and responds to a teasing comment from a relative standing nearby.

We return once the camera is going. Atawhai starts (line 21, image 6) by asking a standard opening question that television journalists often use as a final sound check and for film library purposes: "Tēnā (0.4) tuatahi ko wai tō ingoa? *Now, firstly, what's your name?* She smiles after finishing. It may be that Atawhai is speaking in Māori to see how her subject responds. Taiahupuke answers readily in te reo (line 23); this may be a reflex to a common question – or perhaps she was considering speaking Māori after all.

Atawhai doesn't quite hear the second part of the name, and, frowning, leans her upper body towards Taiahupuke and repeats the first part of her name slowly, then pauses as a prompt for Taiahupuke to furnish the ending. The young woman responds, then repeats her name in full. Atawhai nods once and returns to an upright stance, saying "ka pai" *okay* (line 29).

Atawhai utters the filler "ah" as a turn-taking signal (Tottie, 2015). She then pauses for 1.6 s, during which she breaks her gaze with Taiahupuke and looks to her right. Such a gaze away is common as people gather their thoughts prior to an utterance (Kendon, 1967; Morency et al., 2006). Given that Taiahupuke had responded to a reo-Māori question in te reo, Atawhai might have felt that she might get a reo-Māori interview after all. She turns back to Taiahupuke and continues: "He aha te momo, tō koroua?" *What was your grandfather like?* (line 30, image 7). She stresses momo *like* and nods for emphasis on the three words "momo tō koroua".

Taiahupuke's lips press tightly together as the question is asked. This is known as an orbicular clamp (Seaford, 1981), and is a sign of tension; the lips tighten to seal off the mouth in a form of nonverbal lock-down (Givens, 2014). She is silent for four seconds, a signal of trouble (Enfield, 2017). She flashes a brief, uncertain smile at Atawhai, then inhales and exhales audibly (line 32). She smiles briefly again at Atawhai, and as she does so, shakes her head (image 8).

Atawhai interprets this as a sign that Taiahupuke doesn't want to answer in Māori. As Taiahupuke begins the low-modality question "Could we change?" (line 34), Atawhai overlaps her words with "What was, what was koro like?" (line 35). (Koro is a short form of koroua).

Taiahupuke reacts with "o:::h (1.0) oh (0.7) he was a (0.9) he was such a humble man" (lines 36-37). On the first "oh", which lasts 0.3 s and has a falling intonation, she looks away to her left. On the second "oh", which is 0.2 s and has a flatter falling intonation, she briefly shuts her eyes before turning her head back to the centre, with her gaze lowered. Taiahupuke has received the first question of the interview proper, and here, both iterations of this "oh" change-of-state token serve to preface a "strongly emphatic announcement" (Heritage, 1998, p. 308) – here, a description of her elder's humility.

As Taiahupuke says "he was a" (line 37), her gaze is downwards, not towards the reporter. Research by Beattie (1979) suggested that speakers hesitate and gaze away at the beginning of a clause to give themselves cognitive processing time, and certainly the question gives Taiahupuke a lot of scope. She starts saying "he was a" then hesitates for nearly a second before repairing to make the sentence more emphatic: "He: wa:s such a humble man" (line 37). When she arrives at "a humble man," she raises her head and gazes directly at Atawhai. From here on, Taiahupuke speaks clearly about her tupuna; she is more relaxed now than prior to the interview. When she isn't using her hands to gesture, she clasps them at waist level.

Atawhai asks her last question in te reo: "He kōrero whakamutunga āu? He mihi ki tō koroua?" *Do you have any final comment? A direct address to your grandad?* (line 43). Atawhai is possibly hoping that Taiahupuke will do a poroporoaki in Māori to her koroua and use some of the eloquent formulae common to the genre (see also p. 122).

Taiahupuke replies with a soft "yeah" and a makes a direct address to her koro without hesitation, but in English: "Oh papa we <u>love</u> you we miss you" (lines 45-46). She stresses the word "<u>love</u>", and on that word, she nods her head for emphasis. Then she pauses for 1.1 s and looks away from the reporter's gaze while gathering her thoughts. She raises her gaze to meet that of Atawhai and continues with two sentences (lines 47-48) that are very Māori in their use of metaphor: "You were our heart, our moon and our sun". Taiahupuke head-beats on the words "heart", "moon" and "sun" (image 9). She then pauses for 1.6 s and looks away, possibly gathering her thoughts. She speaks again, looking at Atawhai: "I'll see you again one day and so will the rest of the boys" (lines 49-50) and exhales audibly as she finishes. As she does so, she nods downwards once as if to signal she is finished and looks at the reporter. Speakers coming to the end of an utterance usually raise their eyes to the person they are speaking to as a completion signal (Goodwin, 1981), and Taiahupuke is half-smiling as she awaits the reporter's response.

After a pause, Atawhai responds with "ka pai, ka nui" *great, that's plenty* (lines 52-53), signalling the interview is indeed over. Taiahupuke then overlaps her (line 54), saying "so:::ree:: so:::ree:::" in a sing-song voice, with the vowels elongated. As she says this, both her hands rise to chest level, palms open and facing upwards and her eyes squeezed shut in a co-expressive gesture associated with apology (Cooperrider et al., 2018; Pease & Pease, 2004). She lowers her head into her hands, covering her eyes briefly then rubbing her temples and forehead with her fingers, a self-adaptor (Ekman & Friesen, 1969) showing her discomfort; she may be communicating that she doesn't think she made a very good interview, and is embarrassed.

8.8.5 Reassurance

Atawhai, looking at Taiahupuke's covered face, laughs lightly for five beats (lines 57-58) and reassures her, overlapping Taiahupuke's second "sorry" with "No, no, kei te pai," *that's okay* no worry," shaking her head once for emphasis. There is, the words and gesture say, nothing to apologise for. Atawhai then tucks the microphone under her left arm and steps closer to Taiahupuke with her phone in both hands, saying, "Hey, what I'll do is I'll get the spelling of your name, so I don't muck it up" (lines 58-60). By the time she gets to the word "spelling", they are standing side-to-side looking down at the phone. Although Atawhai is back on task, doing what she needs to wrap

up the interaction and move on, she still feels the need to reassure, saying "kei te pai" [it's okay] (line 63) while looking down at the phone.

Taiahupuke appears to be still judging herself harshly, and latches on to Atawhai's comment with "just i- um- wipe it all out" (line 64, image 11). As she says this, her right arm rises to shoulder height, her hand vertical, palm outwards, and forming a cup shape just before she gets to the word "um'; the shaping of a gesture always slightly precedes its referent (Kendon, 2004). This gesture is metaphoric, as if the film of the interview has become something she can hold in her hand (Beattie, 2016). Then she turns her hand so her palm is open and facing upwards, before rotating her palm to the left and moving her arm as if she is throwing something away, across her body. This is a gestural negation, a removal from the body of something unwanted (Bressem & Müller, 2013); here, she is negatively assessing her own performance.

After saying the word "out", Taiahupuke's right hand rises to her face, with her index finger touching above the eyebrow and the middle two digits covering her eye. This is, again, a self-soother, and possibly another symbolic hiding away (Ekman & Friesen, 1969). Her hand remains in this position as Atawhai latches on, saying "no no n(h)o(h)" – that is, a laugh of three beats with two laugh particles (Potter & Hepburn, 2010) dropped in (line 65). These are small "flags of trouble" planted in the word (Potter & Hepburn, 2010, pp. 1543-1544) and here, Atawhai is lightly rejecting the suggestion that the footage should be deleted. On Atawhai's third "no", Taiahupuke overlaps, laughing plosively for four beats (line 66). As discussed earlier, the laughter aims to relieve tension (Adelswärd, 1989).

Atawhai, still looking at her phone, latches on, briskly saying "kāore" [no] (line 67). She appears to want to end the line of conversation – namely, Taiahupuke's highly negative assessment of herself – make sure she has the correct spelling and move on; she has another interview to do before she can drive to the nearest small town with internet access, which is an hour away, and begin editing her story.

This is where the transcript ends, but not their interaction. As Atawhai is putting Taiahupuke's name into her phone, the bell rings for the final service preceding burial; Taiahupuke has to go. Atawhai turns so she and Taiahupuke are face-to-face and initiates a criss-cross hug, a "highly egalitarian" form in which each person puts one

arm over and one arm under the shoulder of the other (Floyd, 1999, p. 285). Taiahupuke reciprocates (image 12). Atawhai rubs Taiahupuke's back and then pats it with her right hand and Taiahupuke pats Atawhai's with her left. The embrace lasts a substantial 4.5 s, which suggests that it is aimed at comforting. Taiahupuke leaves to make her final farewell to her koro.

8.8.6 Discussion

This was a challenging interaction for both interviewee and reporter. Taiahupuke later told the researcher that she didn't like public speaking as she got "too scared"; while she spoke Māori with family and friends, she had been educated in English and felt less confident speaking te reo than others around her. She worried about making mistakes. Atawhai later said although her priority was to get reo-Māori interviews, she didn't want to push Taiahupuke too hard; she was a mourner on the third day of a large funeral. "I understand grief, that's painful," she said. "If that's my experience, that's absolutely someone else's experience, and that is the worst place to be … would I like to be interviewed at my father's tangi? … Probably not."

She was also aware that the young woman had been volunteered rather than volunteering:

> Maybe for her she wasn't comfortable to speak Māori in that space at that time on the last day ... and we can't demand anything from a whānau pani [bereaved family]. We just have to be grateful that they're talking to us, whether it's Māori or Pākehā, and the fact that she is talking is the main thing. I always like to ask if they speak Māori just to give them an opportunity, but for her, it just wasn't the go that day, that time.

Atawhai said people often worried about their ability to speak te reo on camera, and paraphrased their anxieties like this:

> 'Is it good enough, I'm going to be in TV, I didn't go to Panekiretanga'
> ... I can understand how all that insecurity and unsure thinking would
> be going on in her head, and fair enough.

What Atawhai didn't have time to do with Taiahupuke was sit down and encourage her to do a reo-Māori interview; the final service was about to start. Hugging Taiahupuke aimed to reassure her: "A hug and reassurance is so important to make sure that they

know that it's okay, that what they said was fine." In this case, it appears, Taiahupuke's interview was more than fine: "In the story," said Atawhai, "her grabs were awesome."

8.9   Expanding the lexicon through news

Māori journalists are important disseminators of language developed for new concepts and ideas, and as we saw on p. 135, words heard on reo Māori news can quickly fall into common use. These journalists felt a responsibility to expand their own vocabularies, among their strategies querying new language they heard in colleagues' work, tapping the knowledge of expert mentors and friends, using various dictionaries to find words to replace vocabulary they felt they overused, attending high-level immersion courses, and adopting new words developed by Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori. As an example, below are five words the organisation released in 2018:

- Karihika ngakinga: revenge porn, made from karihika [pornographic] and ngakinga [reprisal];
- Hōtaka ā-tono: TV On Demand, from hōtaka [programme] and tono [command];
- Kurutene kore: gluten-free, made from transliteration of gluten and kore [none];
- Mana matua: parental controls on technology, made from mana [to have authority] and matua [parent];
- Hītini: phishing, from hī [to fish, raise up] and tini [many]. (C. Feslier, personal communcation, March 5, 2018).

However, newsrooms were occasionally ahead of Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori. *Te Karere* staff came up with the word tāhine, which means non-specific gender or transgender; it combines the words tāne [man] and wahine [woman] in a natural-sounding way. A Google search for tāhine in Aotearoa New Zealand found more than 500 mentions, mostly on sites for transgender health services, in news stories and on social media.

However, journalists don't coin words lightly. Scotty Morrison, the show's primary presenter and language adviser, said that *Te Karere* had a protocol about coining new words. Staff meet to discuss the issue, with the reasoning and the decision about a new word logged "to protect our integrity and the integrity of the process ... if we put

a word out on air, it's amazing how many people will hear that word and will start to use it. So we need to be accurate".

8.10 Assessing language quality and quantity

As outlined in the Literature Review (p. 19), TMP assesses news shows' language quality and quantity. *Te Kāea* and *Te Karere* must be, bulletin by bulletin, 70-100% in te reo; the quantity of spoken dialogue is measured by a language consultant watching selected episodes with a stopwatch. The target is that 90% of samples meet the 70-100% threshold; as of November 2018, both *Te Kāea* and *Te Karere* had achieved that standard (L. Parr, personal communication under the Official Information Act 1982, November 14, 2018).

The two 100% reo-Māori news shows on Waatea, *Waatea News* and *Manako*, are not rated in the same way. All of the TMP-funded iwi radio stations stream their content through a web-based language-recognition system called Kōkako that identifies whether te reo or English is being spoken or sung; real-time, comparative data is provided on a web-based dashboard ('Dragonfly Data Science', 2015; Harawira, 2016). The quality assessor alerts TMP to any quantity issues.

Figure 18: The Kōkako dashboard
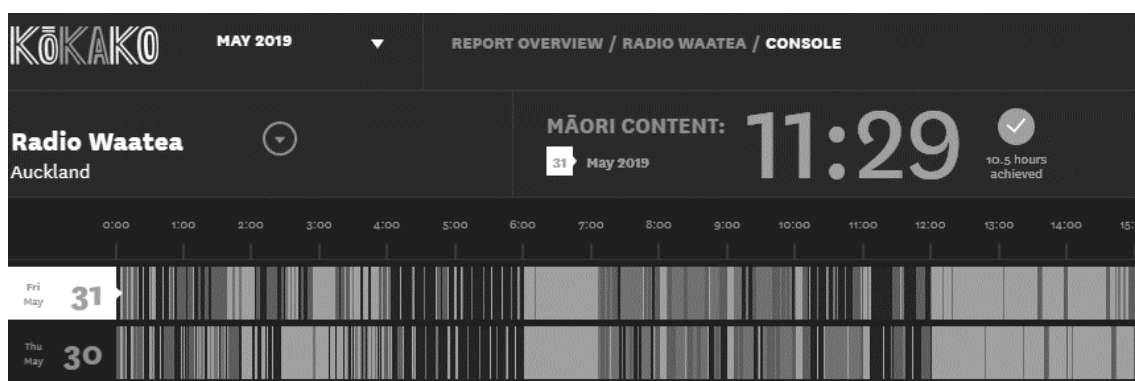Screenshot used with permission.

This slice of the dashboard shows Radio Waatea's tally from midnight to 3pm on Thursday May 30 and Friday May 31, 2019. The timeline runs from midnight on the left, with te reo the light blocks (actually red) and the English darker (actually blue). The system also captures what Māori-language songs are playing, also in red. Clicking on the bands plays the content.

Language quality

Until 2012, TMP had no formal method to assess the quality of reo in news; in that year, it commissioned an evaluation framework, called Ngā Whetu Kapokapo (Smith & Piripi, 2012) to monitor the standard of language in broadcast news (web stories are not assessed). The framework is prescriptive in terms of the aspects of language that news producers must monitor, suggesting that these are problematic areas across reo-Māori broadcasting. These include the incorrect use of stress in multi-syllabic words, errors in negation, and following the English word order of subject-verb-object rather than the Māori patterning. Importantly, the framework encourages reporters to use their mita or dialectal variation of te reo, reflecting a renewed interest in promoting dialects (Keegan, 2017). An edited version of the framework is in Appendix 6, p. 342.

News shows are selected randomly for assessment. Newsroom leaders said that they welcomed the perspective that outside assessments provided; while producers were the front line in error-checking, the nature of news meant that errors sometimes got to air. Both *Te Kāea* and *Te Karere* news heads described their journalists as passionate about te reo; many of them attended high-level language classes in their own time, and some were also language teachers, graduates of elite language school Te Panekiretanga o te Reo, and/or licensed as interpreters by Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori. One reporter said she and her colleagues were too busy with newswork to worry about the assessments: "Of course we are open to criticism and getting it right, but to be honest, we are so busy trying to find stories, and get the stories out, we don't have time."

Māori-language news appears to be living up to TMP's expectations. In September 2018, the agency supplied summaries of its most recent assessments (L. Parr, personal communication under the OIA, September 20, 2018) that showed both *Waatea News* and *Manako* got top scores of 5/5, or "matatau/excellent". Both earned the commentary "Excellent quality of Māori from experienced fluent speakers and broadcasters". On a five-point scale, *Te Karere* and *Te Kāea* both rated 4/5, described as "Tino pai – very good".

To give a flavour of the feedback dispensed, one of the television commentaries noted that a particular broadcaster "still uses interesting words" – the suggestion being that

these are old but rarely heard words that the reporter has chosen to reintroduce – and added that context did not always enable listeners to grasp the meaning of these words. Both television news assessors noted that language abilities varied from reporter to reporter.

However, it is pertinent to note that both assessors also made value judgements, one neutral and one negative, about perceptions of "good reporting" and a "good reporter", although this is technically outside TMP's remit and thus the assessors' scope. The assessor for *Te Karere* wrote, **"**It is about good reporting as much as anything", suggesting that it was difficult to separate out language skills from journalistic ability. This assessor for *Te Kāea* wrote, "In general, I feel it is the craft of journalism that is questionable, because [being] a good reo speaker doesn't necessarily qualify you as a good reporter."

We could argue that the preparation a journalist is able to do and their capacities – which includes whether they have been formally trained – has a bearing on the quality of language that they use. The assessor's role is to judge the final product in terms of language, not information. However, we could argue that an assessor is also a member of the public, and like any consumer, will have an opinion on how well reo-Māori news fulfils its purpose as a news vehicle. The gap between what Māori language news is funded for and what journalism is expected to do risks becoming wider when considered in the light of the dwindling number of trained journalists coming into the field (see p. 22). This dichotomy has implications for the future of Māori-language journalism, and these will be examined in Chapter 9, p. 274.

8.11 Discussion

Journalists are at the forefront of efforts to rejuvenate te reo Māori, leading and modelling though story-telling. Their funding sets explicit standards for the quantity of reo in a story and the quality of reporters' own language. While journalists often engage with newsmakers who are fluent speakers, a large number of their interviews involve people on their language journey; reporters often support these people to prepare what they want to say, going beyond the standard definition of journalist.

In the absence of direction from TMP on the quality of interviewee language (see p. 20), journalists take a stance noted by revitalisation experts Rawinia Higgins and Poia

Rewi, who developed the ZepA language normalisation model to which TMP subscribes. The journalists in this study had clearly adopted what the pair termed a "liberal and/or compromising" attitude (Higgins & Rewi, 2014, p. 26), a paradigm in which people are not fixated on linguistic accuracy, and take the position that a spoken language is a living language. Such liberal compromisers, wrote Higgins & Rewi, "place value on the language merely being spoken – syntactic and lexical errors are not a priority – nor do they highlight or impress upon the speaker in a manner that compels the speaker to shy away from speaking" (Higgins & Rewi, 2014, p. 26). The reporters in this study understood the nature of the reo journey and accepted that being on television could increase interviewee anxiety. They were realistic about what they might be able to get from interviewees, and there was an absence of judgement (see pp. 236 and 255).

A common refrain in the revitalisation movement is "one generation to lose a language, three to get it back", a paraphrasing of the words of American linguist Joshua Fishman (Fishman, 1991), whose work on reversing language shift has been influential in Aotearoa New Zealand. Reporters and others who are role models for language know that they are playing a long game. It will take some generations before te reo Māori moves beyond its current status as "somewhere between definitely endangered and severely endangered" (TMP, n.d., para. 17). There is also recognition that people on their reo journey may be the highly fluent speakers of the future, so it is important to maintain their confidence (pp. 242, 244). Research has documented the journeys of people who learnt te reo later in life and became experts, among them broadcasters Julian Wilcox and Scotty Morrison, who both participated in this study, and Hana O'Regan (O'Regan, 2016; Rātima, 2013). In the meantime, setting the reo threshold at 70% per television news bulletin gives reporters and interviewees some flexibility, and also means that people are not excluded from participating in discussion in the Māori public sphere.

8.12 Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated how the language revitalisation agenda that underpins all funding for Māori-language manifests itself in some of the choices journalists make. Early ideals of 100%-reo Māori language shows have been relaxed, with trade-offs made between the need to balance language and information goals. Journalists

working with those still on their reo journey use a range of strategies to get the most out of their interviewees, from giving them a narrow focus and time to prepare, to helping them practice a grab, doing grabs in both languages, or simply suggesting that an interview would be better in English. They are aware of the anxieties that speakers might bring to interviews and aim to uphold people's mana.

Three interactions delved deeply into the dynamics of journalists as language champions as well as news-gatherers. The first showed two journalists discussing the language level of an interviewee, their focus whether he could provide the short grabs so important to television news. The second showed how a reporter prepared an interviewee who spoke limited reo, but wanted to use what he had to honour a deceased colleague and also conform with the tikanga of tangi. The third interaction analysed the dynamics in a situation where a journalist was faced with a Māori speaker who wanted to speak English, as she perceived that it was her stronger language.

The final section looked at the structural requirements of reporters' role as agents of language revitalisation, canvassing new vocabulary and the language quality and quantity targets news shows had to meet.

The next chapter brings together the threads of the seven preceding chapters and ties them to the three research questions.

Chapter 9: Findings, implications, theoretical contributions and recommendations

This chapter presents a summary of the key findings of this research. It firstly provides a recap of the aims and methodology employed, followed by a summation of the findings. It turns to outlining the significance of the study and suggests some ways in which the content may be of use to those working in and studying the field of journalism. Limitations are outlined. Finally, the chapter makes some suggestions for future research.

9.1 Aims of the study

This thesis has sought to describe how tikanga, newswork and the language revitalisation agenda come together to shape reo-Māori newswork. It aims to discern which elements of tikanga have the most impact on journalistic practice and how journalists deal with the tensions that can arise between the demands of newswork and cultural values. The research is timely, as during 40 years of Māori-language journalism in Aotearoa New Zealand, there has been minimal academic attention paid to the cultural and structural forces that mediate Māori-language reporting.

 A primary research question guided the study:

RQ1: What is the influence of tikanga and the language revitalisation agenda on the practices and perspectives of Māori journalists working in reo-Māori news?

Two sub-questions sought greater depth:

RQ2: In which situations does tikanga most influence decision-making about newswork?

RQ3: What are the tensions between the tenets of tikanga, the requirements of the language revitalisation agenda and the demands of news production?

9.2 Summary of the methodological approach

The paradigm applied to this study was Kaupapa Māori, which takes the Māori worldview, language and culture as a central and normalised perspective. To explore how culture, newswork and the constraints of the funding interplayed in journalistic

decision-making, 11 reporters were filmed at work, yielding 227 hours of video data. There were 35 qualitative interviews.

To underline this study's location in both news culture and Māori culture, I grouped my analytical approach under the heading ethnographic communication analysis, taking a lead from Sissons (2016a). The approaches employed included thematic and textual analysis, conversation analysis, nonverbal analysis and critical discourse studies. All data were collected and analysed in the interpretive tradition, which is concerned with people's own reasoning and understanding of situations and events (Davidson & Tolich, 2003).

9.3 Summary of the findings

This research has three key findings:

1: Just as tikanga has a pervasive role in social interactions in the Māori world, so tikanga has a substantial influence on the way reo-Māori journalists do their work. Journalists aim to observe tikanga to the best of their ability while engaged in newswork as they tend to see themselves as Māori first and journalist second, with a responsibility to respect and uphold socially-sanctioned practices such as whakawhanaungatanga and manaakitanga. The study has also clearly demonstrated how the elements of traditional oral culture, such as oratory, proverbs and figures of speech, have been refashioned and reworked for 21st century news communication, with journalists given freedom to draw on their own linguistic, cultural and creative capital.

2: The second finding is that the requirements of newswork and tikanga are not always hoa haere or comfortable companions, with clear tensions, in particular, between the process-oriented nature of Māori social interaction and time-constrained, output related nature of news. Tensions between the norms of tikanga and the requirements of news was shown to have an effect, and could result in a cognitive dissonance that could make journalists feel uncomfortable. However, as this study showed, many of them had strategies to resolve this dissonance, with karakia prominent.

3: The third finding is the extent to which the requirements of the news-funding model, which is predicated on language revitalisation, influences the decisions

journalists make as they gather news and write it. This study is the first formal research to demonstrate how TMP's requirement that programmes are 70%-100% in te reo filter down to reporters' decision-making on the ground, with journalists often showing manaaki to those who were less fluent in order to help them make the most of their language skills.

The next section addresses each question in greater depth.

9.4   RQ1: What is the influence of tikanga Māori and the language revitalisation agenda on the newswork of Māori journalists working in reo-Māori news?

This broad question sought to establish how tikanga and the requirements of the funding model influenced the Anglo-American tradition that Māori news has adopted, and to what extent. The study has demonstrated that the influence of tikanga and the language revitalisation agenda is substantial and pervasive; as one reporter said, "Tikanga is something you can't turn off" (p. 146). Tikanga is a system of personal and collective beliefs and behaviours; it frames these journalists' everyday lives and it is natural for them to carry its tenets into their work as much as possible. They are acutely aware that they are seen as Māori first and journalist second, and, in newswork, are sensitive to interviewee or host cues about what is expected behaviour. They are aware that they are being observed and that perceived breaches of tikanga may impede future access to people or places, as well as embarrassing their families.

As reo-Māori news is funded and assessed for language outcomes, the journalist's task is to show the value and versatility of te reo as a vehicle for discussing a wide range of issues. This study has showed in great detail how the tenets of oral culture have been transferred into news language and the perspectives that journalists bring to this creativity. This has been an organic process, driven by two factors. Firstly, it is driven by what oral elements would be appropriate in a similar, non-journalistic communication setting, with journalists tapping their own experience and judgement to effect or rework these. Secondly, elements of language such as proverbs and lines from karakia can often express a great deal in few words, making them effective shortcuts. Journalists brought an independent creativity to their reworking of language to make it relevant for news.

The constraints of the funding model require journalists to put as much Māori language on screen as possible, which presents a challenge in a country where far more are learning te reo than are fluent. This meant that reporters were often in the position of encouraging and coaching their interviewees as much as time permitted, demonstrating manaaki. Notably, reporters refrained from criticising or judging their interviewees' reo, taking the stance that showing te reo in action, even if imperfectly, best served the revitalisation agenda. The prime responsibility for modelling good language rested with reporters, and it was their language that was assessed.

As tikanga shapes how Māori see the world, so this study has found that some filming practices have been modified to better align with the Māori gaze. A tikanga-literate Māori audience has certain expectations around tikanga and tapu, whether they are personally engaged or vicariously through the proxy of the news camera. As we saw in Chapter 6 (p. 177), this has led to some specific tikanga-driven visual practices, though these do not appear to be universally followed. Among them are reinforcing the tapu of the head by framing it whole; separating the dead and the living in a frame; and ensuring that exterior shots of a whare nui show the door open.

9.5 RQ2: In which situations do cultural values most influence decision-making about newswork?

The situations in which cultural values most influenced decision-making involved two areas in particular. Firstly, in establishing and maintaining relationships, and secondly, in places where tikanga shaped the nature of social interaction, particularly on marae and in other Māori spaces and in places and during events where there might be heightened tapu.

The journalists in this study particularly valued tika, pono and aroha, manaakitanga and the maintenance of mana as a foundation for establishing and maintaining cordial relationships. This was critical in an interrelated society where journalists were viewed as faces of their whānau, hapū and iwi, with the likelihood that behaviour perceived as breaching tikanga would reflect unfavourably on all.

Journalists in general took their cues around the expected tikanga from the people they were interviewing and the context. This was an expression of manaakitanga but also helped to create a positive atmosphere for interview. Rituals of first encounter

might range from an exchange of whakapapa to a mihi with karakia and speeches, and reporters followed social cues.

The literature review raised the issue of whether to ask challenging questions of interviewees, particular elders and iwi leaders, was acceptable given the primacy of manaakitanga and the realities of asymmetrical hierarchies in Māori life (p. 29). The majority of journalists in this study were professionally trained and viewed their role as no different to that of their mainstream counterparts: To report without fear or favour in order to serve the Māori public sphere. They saw the Māori approach to journalism as less aggressive and more human-centred due to the influence of tikanga in a small society, but believed that this did not preclude asking those in power to justify their decisions. The key was to ask questions in a way that maintained the mana of both parties, and here they meant avoiding aggression or tactics that might be viewed as underhand in a Māori paradigm.

Cultural values were a prime consideration for all the journalists in this study when they gathered news in Māori spaces, marae in particular. As Pouwhare (2017) wrote, "a marae is a metaphysical place, a place of the gods, defined by whenua and tangata who belong to the whenua" (p. 233); journalists might have to go through formal rituals depending on the nature of their story, particularly if they were reporting a hui or tangi. This was not just about abiding by host practices to avoid causing offence; it was also about their own spiritual comfort and safety.

Those who arrived at a marae as waewae tapu were aware of their status, and most in this study tried to undertake their first entry according to protocol. If they were unable to, they might use karakia to cover themselves. However, this was not a practice universally followed, with a minority of journalists rationalising that as they were present to report, they could skip ritual. They appeared able to foreground their journalistic identity for work-related time reasons.

There were often constraints on what reporters could do on marae. These could make aspects of newswork difficult, such as being unable to film in certain settings for reasons of tapu or ritual (p. 170); at other times, journalists would push to try to turn a refusal into assent (see pp. 194 and 207). However, the limit was the point at which the conditions for an ongoing relationship might be put at risk (pp. 155, 221).

9.6 RQ3: What are the tensions between tikanga, the requirements of the language revitalisation agenda and newswork?

9.6.1 Tensions between tikanga and newswork

Tensions between tikanga and news primarily revolved around time. The time-bound news model within which Māori journalists work is fundamentally incompatible with a society where proper process is prioritised over timetables. This was most problematic for journalists reporting on hui, pōwhiri or tangi, as these are process-based rather than time-based activities, and involve protocols that circumscribed movement and behaviour. Here, tensions between time pressures and the process-oriented nature of tikanga often led to cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1957), where journalists felt torn between their usual practice as individuals and what they had to do to meet a deadline. As journalists were responsible for their reporting work in the field, so they took care of their spiritual beliefs, particularly around tapu. Karakia were often used as a protection or supplication (see pp. 166, 193) and Māori Television had a morning karakia that sought safety for everyone (p. 167).

Tensions could arise for reporters who worked with non-Māori camera operators, which was more common at TVNZ, where camera staff served both Māori and mainstream news. Journalists felt a personal and institutional responsibility for the behaviour of non-Māori camera operators during sacred events or in sacred places, and at times they found this a burden (p. 180).

Some evidence has arisen in this study that the culture of journalism may be contributing to a perceived erosion of the tikanga of kirimate, where those closest to the deceased are left to mourn during tangi and do not speak publicly (p. 183). Traditionally, this meant that the generations closest to the deceased would not speak publicly on the marae. However, media are now seeking and often being granted interviews, particularly if the deceased had a public profile. It is possible that this change has been accelerated by the increasing numbers of tangi that are livestreamed and/or diminishing belief in, or understanding of, the practice of kirimate.

9.6.2 Tensions between newswork and the language agenda

Journalists' newswork exists in a state of tension between the necessity for each story to be at least 70% in te reo and the reality that few Māori speak their heritage

language well. Journalists had to strike a balance between quality information and language quality. While they often did interviews in English, as many newsmakers were monolingual, the need to get as many reo-Māori interviews as possible at times put them in a position of persuading and/or coaching those who were on their reo journey, nervous or needed help. The reporters in this study appeared to be less worried about the grammatical and syntactical quality of interviewees' language than their ability to make a point. The overriding concern appeared to be showing people discussing everyday issues in te reo.

9.6.3 Unresolved: The supply of skilled reo-Māori reporters for the future

Broadcast funding agency TMP was set up at a time of relative journalistic plenty, and has not needed to concern itself with staff supply or the quality of reporting during the past three decades (Middleton, 2019). However, as earlier indicated (pp. 19, 269), TMP is interested only in language outcomes; it has no statutory or practical interest in the quality of journalism it funds, and this leads us to some worrying implications for the future.

It's important to state that Māori-language news will probably always exist in some form; broadcasting in te reo is protected by law, and it is unlikely that news would be removed from the languagescape. However, news and current affairs stands distinct from the majority of the content that TMP funds. While cooking, sports and games shows demonstrate everyday te reo Māori in use, news as a genre has a further and important democratic function, giving consumers the knowledge they need to make informed decisions about their participation in society. As I did my fieldwork, an increasingly persistent question arose: Where is the next generation of trained reporters going to come from? Already, the current lack of professionally-equipped journalists has, as *Te Karere* head Arana Taumata wrote, "limited our capacity to deliver top quality news and current affairs" (2018, para. 16).

Journalism as a career in this country is losing its appeal across the board (p. 22). Young people are being employed as Māori-language reporters solely for their language skills, because that is what policy demands. At the time of writing, the Government is planning a wholesale restructure of the Māori broadcasting industry under its Māori Media Sector Shift programme. It will be some time before the

outcome is known, and there is no confirmation at this stage whether the issue of journalism training will be addressed and how. There is, however, an acknowledgement of the need in a Government overview paper:

> We have been told by the Māori media sector and broader public media sector that there is relatively little investment happening in talent development, including in technical skills and journalism. This is a significant strategic challenge that must be considered (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2019, p. 2).

If the status quo persists, we risk a scenario where Māori news has the wherewithal to produce only safe, soft and reactive stories because the skills to provide a comprehensive, proactive and searching service are absent. Given the critical role of news in a democratic society, particularly in an era of clickbait and organised misinformation (Reilly, 2018), I argue that TMP needs to put itself in a position to fund quality journalism training rather than viewing as sufficient the presentation of language in a news format.

The quality of journalism around the world is often attributed to the nature of the education and training that journalists receive (Obijiofor & Hanusch, 2011). The risk of a lack of training is that fewer Māori working as journalists will be able to cross into mainstream media, where indigenous influence is an important part of broadening the perspectives in newsrooms (Forbes, 2016a; Mane, 2019). The presence of successful Māori journalists in mainstream newsrooms is also an important bulwark against any perception that Māori news lacks rigour, which anecdotal evidence suggests is the case in some sectors of the mainstream media.

9.7   Significance of the study and some implications from the findings

This study is the first thesis-length research to provide empirical evidence about the ways in which reo-speaking Māori journalists engage in newswork. In terms of methodology, method and tools, this study is a novel approach to the study of journalism and may offer guidelines to others who want to explore the nature of media practice. Qualitative interview coupled with ethnographic video provided robust evidence. The analytical approaches, drawn from thematic and textual analysis, conversation analysis, critical discourse studies and nonverbal analysis, provided ways to understand these journalists' practice.

It is hoped that this study will provide a platform for reo-Māori journalists to examine and discuss their own practice, as this is the first thesis-length study to validate the work they do both as journalists and as agents of language revitalisation. It may also inform the work of those involved in reo revitalisation, such as funding agency TMP and broadcasters themselves.

It is also hoped that the study will inform journalism education in Aotearoa New Zealand, whose curricula appear to be lacking consistent connection with Māori people or perspectives (B. Whelan, personal communication, June 14, 2019).[70] While we have had Māori journalism educators in the past, at the time of writing, there are no journalism educators in the country who identify as Māori and who live their language and tikanga. In addition, most of the student cohort is Pākehā. There is no way of knowing if journalism students are being adequately prepared to report on the Māori world, as there has been no research in this area. However, research is underway to establish how the Treaty of Waitangi is reflected in journalism education, which will go some way to identifying gaps and opportunities.[71]

Fieldwork showed that journalists on daily news shows were expected to provide a story a day as well as provide information for social media, and this appeared to be largely driven by slender staffing. Given that journalists are models for te reo, which goes hand-in-hand with tikanga, it could be argued that such a requirement risks eroding journalists' ability to nourish relationships and thus the reputation of reo-Māori news outlets as staffed by people who walk the talk in modelling and disseminating tikanga. It may be overly idealistic to suggest that a news model that gave daily reporters more space to build and maintain relationships would benefit their role as models for language and tikanga. However, that would reduce the time-related tensions reporters often juggled and would allow them to invest more time in building and investing in relationships, providing better alignment with tikanga.

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[70] Bernard Whelan is a two-time president of the Journalism Education Association of New Zealand and was the Programme Manager, Journalism at Whitireia Polytechnic, Wellington, from 2010-2018.
[71] Also by Bernard Whelan. His PhD research examines how the Treaty of Waitangi, the formal partnership between Māori and the Crown, is reflected in journalism education.

9.8   Theoretical contributions

It is clear that Māori journalists practice an adaptation of the Anglo-American journalism tradition that allows them to use their heritage language, practise in ways that align with the tikanga that shapes their lives, and contribute to the national language revitalisation agenda, which is a shared responsibility between the Crown and Māori under the Treaty of Waitangi. Therefore, Māori journalism should not be conceptualised as a practice that is set apart from its mainstream counterparts; it adopts the same Anglo-American production values and news values. However, the influence of Māori cultural norms makes the maintenance of relationships a key feature, and the dictates of the national language revitalisation agenda have a profound influence on how newswork is carried out. The result is that the three planes are engaged in what is, at times, a delicate balancing act. I would theorise that indigenous journalisms should also be conceptualised as adaptations of the Anglo-American model, with variations in practice and news presentation developed to better align with local cultural expression.

The topics broadcast by Māori news shows are very different to those shown in mainstream media, but the same news values prevail. In a strongly interrelated, tribal society whose primary collective focus is redressing the wrongs of the past and building social, cultural and economic capital, the most prominent news value is **meaningfulness**, which Galtung & Ruge (1965) broke into **cultural proximity** and **relevance.** These values cover the staples of Māori news, among them Treaty negotiations and settlements; land issues; and collective cultural activities such as kapa haka and the tangihanga of prominent people.

As both of the latter activities involve large numbers of people, often gathering along tribal lines, the Galtung & Ruge value of **threshold** is also relevant. **Good news** (Harcup & O'Neill, 2001, 2016) is also an important news value and reflects a mutual interest in Māori society in celebrating positive activities, both individual and collective, that strengthen Māori society, language and culture. An explicit focus on the positive helps to resist the damage done by many years of negative representations on Māori in mainstream media.

I would theorise at this point that as indigenous journalisms sit within collective societies striving to redress the damages of the past, that positive news values encompassing collective activities focused on empowerment and social development are likely to be prominent. Such as lens might provide a useful way to assess the expression of news values in countries with a history of colonisation similar to that of Aotearoa New Zealand.

It is important to note that the three Māori-language journalism outlets pay close attention to which stories earn the most engagement online and on air, as this is part of their reporting responsibilities to Te Māngai Pāho. However, as their funding is secure, they are therefore able to avoid the tactics common among their commercial counterparts to boost ratings, in which news values such as celebrification of the journalist, shareability, conflict, bad news, drama and exclusivity are elevated.

This study adds some empirical depth to Hanusch's 2013 five-pronged theoretical framework for exploring indigenous journalism culture (p. 51), but also challenges some of its aspects. In terms of Hanusch's **watchdog function**, the journalists in this study feel no less desire or obligation than their mainstream colleagues to perform the function of holding power to account. However, in an interrelated society built on tribal loyalties where asymmetrical relationships are a reality and an increasing number of newsrooms are forced to hire untrained journalists, Māori journalism as a whole is not always able to perform this function comprehensively. As indigenous journalism often lacks both financial and human resources, this aspect needs to be taken into account in theoretical thinking about the nature of their practice.

Hanusch's dimension of **language revitalisation** described the desire of indigenous journalists to assist in the maintenance of native languages. However, a system in which journalists are funded for language outcomes rather than a comprehensive news service, as in Aotearoa New Zealand, creates an inherent conflict; what is deemed more important, quality modelling of language or quality content that serves the Māori public sphere? Where is the line drawn? The conflict is accentuated where there are relatively few speakers who can be interviewed, with English the inevitable default. Theoretical thinking about indigenous journalisms needs to take into account

the basis on which they are funded, whether appropriately skilled staff are available and how competing ideologies and particular cultural forces may intersect with this.

Indelibly linked to the above is Hanusch's dimension **desire to practice journalism in a culturally appropriate environment.** It is clear that Māori journalists value being able to align their personal cultural identities with their work identities and draw on their cultural and linguistic capital to tell the stories of their own people. However, there is a possibility that this alignment may be harder to achieve when indigenous journalists produce work in their indigenous languages from within state broadcasters serving, primarily, the majority language and culture.

It is thought that the model of Māori-language journalism practised in Aotearoa New Zealand, underpinned by the provisions of the country's Treaty relationship, exists nowhere else in the world. The model in operation suggests that given adequate resources, indigenous people are able to marry culturally-specific ways of practising journalism and balance their dual roles of reporters and agents for the revitalisation of te reo Māori.

9.9   Limitations

It was not possible, for time and resource reasons, to survey every single journalist working in reo-Māori news. However, this research has canvassed a majority of the cohort that works primarily in te reo Māori (p. 68). Given this reach and a consistent focus on triangulation and member checking (p. 80), I am confident that these are reliable results. However, a study such as this can be only a snapshot in time.

9.10 Recommendations for future research

Māori journalism remains under-researched, and many avenues of exploration remain. For example, the last substantial content analysis of Māori news was carried out in the 1990s (Te Awa, 1996), before Māori Television was instituted. Content analysis that identifies the frequency of certain topics in reo-Māori reporting would be a useful complement to this study, as would comparison to mainstream news output.

Comparative journalism research has become popular in recent years, with much of it exploring the role perception of journalists around the world (Hanitzsch, 2007; Hanusch & Vos, 2019). Given that Māori news is underpinned by a revitalisation

agenda rather than a news dissemination schema, it would be useful to explore in more detail how reo-Māori reporters perceive their roles. In addition, as an increasing proportion of people are being employed as reporters for their language and cultural skills alone, it would be useful to compare how role perceptions may differ according to whether or not journalists have undertaken formal journalism training.

This study identified several tikanga-led filming practices borne out of a need to maintain congruity between tikanga in real life and its representation (p. 177) and this merits further exploration, both in terms of filming practices and how widespread they are.

This study also identified that journalists often had to supervise non-Māori cameraman who knew little of tikanga (p. 180). Further research into tikanga-led filming practices has the potential to inform best-practice guidelines for camera operators.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Transcription symbols

Transcription conventions in this thesis are based on the work of Gail Jefferson (2004), whose system, is, according to Lerner (2004), "the internationally recognised 'gold standard' for transcribing the interactionally relevant features of talk-in-interaction" (p. 3).

Italics	In interactions only, applies to translations of te reo
(0.4)	Indicates intervals between talk
(.)	Pause too short to measure
=	No discernible interval between one speaker finishing and another starting
.	A closing intonation or stopping fall in tone.
:	Preceding sound or letter is stretched. The more colons, the more stretched the sound.
,	Indicates a slight upwards continuing intonation, such as when someone is reciting a list
[ ]	Shows where talk overlaps
?	Rising intonation
¿	Rising intonation is weaker than above
°word°	Words are softer than those before or after degree symbols
hh	Speaker's out-breath
.hh	Speaker's in-breath
-	Abrupt cut-off of sound
<u>Word</u>	Speaker's emphasis
↓ ↑	Pitch markedly lower or higher
WORD	Words spoken are louder than surrounding talk
( )	Translator's best guess
(( ))	Description or comment
<word	Indicates a hurried start to a complete word
word>	Indicates a hurried finish to a complete word
>word<	Bracketed material is speeded up compared to surrounding talk
<word>	Bracketed material is slowed down comparted to surrounding talk
Hah	Laughter
(h)	In-word laughter
hah	Laughter
t!	Dental click

Where necessary, standard punctuation will be used for clarity.

Appendix 2: Participant information sheet, journalists

Participant Information Sheet

Date information sheet produced: June 24, 2016

Project title: Tikanga Māori and journalism: An analysis of the influence of tikanga on the perspectives and practice of Māori journalists working in Māori news media.

An invitation

Tēnā koe, e te whītiki o te kī! My name is Atakohu Middleton (Pākehā, Ngāti Māhanga) and I'm a reo-speaking doctoral student at AUT. I spent more than 20 years working as a journalist in mainstream media in Aotearoa and overseas, writing for newspapers and magazines as varied as *Mana* magazine, the *New Zealand Herald*, the *Sunday Star-Times* and the *New Zealand Listener*.

I am a keen consumer of Māori news – in both English and te reo – and as someone whose life and work is influenced by tikanga Māori, I am very interested in researching how tikanga influences the practice and philosophy of newsgathering. Are cultural forces shaping news journalism in the Māori world, and how? This research will take a kaupapa Maori approach – that is, the starting point for its view of the world is a Māori one. However, to ensure that as many people as possible can access the research, it will be carried out in te reo Pākehā.

It is important to stress that this research is not about passing judgement on how people carry out their work as journalists – it is about documenting what is happening in the field. From an analysis of all data, themes will be identified.

Your participation is voluntary. If you withdraw from the study, you will be offered the choice between having any data that is identifiable as belonging to you removed or allowing it to continue to be used. However, once the findings have been produced, removal of your data may not be possible.

I am hoping that you will be as keen as I am to know what makes Māori journalism tick, and that you'll be happy to take part honestly and openly. I really value the time and insight that participants give to this research, and a koha will be provided as a token of my appreciation.

What is the purpose of this research? This research will lead to a doctoral thesis, which is a lengthy piece of supervised research designed, in this case, to help us answer the question "what is Māori journalism?"

How was I identified and why am I being invited to participate in this research? I feel that as an experienced journalist, you would be able to offer important insight into how tikanga influences Māori journalism.

What will happen in this research? This research is based on one-to-one, confidential interviews at a time and place most comfortable and convenient to you. An interview is expected to take 45 minutes to one hour. Further, I may ask to observe and film you as you go about your daily work in and outside the newsroom. This would be done over a period of between five and 15 days.

All data is for analysis purposes only. The data I collect will be secure and accessible only to me, and will be used only for the purposes for which it was collected. After six years, all source material will be deleted, as required by AUT protocol.

What are the discomforts and risks, and how will they be alleviated? I don't expect that you will feel uncomfortable or feel at risk in any way. In the case of interview, once I have transcribed our conversation, I will send you a full transcript that you can amend if necessary.

What are the benefits? Māori journalism is an under-researched subject in New Zealand, and I hope that this work will shed new light on how tikanga Māori is shaping a distinctively Māori way of reporting. On a personal level, the research will lead to a doctorate.

How will my privacy be protected? If you are happy to be identified by name, in interviews and/or video, that is fine. If you would prefer to be anonymous, I will assign a pseudonym to any commentary from you that I might use. I will not be sharing the contents of your interview with other interviewees. All data is securely stored in a password-protected computer in an office at AUT that is accessible only by key card.

In the case of video, I may want to take stills from the video to illustrate a theme in my analysis. In this, I am happy to offer the level of confidentiality that suits you. If you would like me to white out your face as illustrated at right, please let me know. However, even then I can't guarantee complete anonymity, as those who know you very well may still be able to identify you. When filming, I will be respectful of your colleagues' privacy and will inform any that are captured on film that they can also choose whether or not their faces are obscured.

What are the costs of participating in this research? Just your time and your experiences as a Māori journalist working in Māori media.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation? I will get in touch in three days after sending this invitation to see if you would like to take part.

How do I agree to participate in this research? Initially, your verbal consent is enough. I will provide a consent form for you to sign at the interview.

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research? Absolutely! I will send a summary of the completed research to you. The full research will also be publically available at no cost through the AUT library.

What do I do if I have concerns about this research? Any concerns should be notified to the Project Supervisor, Dr Helen Sissons, Senior Lecturer and Curriculum Leader, Journalism, School of Communication Studies. Email helen.sissons@aut.ac.nz, phone 921 9999 ext 7859. Any concerns about the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary of AUTEC, Kate O'Connor, ethics@aut.ac.nz, or 921 9999 ext 6038.

Whom do I contact for further information about this research?

Researcher contact details: Atakohu Middleton. Email Atakohu@inspire.net.nz, phone (021) 2022 798.

Project supervisor contact details: Dr Helen Sissons, Senior Lecturer and Curriculum Leader, Journalism, School of Communication Studies. Email helen.sissons@aut.ac.nz, phone 921 9999 ext 7859.

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on February 22 2016, AUTEC reference number 16/04.

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Appendix 3: Consent and video release form, journalists

Consent and Release Form

Project title: **Tikanga Māori and Māori journalism:** An analysis of the influence of tikanga on the perspectives and practice of Māori journalists working in Māori news media.

Project Supervisors: Dr Helen Sissons, School of Communication Studies; Associate Professor Hinematau McNeill, Te Ara Poutama.

Researcher: **Atakohu Middleton**

O   I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 20/6/2016.

O   I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.

O   I understand that taking part in this study is voluntary (my choice) and that I may withdraw from the study at any time without being disadvantaged in any way.

O   I understand that if I withdraw from the study, then I will be offered the choice between having any data that is identifiable as belonging to me removed, or allowing it to continue to be used. However, I understand that once the findings have been produced, removal of my data may not be possible.

O   I understand that a transcript of the interview will be sent to me for checking, and that I may amend anything in it that is not accurate or clear in meaning.

O   I understand that once I have approved the transcript, it is my final consent to publication of this material.

O   I permit the researcher to make use of video of me that has been taken for this research and/or any stills and any other reproductions or adaptations from them, either complete or in part, alone or in conjunction with any wording and/or drawings, solely and exclusively for (a) the researcher's portfolio; and (b) educational exhibition and examination purposes.

O   I understand that the images will be used for academic purposes only, and will not be published in any form outside of this project without my permission.

O   I understand that any copyright material created by filming is deemed to be owned by the researcher and that I do not own copyright of any of the video.

O   I agree to take part in this research.

As a participant in this research, I

O agree to being named in the research

O would rather remain anonymous

Participant's signature: ....

Participant's name: ....

Participant's contact details:

....

....

Date:

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on February 22, 2016. AUTEC reference number 16/04.

Note: The participant should retain a copy of this form.

Appendix 4: Third-party information sheet

Research into tikanga in Māori journalism

What is this research about?

Tēnā koe! My name is **Atakohu Middleton** (Ngāti Māhanga), and I have been a journalist for more than 20 years. I am doing doctoral research at AUT, looking at how tikanga Maori is shaping Māori journalism. I am filming the daily activities of the journalist who is working with you, and I would like to capture what happens, as it may be useful for my research. My ethical tikanga requires me to tell you who I am, what I am doing, and seek your permission to use this film in case I do analyse the portion in which you appear.

Why is this research being done?

We don't know much about how tikanga Māori shapes the work that Māori journalists do. This research aims to find out.

So how will you protect my privacy?

It is important to protect the privacy of third parties who may be captured while I am filming. This film will not appear in public. However, there is a small chance that I may use still shots from this video, **for academic purposes only**, to illustrate concepts around Māori journalists' observance and expression of tikanga. If I do so, all third parties will have their faces blocked out, similar to the photo at right.

Where do you keep the film?

The data I collect is secure and accessible to me only, and will be used only for the purposes for which it was collected. Once the research is completed and the data no longer needed, it will be deleted, as required by AUT protocol.

What should I do if I have concerns about this research?

Contact the project supervisor, Dr Helen Sissons, Curriculum Leader, Journalism, School of Communication Studies. Email helen.sissons@aut.ac.nz, phone 921 9999 ext 7859. Any concerns about the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary of AUTEC, Kate O'Connor, ethics@aut.ac.nz, or 921 9999 ext 6038.

Whom do I contact for further information about this research? Atakohu Middleton. Email Atakohu@inspire.net.nz, phone (021) 2022 798.

Research approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on February 22, 2016. AUTEC reference number 16/04. Note: The participant should retain a copy of this form.

Date information sheet produced: July 1, 2016

Appendix 5: Third-party consent and release form

Consent and Release Form

AUT
TE WĀNANGA ARONUI
O TĀMAKI MAKAU RAU

Project title: **Tikanga Māori and Māori journalism:** An analysis of the influence of tikanga on the perspectives and practice of Māori journalists working in Māori news media.

Project Supervisors: Dr Helen Sissons, School of Communication Studies; Associate Professor Hinematau McNeill, Te Ara Poutama.

Researcher: **Atakohu Middleton**

O   I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 24/6/2016.

O   I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.

O   I permit the researcher to make use of video of me that has been taken for this research, on the understanding that my face will be obscured as illustrated on the information sheet.

O   I understand that the images will be used for academic purposes only.

O   I understand that the material created by filming is deemed to be owned by the researcher.

O   I agree to be filmed for this research.

Participant's signature: ....

Participant's name: ....

Participant's contact details:

....

....

Date:

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on February 22, 2016. AUTEC reference number 16/04.

Note: The participant should retain a copy of this form.

Appendix 6: Language quality standards

Te Māngai Pāho's language quality assessment framework is called Ngā Whetu Kapokapo (Smith & Piripi, 2012). Excerpted below are the six quality criteria and the framework's explanation of each. The full framework is available at https://www.parliament.nz/resource/0000182096

Te Māngai Pāho Assessment Matrix

1: PRONUNCIATION: This focuses on the sound system of the Māori language. The consistently correct pronunciation of vowels consonants, different-vowel combinations, vowel length and dialectal variations are fundamental to the linguistic integrity of the programme as a whole. Three important areas to avoid are –

- the over-aspiration of /p/, /t/, /k/
- the identical pronunciation of /-ai/ & /-ae/, /-au/ & /-ou/, and /-oi/ & /-oe/
- the incorrect use of stress in multi-syllabic words.

2: VOCABULARY: This includes the use of traditional and new words appropriate to specific genres. The use of dialectal variation is encouraged in expanding the range and diversity of Māori vocabulary. The areas to avoid are –

- the incorrect word use eg poro/tua/tapahi/; mau/waha/pīkau/; whati/pakaru;[72]
- the over-use of new vocabulary often creating confusion;
- relying on a narrow and therefore limited and repetitive vocabulary range.

3: GRAMMAR: This is the effective use of grammatical structures. Once again dialectal variants are encouraged. However recurring errors include the incorrect use of

- the a & o categories of possession;
- personal and possessive pronouns, especially dual and plural forms;

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[72]Author's note: These are words that, in the order above, describe things that are cut off, felled, or cut up; the bearing or carrying of something; and the state of being broken. Māori has very specific words for these states in various contexts.

- passive verb and stative verb use;

- the particles kei, i, hei, kia, ki;

- the use of negation;

- following the English language word order of subject-verb-object.

4: EUPHONY: This refers to the audience and the perceived pleasantness of the volume, tone and pace of the oral delivery.

- It relates to the quality of the pronunciation and enunciation of the word, in the phrase, within a sentence;

- Intonation should fall at the end of a phrase or sentence and rise to indicate a question;

- The phrase, not the word, determines stress.

5: CAPTIONS: This relates to the use of the comprehensive and current orthographic conventions developed by Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori (2012) for all on-screen captions and subtitles. It requires the use of macrons, upper and lower case and hyphens.

6: STRATEGIC CONSISTENCY: This refers to the production's identifiable contribution to the revitalisation of the Māori language. This can be evaluated against identifiable language outcomes within Māori broadcasting and by its alignment with the National Māori Language Strategy. Evidence includes

- Working to a robust Māori Language Plan tailored to the production;

- Increasing the Māori language content/quality within the series, or in future roll-overs;

- Using, appropriately, new genre-specific words aimed at expanding Māori vocabulary range.

- Ensuring the corpus of the production can be added to an existing language database.