

# **Indigenous cultural values and journalism in the Asia-Pacific region: A brief history of Māori journalism**

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## **Abstract**

A number of scholars in the Asia-Pacific region have in recent years pointed to the importance that cultural values play in influencing journalistic practices. The Asian values debate was followed up with empirical studies showing actual differences in news content when comparing Asian and Western journalism. At the same time, such studies have focused on national cultures only. This paper instead examines the issue against the background of an Indigenous culture in the Asia-Pacific region. It explores the way in which cultural values may have played a role in the journalistic practice of Māori journalists in Aotearoa New Zealand over the past nearly 200 years and finds numerous examples that demonstrate the significance of taking cultural values into account. The paper argues that the role played by cultural values is important to examine further, particularly in relation to journalistic practices amongst sub-national news cultures across the Asia-Pacific region.

**Keywords:** cultural values, culture, indigenous, journalism, Maori, media, New Zealand

## **Introduction**

The study of cultural values in communication has in recent years found particular attention in the context of journalism, public relations and advertising in the Asia-Pacific region. In relation to journalism, a number of scholars have demonstrated the way in which such values may be manifested differently when comparing Asian countries with those in North America and Western Europe (Servaes, 2000). On the normative level, the focus has been most prominently on the importance of Asian values, leading to a somewhat controversial debate over the benefits and challenges of such an approach (Xu, 2005). In a more applied context, a number of studies have demonstrated that national cultural values – as measured in the taxonomy developed by Hofstede (2001), for example – can be used to demonstrate differences in written and visual news reporting (for example, Chang & Massey, 2010; Kanayama & Cooper-Chen, 2005; Kim & Kelly, 2008; Ravi, 2005; Winfield, Mizuno & Beaudoin; 2000; Zhou, 2008).

While the importance of cultural values has been reasonably well documented thus far, the discussion has focussed on national cultures. This paper aims to examine the issue of cultural values against the background of an Indigenous culture in the Asia-Pacific region, more precisely one from the southern limits of the region. It explores the way in which cultural values may have played a role in the journalistic practice of Māori journalists in Aotearoa New Zealand. This is particularly relevant with a view to the wider discussions on

news production comparing individualist and collectivist cultures outlined above. Māori culture is characterised by strong collectivist values, while New Zealand culture overall is typically regarded as individualist (Hofstede, 2001).

In tracing the development of Māori journalism and news media over the past 200 years, this paper highlights the way in which attention to cultural values can be beneficial from within an historical approach to the study of journalism. At the same time, the paper raises questions as to how cultural values may also be strategically employed in journalism to differentiate a subjugated societal group from the dominant group. In this way, the paper highlights the need to examine cultural values in line with political influences, further arguing the need for additional studies of Indigenous news and journalism around the region.

## **Background**

Indigenous media are experiencing a remarkable renaissance around the world, a development has led to a number of studies examining Indigenous media and tracing their historical trajectories in a variety of countries (for example, Alia, 2010; Browne, 1996; Molnar & Meadows, 2001; Wilson & Stewart, 2008). Concurrently, journalism has emerged as an important practice in enabling Indigenous peoples to counter the narratives around Indigenous societies, which have been shaped by mainstream news media in the past, quite regularly in negative ways (Abel, 1997; Alia & Bull, 2005; Meadows, 2001). Despite this, there have been only a few attempts at tracing the historical development of Indigenous news and journalism, particularly so in Aotearoa New Zealand, where Indigenous journalism has experienced a remarkable growth period, particularly since the 1970s and 80s. Māori journalism in this small country of 4.4 million people – including a population of just over 600,000 Māori – provides two competing national television news programs, as well as two current affairs programs, a syndicated national radio news service, and three main magazines. These achievements come after what appeared at times an endless struggle, with Māori for the most part having had little opportunity to tell their stories in the media.

Around the globe, news traditions can be traced back to the oral communication of events from one person to another. As Mitchell Stephens' (2007) global history demonstrates, before the invention of printing, storytellers, orators and singers were primarily responsible for spreading the news in most regions. Māori can look back on a similar tradition, established long before Pākehā (European) settlement in the late eighteenth century. Māori Broadcaster Tainui Stephens (2004, p. 107) believes the origins of Māori news and drama lie in his culture's tradition of storytelling, and those who work in the media today are merely "the newest branch of a very old family tree". He notes that *kaikōrero* (traditional orators), who were "highly talented and rigorously trained in the arts of communication" (Stephens, 2004, p. 107) were partly responsible for the delivery of news to the various *iwi* (Māori tribal groups). Such was their importance that they were "veritable storehouses of knowledge and information. They interpreted the world they knew and observed, for the benefit of their people" (Stephens, 2004, p. 107). In a similar vein, McRae (2004, p. 134) believes that "Māori used speech and song to 'publish' for everyday life and posterity: instruction in art or manufacture; news; opinion or feeling; appeals to the *atua*; historical chronicle." At the same time, *whaikōrero* (the orations given by *kaikōrero*) had an entirely different structure to what is regarded as journalism today. Speechmaking was mostly restricted to men, and followed

complex patterns and sequences, which varied between different iwi (Rewi, 2004). In any case, at the time of Pākehā settlement Māori already had a well-established system for news delivery that was bound up in the cultural fabric of the society.

### Early Māori newspapers

Printing presses arrived with the Pākehā, and only four months after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi<sup>1</sup> in 1840, the country's first newspaper, the *New Zealand Advertiser and Bay of Islands Gazette*, appeared (Day, 1990). The first Māori-language newspaper followed soon after, when *Ko te Karere o Nui Tirenī* (The Messenger of New Zealand) began publishing on 1 January 1842. The paper stated its purpose was “so that the Maori people would come to know the ways and customs of the Pakeha and the Pakeha would also come to know the customs of the Maori people”<sup>2</sup>, although the focus was clearly on aiding colonisation (Curnow, 2002, p. 18). The impact that print culture has had on the “wholly oral indigenous culture” of Māori (McKenzie, 1985, p. 9) has been much discussed, but it appears likely that newspapers were not a very natural medium for Māori at the early stage, despite the fact they were taken up enthusiastically.

*Ko Te Karere* was published monthly until January 1846, when Governor George Grey cancelled its production, most likely to save costs (Curnow). It was followed by titles such as *Ko te Karere Māori* (The Māori Messenger) (1849-54), *Te Haata* (The Dawn Streaks of Light) (1859-62) and many others which were used “by government for colonising purposes” (Curnow, 2002, p. 17). At the same time, Māori-language newspapers carried on cultural traditions of communication. The oral tradition of *whaikōrero* was carried over to newspapers through publication of letters and debates and McRae (2002) sees a close association between *kaikōrero* and newspapers, noting that “we may not think to go to newspapers in search of poetry but these otherwise prosaic, informative pages are indeed rich testimony of the high talk of Maori oral tradition” (p. 43). One example is the use of *mihī* (formal greetings), as evidenced in this editorial: “No food, no food! It changes, it changes, there is life! Greetings, friends, and greetings, tribes. May the care of the Highest be bestowed on us all! We conclude our greetings.”<sup>3</sup>

Several newspapers took the names of birds, who were regarded as winged messengers and thus represented qualities similar to the *kaikōrero*, composers and singers who were also colloquially known as *manu kōrero* (talking birds) (McRae, 2002, pp. 44-6). Examples include: *Te Korimako* (bell bird, 1882-90); *Te Pipiwharauoa* (shining cuckoo); *Te Hokioi* (the extinct giant Haast's eagle) or *Te Pihoihoi* (pipit). The bird metaphor took on great symbolic importance as information was now quickly available to a much wider range of people. Editors put the metaphor to use in their drive for donations and subscriptions, like the editor of *Te Pipiwharauoa* who asked for “supplejack berries for our bird”<sup>4</sup>. Readers of *Te Korimako* would often address the newspaper as a bird, such as this letter from T. Erueti Mānihera (1885, p. 4): “The first bird to fly across this land, around all its bends and headlands. O bird, I am anxious that you land at my residence [...] So, I send fragrant seeds to entice you to fly to my residence”. Similarly, in an article about the discovery of an adze, Wiremu Kauika (1888, p. 4) wrote: “This is why I send this to be carried by our pet, that is, by *Te Korimako*, to the places to which he flies so that it will be seen by everyone, Maori and Pakeha, everywhere”.

Some news reports were incredibly detailed, with exact reproductions of speeches in keeping with the Māori tradition of giving everyone an opportunity to be heard. A report on a marriage in *Te Wananga* is notable for its extensive quotation of the whaikōrero at a wedding<sup>5</sup>. Other stories were brief, but Māori oratory and references to newspapers as birds were still evident, such as in the conclusion to a news story about the discovery of a greenstone club in *Te Korimako*: “I conclude my message here so as not to overload the long back of Te Korimako, in case it does not have the strength to carry it about for Aotearoa and the east and west coasts to hear about. That is all” (Tohikura, 1883, p. 6). Obituaries typically included waiata (traditional songs) such as those present in a report on the death of King Tāwhiao in 1860<sup>6</sup>, or the waiata tangi (laments) and whakataukī (proverbs) in the obituary for Kerei Mangōnui<sup>7</sup>. Tangihanga (death customs) are also apparent in the report on the death of a chiefly woman from Rotoaira: “On the day she died her ancestral mountain, Tongariro, mourned her. The part of Tongariro which mourned her broke up, clouds rose from the hot springs and rocks came down into the lake of Rotoaira. This is an ancient sign from Tongariro mountain for chiefly women and men” (Ngāketete, 1876, p. 100).

Māori-language newspapers provided an important vehicle in the continuation of Māori culture, its customs and values by connecting people with one another, and even contributing to national Māori identity. In this way, Head (2002, p. 143) argues that “newspapers extended participation to people far off. While they were a new agent of the transmission of culture, the process itself by which culture was reinforced and renewed was traditional” (Head, 2002, p. 143). McRae (2002, p. 54) notes that Māori quickly adopted journalistic style, which was “very often – in content, style and language – at once ancient in its evident oral heritage, modern in its adoption of the domain of print, and creative in its self-conscious modification of both media”.

### **Returning fire: Emergence of Māori-controlled newspapers**

Until 1862, all Māori newspapers had essentially been controlled by people other than Māori, but this changed when, following a visit by the Austrian exploratory vessel *Novara*, the Waikato chiefs Wiremu Toetoe Tumohe and Te Hēmara Rerehau Paraone travelled on board to Vienna, where they were instructed in printing by a local staff member who could speak Māori (Brookes, 1958). Austrian Emperor Franz Joseph I gave them a printing press as a farewell gift, which was subsequently put to use for the production of the newspaper *Te Hokioi o Niu Tirenī e Rere atu na* (The Hokioi of New Zealand who flies out<sup>8</sup>; 1862-63) (Curnow, 2002, p. 21). This first Māori-controlled newspaper was edited by Pātara Te Tuhi, who used it to advocate for the Kīngitanga (Māori King Movement) and the restriction of government influence over Māori. In response, a rival newspaper, *Te Pihoihoi Mokemoke i Runga i te Tuanui* (The ground lark that sits alone upon the roof), was established to publish government views. The subsequent exchanges of opinion in the two publications led to what *Te Hokioi* called a paper war<sup>9</sup>. Again the oratory of Māori culture is present, such as in this letter from *Te Hokioi*, addressed at *Te Pihoihoi Mokemoke*, which also makes use of the bird metaphor:

I have seen what you have said about me down there. I was flying up in the blue of the sky but I did not approach the ground. Friend, the ground is where I fly up from.

My resources remain in the house of my ancestor, of Tiki. If I should descend again, the seaweed cast up here will be lying on the forecourt of my home. By its bad smell, eh, this weed is from the middle of the ocean. Friend, be gentle. Seek out a way for you and me. Cease behaving like that to me. Get over this, stand upright. It is good to have a large kilt, dogs are biting from below.<sup>10</sup>

The situation escalated when 80 Māori warriors seized *Te Pihoihoi Mokemoke's* printing press on March 24, 1863. Te Tuhi disapproved, advising the king to condemn the actions of the war party and order the return of the press. While *Te Pihoihoi Mokemoke* stopped printing after this episode, *Te Hokioi* was not much longer lived, ceasing publication when war came to the Waikato in July 1863.

The journalism in *Te Hokioi* marked a defining stage in the development of Māori journalism. Māori-owned and operated newspapers exhibited a fiercely pro-Māori stance and agitated for Māori rights. For example, *Te Hokioi* adopted Pākehā terminology like white and black to differentiate between Europeans and Māori, but ascribed a preference to black, as evidenced in its reporting on the history of Haiti, which had seen a native government established<sup>11</sup>. In this way, Māori “rejected the paternalistic Pakeha message, by proclaiming what we might now call a black consciousness and asserting pride in their *kiri mangu* [black skin]” (Paterson, 2002, p. 93). In 1874, *Te Wananga* (The Forum) was established on the East Coast, in close association with the Repudiation movement, which sought to reject unfair land leases and purchases. Its self-proclaimed purpose was to publish Māori debates and “to put in plain words the afflictions oppressing te iwi Māori”<sup>12</sup>. It promised to publish information about land sales and to “be willing to ventilate any grievance, and afford by means of the publicity it will obtain, our best efforts for its redress”<sup>13</sup>. Other publications were associated with the Kotahitanga (Unity) Movement in the 1890s, leading to the establishment of *Huia Tangata Kotahi* (which roughly means “combining people as one”<sup>14</sup>; 1893-95) and *Te Puke ki Hikurangi* (The Mount at Hikurangi; 1897-1913).

The emergence of *Te Hokioi* and other newspapers represents an important cornerstone in the development of Māori journalism in that they provided, for the first time, a space controlled by Māori. This political motivation established a tradition of journalism that acts to counterbalance a predominant Pākehā world view. Curnow (2002, p. 35) notes that the “Māori-owned newspapers were highly political ... Māori realised the power of the newspapers in politics and education, as well as the pleasure to be derived from them”. The Māori-owned papers were also crucial in establishing a collective Māori consciousness, contributing to a Māori- rather than iwi-based identity (Paterson, 2010, p. 121).

From 1913 onwards, however, the number of Maori-language newspapers dropped drastically, with Curnow (2002) noting that most Māori newspapers only covered special interests or focussed exclusively on religion. While funding was an ongoing problem, another reason lay in the reduction of Māori-proficient writers due to changes in government education policies. In 1904, *Te Pipiwharauoa* warned against neglecting the language, saying it would end in assimilation with Pākehā<sup>15</sup>, but when in 1905 the Inspector of Native Schools determined that school children should be encouraged to speak only English when at school, “this instruction was translated into a general prohibition of the Maori language within school precincts. For the next five decades the prohibition was in some instances

enforced by corporal punishment” (Walker, 2004, p. 147). Journalism in te reo Māori (Māori language) was confined to the wilderness for the subsequent decades.

### **The advent of Māori broadcasting**

When radio arrived in Aotearoa New Zealand in 1922, it took five years for the first Māori songs to be heard on radio. Even when the first Māori radio announcers arrived, they focussed only on the pronunciation and meanings of Māori place names and spoke chiefly English (Browne, 1996). Beatson (1996) notes the first person to broadcast in te reo Māori was Pani Parata Te Tau in 1936. When large numbers of Māori went off to fight for New Zealand in World War II, Māori increasingly requested news in their own language, and eventually Wiremu Parker was tasked with presenting a five-minute weekly news bulletin in Māori in 1942 (Mill, 2005). However, this service has been described as “Pākehā news in the Māori language, meaning it was a mere transliteration of the English news services” (Beatson, 1996, p. 77). Control over what went to air was still very much with the government, but Parker was subsequently allowed to formulate more of his own program content (Matamua, 2006, p. 44). He was officially appointed as the first Māori news broadcaster in 1943 and news remained the only regular national program in te reo Māori until 1964. Still, it was mostly translated news, with little or no Māori perspective (Beatson, 1996, p. 78). Some regional radio stations were more successful, however. In some regions of the North Island, small Māori-run news and current affairs programs emerged in the 1950s and 1960s and tangi (funeral) notices were broadcast, at a time when this practice was completely unheard of (Beatson, 1996).

Nationally, the situation was still dire by 1973, with programs catering for Māori needs “so few and scattered at different times on the national network, that one had to be a dedicated listener to follow them” (Walker, 2004, p. 269). There was only one Māori news bulletin and one current affairs program a week, plus forty-five minutes of other Māori content. Walker (2004, p. 269) argues that “these meagre offerings of less than an hour and a half per week, compared with the hundreds of hours of Pākehā broadcasting from the national network and commercial stations, were a direct reflection of monocultural dominance and Māori subjection”. Clearly, Māori broadcasting and journalism were not evolving satisfactorily in a Pākehā-controlled environment, and Māori groups began campaigning for their own radio stations, even if early attempts were rebuffed on the grounds of a lack of government funding (Walker, 2004, p. 269).

### **The Māori renaissance and media development**

In the meantime, news produced by Māori remained mostly confined to Pākehā newspapers employing Māori journalists, and to national radio. But in the 1970s and 1980s Māori increasingly campaigned for their rights, achieving a significant milestone in the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal in 1975, whose role it was to assess Māori claims relating to breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi. This period saw the re-emergence of various Māori print publications, such as *Te Iwi o Aotearoa* (The Tribe of New Zealand; 1987-91) and *Kahungunu* (the name of a Māori tribe; 1991-95), which were fiercely pro-Māori, continuing the tradition of newspapers in the second half of the nineteenth century. During the early 1990s, thirteen newspapers and magazines emerged, but much like their nineteenth

century counterparts, they struggled for financial survival and many had to close over the ensuing years (Taira, 2006). In 2013, the only major publications remaining include the magazines *Mana*, *Te Karaka* and *Tū Mai*. These publications still focus on telling stories from a Māori point of view, including many of the success stories of the Māori world so as to act as a counterweight to the predominantly stereotypical reporting about Māori in the mainstream media, but also to point out government wrongs towards Māori (Fox, 2011).

While print media have continued to struggle, significant progress was made in the area of broadcasting. Television had come to Aotearoa New Zealand on 1 June 1960, and it took twenty years to establish the first regular Māori program – *Koha* – even though in the view of Māori broadcaster Derek Fox (1990, p. 105) its purpose was “to appeal to the general (read Pākehā) audience. In other words, it was a Pākehā window on Māoridom, not a Māori programme”. Fox became the first to establish television news for and by Māori, when in 1982 he produced a two-minute nightly news bulletin in Māori on Television New Zealand (TVNZ) during Māori Language Week. Instead of simply presenting Pākehā news in Māori, the program reported from a Māori perspective, putting together a wide range of stories (Fox, 1990, p. 103).

Māori news on television struck a chord, and in 1983 the regular news program *Te Karere* (The Messenger) was born, broadcasting four minutes of news a day from a Māori perspective and with a skeleton staff of two – Fox and Whai Ngata (Fox, 1993). They made a habit of mentioning interviewees’ tribal affiliations, further cementing the close relationship between journalism and culture that had been such an evident feature of nineteenth century Māori journalism. “These things are important, because Māori people need to know someone’s tribal affiliation in order to properly consider what they are saying in public” (Fox, 1993, p. 129). Further, *Te Karere* focussed on a wider range of news values, in an attempt to get away from the constant mainstream media focus on bad news and conflict. They also gave a wider range of people a say in line with the Māori belief that everyone deserves their say (Fox, 1992). Journalist Wena Harawira (2008) notes how *Te Karere* also helped shape the language by developing new Māori terms, and in this case there is an interesting parallel to early newspapers adopting names of birds: “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”. At the same time, Harawira (2008) has noted that the use of new words can confuse native speakers, and that “it will take time to find acceptance and the right balance between the classical style of spoken Māori and brief news grabs”. Cultural myths and customs also played an important role. A former *Te Karere* journalist remembers how he covered the 100th anniversary of the 1886 eruption of Mt Tarawera, which had killed numerous people. When he arrived with a film crew at the lake below, the mountain was covered in mist, prompting a fellow Pākehā journalist to complain because the mist didn’t allow him to see anything. For Māori, however, mist is sacred, and the Māori journalist knew there were lots of stories he could tell. “It was like it was being cloaked in grief. That mist cloaked the whole mountain, on that one day when 100 years ago we lost over 400 people ... Those are just some of the things that you can do, because it’s not just the language, but what the language does is, it allows you to bring the whole cultural perspective” (cited in Hanusch, 2013b).

*Te Karere* was very successful with Māori audiences and slowly became more widely accepted within TVNZ, eventually being extended to eleven minutes in 1987 (Fox, 1990, p. 106). Nevertheless, Fox became disillusioned with the constant battle against management, leaving the program soon after and establishing Mana News as an independent news service to tribal radio stations (Fox, 1993). Clearly, it was time for Māori to re-engage in the battle for their own television service which could produce journalism from a position of cultural safety, with Fox (1990, p. 107) saying: “There is no real hope for an equitable and just place for Maori language and culture in broadcasting until an independent and autonomous Maori system is established”.

### **The emergence of Māori-controlled broadcasting**

A pivotal development in the establishment of Māori broadcasting was the Māori language claim before the Waitangi Tribunal. In its 1986 ruling, the tribunal determined that te reo Māori was a taonga (treasured possession), which required protection under Article 2 of the Treaty of Waitangi. The tribunal argued that this “means more than merely leaving the Maori people unhindered in their enjoyment of their language and culture. It requires active steps to be taken to ensure that the Maori people have and retain the full exclusive and undisturbed possession of their language and culture” (Waitangi Tribunal, 1989, p. 30). The ruling was the basis of active government support for Māori-language broadcasting, soon allowing strong growth in Māori-owned and -operated broadcasting.

There had been one-off, short-term services, such as Radio New Zealand’s program Te Reo ō Aotearoa in February 1979, and Te Reo o Poneke, an experimental service which produced the first bona-fide Māori-language radio station in August 1983 (Mill, 2005, p. 196). Led by Piripi Walker, the Wellington-based program was only on air for a week, yet “it marked the beginning of the Māori radio industry that exists today, inspiring Māori language advocates and budding young Māori broadcasters alike” (Mill, 2005, p. 197). In 1988, the first permanent Māori-controlled radio station, Te Upoko o Te Ika was established in Wellington, followed months later by Radio Aotearoa in Auckland (Walker, 2004, pp. 269-70). Tribal radio experienced phenomenal growth in subsequent years and by 1991 the number of iwi stations had grown to eighteen. To receive government funding, stations had to “demonstrate a commitment to broadcasting a minimum of 50 per cent in Māori to an audience of at least 15,000” (Walker, 2004, p. 332). In 1995, the government funding agency Te Māngai Pāho (TMP) assumed responsibility for funding all Māori stations with a mission to “foster Māori language and culture through quality broadcasting” (Mill, 2005). TMP now provided the majority of funding for Māori radio and television programming, in particular the 21 iwi stations and several television production companies that existed at that time (Walker, 2004, p. 334). In television, TVNZ set up a Māori department in 1986, which soon grew from a staff of one to a sizeable group of 20 (Walker, 2004, p. 272). The range of Māori programming grew considerably, including a variety of current affairs programs. Despite the various successes within TVNZ, in 1993 the amount of Māori or Māori-related programming on television was still less than one per cent of the total broadcast time (Fox, 1993).

But Māori journalism more broadly made considerable advances. Upon leaving TVNZ, Derek Fox, Piripi Whaanga and Gary Wilson founded Mana Maori Media Ltd in 1989 as a professional news making organisation (Fox, 1993). Originally, *Mana News*

provided a 20-minute news program in English on national radio, later evolving into individual bulletins presented in the morning, afternoon and evening. They also began publishing *Mana* magazine in 1992, which still operates today, and later provided Māori-language news bulletins to both national radio and the iwi stations. At its high-point, *Mana News* had 15 full-time employees, providing 12 news bulletins a day and a nightly hour-long magazine show for iwi stations, as well as four Maori-language bulletins and a half-hour Sunday night magazine show for National Radio (Watkin, 2012). According to Fox (1993, p. 136), the program concentrated on “stories of significance and interest to the Māori communities, seeking the Māori element in events throughout New Zealand society and focusing attention, when merited on Māori achievers and achievements”. In their broadcasts, reporters focused on stories of particular interest to the tribal stations’ audiences, as well as major national news stories, all from a Māori perspective. A 1993 study found that *Mana News* also gave more airtime to sources than any other program, put less emphasis on conflict and offered solutions in so-called bad news stories (Te Awa, 1996). Similarly, McGregor & Comrie (1995) found that Māori radio did not focus on disagreements between people but rather on trying to find solutions to problems. This is continuing today, with Māori programs focussing on a wider range of issues, and providing a wider range of views (Archie, 2007). Such aspects are in line with Māori culture and customs, especially, which note that everyone is entitled to be heard. In this way, modern Māori journalism on television and radio appears to continue similar traditions to those that were apparent in the Māori newspapers of the nineteenth century.

### **Establishment of Māori Television**

Following the significant advances in iwi radio, the last frontier remained television, as the structure of the national broadcaster still meant that Māori were operating within a Pākehā environment, and depended on the goodwill of those in power. The pilot station Aotearoa Television Network (ATN) began operating in 1996 and 97, but extremely short timelines, funding restrictions and high expectations meant the project was “set up to fail”, although the channel miraculously did to go to air on time, producing more programming than the contract required (Walker, 2004, p. 337). Eventually, however, ATN failed “amid accusations of poor government planning, chronic under-funding and a political and media scrum over perceived spending irregularities which were never proved by a Serious Fraud Office investigation” (Middleton, 2010, p. 160). The establishment of a Māori television channel became a government priority in 2000, however, and eventually the Māori Television Service Act was passed in May 2003. Māori Television began transmission on 28 March 2004, broadcasting nearly eight hours of programming a day. In 2008, Māori Television’s Te Reo, a 100 per cent Māori-language channel, was launched as part of its digital television strategy.

The establishment of Māori Television had a profound impact on Māori journalism by offering more avenues for journalistic content and even competition. In 2009, TVNZ’s *Te Karere* was extended from fifteen to twenty-two minutes, broadcasting five days a week. With the arrival of Māori Television, the new seven-days-a-week news program *Te Kaea* entered the market, as well as the current affairs program *Native Affairs* in 2007, which won the Best Current Affairs Series at the 2011 Aotearoa Film and Television Awards. In

addition, Māori TV broadcasts Te Tēpu, a 100 per cent te reo Māori current affairs program, where native speakers debate topical issues.

The establishment of Māori Television has opened up new avenues for Māori journalism. Commenting on the events of the past ten years, Middleton (2010, p. 167) believes that “the end result has been the preservation and extension of the state broadcaster’s early Māori-language programmes and an indigenous broadcaster which appears to be succeeding in its goal to promote and preserve te reo Māori in a variety of styles to a diverse audience”. All the while, a number of studies have shown that Māori journalism has continued to operate with a strong foundation in Māori culture, further adapting the processes that began with the introduction of newspapers more than 150 years ago. Beyond the examples noted earlier, Māori programs are still using iwi affiliations (Rankine et al., 2007), and programs on Māori Television feature more in-depth interviews and longer soundbites (Comrie, 2012). Interviews on television are often introduced with more or less short mihi (greetings), subjects are treated with much respect, and journalists frequently use whakataukī and pepeha (which can be described as proverbs, although their meaning is broader in Māori) (Addis, Bennett, Hall, Kernot, Russell & Walker, 2005 86). During a debate over Māori rights to the seabed and foreshore, reporters would also often use metaphors, such as “makes that assumption look like a broken idol” and “ride a reality wave”<sup>16</sup>.

Other cultural aspects play into Māori journalism culture today. Stuart (2002) has noted that some journalists only report final decisions of hui (meetings), so as not to contravene the idea that discussions held at marae (traditional meeting houses) should remain there once resolved. Māori journalists interviewed for a broader study of journalism culture have stated that they always follow cultural protocols when covering stories, such as having karakia (incantations and prayers) first, or going through a pōhiri (a traditional welcoming ceremony) (Author removed for peer review). Journalist Wena Harawira (2008) argues there are cultural concepts which are important for journalists to adhere to, such as when interviewing in particular elders, where cultural protocols are applied. All these, using Hofstede’s (2001) terms, point to the continuing importance of collectivist values for Māori, who operate as part of a largely individualist national culture. The distinctions which some scholars have found across nations, therefore, can also be observed within nations, further complexifying concepts of national news cultures.

## **Conclusion**

Māori journalism, not unlike Indigenous journalism elsewhere, has gone through recurrent phases of subjugation and reassertion of control. In developing their own news media, the Indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand had to constantly fight battles to be able to tell their own stories. Whenever a new medium emerged, Pākehā would appropriate it and in effect marginalise Māori. Over time, however, Māori would wrest control of the medium away from Pākehā in order to produce news in their own way. Māori-language newspapers were initially used and controlled by the colonial government, but later Māori asserted their rights and developed their own newspapers to agitate for their rights. A similar trend emerged in broadcasting, where Māori were first portrayed only through a colonial lens by Pākehā-controlled radio and television stations. Progress was slow, and only following the Waitangi Tribunal’s decision on the importance of the Māori language did Māori-controlled

news services begin to emerge, quickly establishing a Māori mediasphere that now spans 21 iwi radio stations, Māori Television, as well as a small number of magazines, in addition to Māori news and current affairs produced at TVNZ. Online ventures, such as blogs and news websites are also emerging.

As this overview of the development of Māori journalism has shown, we can see that cultural values have been present throughout its history. Before Europeans arrived, as some have argued, Māori news communication was practised in a uniquely Māori way. This article explored the ways in which we can see how, at various times over the past 170 or so years, journalistic practice could be related to certain cultural values. Early newspapers tapped into Māori values, customs and mythology, for example by adopting bird names for their titles, printing waiata, using whaikōrero and traditional mihi. More recently, Māori news reporting has shown distinct differences to a Western style of reporting, such as the habit to include sources' tribal affiliation, a more respectful kind of interviewing, a wider range of voices, a more narrative-oriented style of writing and a focus on a broader range news values. Furthermore, cultural conventions still play an important role in journalists' work, especially when interviewing elders. Cultural myths also affect journalists' storytelling and the cultural references they can draw on.

Scholarship on cultural values in journalism in the Asia-Pacific region has over the past decade or so made out some general trends in relation to national cultures. This paper adds to that evidence, and reinforces the importance of examining the relationship between cultural values and journalism more closely. At the same time, the focus on an Indigenous Asia-Pacific culture operating within a Western-dominant environment demonstrates the need to look beyond purely national cultures. One aspect, for example, that would need further investigation, is the extent to which cultural values may be employed strategically, and for political reasons, by certain groups within a nation. Māori journalism operates within a Pākehā-dominated news system, and cultural values may also be employed in differentiating itself from the mainstream. Empowerment and creating a counter-narrative are very important dimensions of Indigenous journalism (Hanusch, 2013a), and it is quite possible that the employment of cultural values may interact with overarching political goals. This review was only able to provide a broad-brush examination, and further research will be required to examine the potential tension between cultural values and political influences. At the same time, it provides a starting point for similar analyses in the Asia-Pacific region. There are a number of Indigenous news cultures in the region, such as in Japan, Siberia, Taiwan and Australia, to name just a few. Studying these and the way they operate within larger mainstream news cultures may yield additional insight into the dynamics of journalism, further enhancing our current understanding of the role that cultural values play in its practice.

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> The treaty ('Te Tiriti o Waitangi' in Māori) was signed on 6 February 1840 and is considered New Zealand's founding document, a broad agreement between Māori chiefs and the British, giving Māori the rights of British subjects, and also acknowledging Māori ownership of land. The two versions of the treaty (one in English, the other in Māori) differ substantially, especially on the subject of who has sovereignty over the land.

<sup>2</sup> *Ko te Karere o Nui Tireni*, 1 January 1842, p.1.

<sup>3</sup> *Te Pīpiwharauoa*, 1 April 1899, p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> *Te Pīpiwharauoa*, June 1906, p. 12.

<sup>5</sup> 'He Mārenatanga' [A marriage]', *Te Wananga*, 24 February 1877, pp. 72-3.

<sup>6</sup> *Te Haeata*, 2 July 1860, pp.1-2.

<sup>7</sup> *Te Korimako*, 15 August 1884, p. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Gorst (336) states that Te Hokioi was 'a mythical bird, never seen, but only known by her scream, which was an omen of war or pestilence'.

<sup>9</sup> *Te Hokioi*, 26 April 1863, p. 2.

<sup>10</sup> *Te Hokioi*, 15 February 1863, p. 3.

<sup>11</sup> *Te Hokioi*, 24 March 1863, p. 1-2.

<sup>12</sup> *Te Wananga*, 4 September 1874, p. 9.

<sup>13</sup> *Te Wananga*, 7 August 1875, p. 125

<sup>14</sup> Paterson ('Print Culture' 121) points out a pun with the term 'huia', which can mean 'being gathered together, but also the bird whose feathers indicate noble status'.

<sup>15</sup> *Te Pīpiwharauoa*, December 1903, p. 2.

<sup>16</sup> *Marae*, Television New Zealand, 10 August 2003.

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