

MEDIA **& TE TIRITI O WAITANGI** **2007**



Whakatauki

He tao rākau
E taea te karo
He tao kōrero
E kore e taea
Te karo

*Wooden spears
can be seen and dodged
Spears of words
cannot be avoided
They hit their target
and wound*

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MEDIA **& TE TIRITI O WAITANGI** **2007**



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SUMMARY

▷ THIS IS our second pilot study of content and meaning in a representative group of newspaper and TV news items about the Treaty of Waitangi and Māori issues from February and March 2007. This study enabled us to compare some aspects of reporting of Māori news with a sample from September and October 2004.

▷ USE OF TE REO MĀORI: Newspapers showed a persistently low use of te reo Māori in both years, on average a little over two words of te reo for which there was an English alternative per item. Roughly half the 2007 items contained no Māori words. Use of terms such as *mana* or *kaitiakitanga* to describe Māori concepts about resources was rare. On TV, *Te Kaea* and *Te Karere* consistently identified the iwi affiliations of Māori speakers, but these were very rarely provided by mass TV news programmes (*One News*, *3 News*, *Tonight* and *Prime News*) or newspapers.

▷ MEDIA THEMES: Mass news items were persistently structured from within a Pākehā cultural paradigm. When they talked about taxpayers, the public or New Zealanders, they typically excluded Māori. The two samples showed persistent use of anti-Māori themes such as Privilege, Māori Violence, Stirrers, Māori Resources and Financial Probity. As in 2004, these negative themes outweighed the single positive theme of Māori Success.

▷ MEANINGS FOR MEDIA AUDIENCES: Both Māori and non-Māori focus group members saw mass media representations as unbalanced, decontextualised, negative and frequently depicting Māori as extreme or threatening. The effects were seen as damaging to Māori health and wellbeing, and reinforcing of negative Pākehā perceptions of Māori.

▷ SOURCES: Newspapers and mass TV news consistently used a low proportion of Māori as sources. In Treaty and Māori resource stories in 2007, Māori sources were a barely a majority in mass TV news and a minority in newspapers. Stories about these issues used 10 to 12% more Māori sources than across the whole Māori news sample of 2004. Newspapers and TV quoted a higher proportion of Māori women than Pākehā women in 2007. Mass TV relied heavily on Government sources and used only a small proportion of iwi representatives, the opposite of *Te Kaea* and *Te Karere*. These programmes also let sources speak for much longer than the mass news programmes.

▷ “GOOD” AND “BAD” NEWS: A lower proportion of stories from newspapers and TV were coded as “bad” news in 2007 Treaty and Māori resources stories than in 2004. In both years, there was a large overlap between “bad” news and items focusing on conflict, and these were much more common among newspaper items taken from NZPA or stablemate publications than in stories by the newspaper’s own staff.

▷ BALANCE: The terms “radical” and “activist” were overwhelmingly applied to Māori spokespeople in newspaper items, and used by journalists rather than sources. The imbalance in these terms shows the mass media’s overall conservative orientation on Māori resource issues and the lack of alternative frames for these stories.

▷ CASE STUDY - WAITANGI: Mass TV programmes consistently linked Waitangi, the place, to politics, especially protest, encouraging viewers to see the place and the Treaty as divisive. Coverage differed little from that in 1990, with emphasis on “our national day” and “being one people”, especially at community events in other places. In contrast, Māori news spoke of diverse people coming together and Waitangi as the site the Treaty was signed and debated.

“ [The Treaty is] a living and evolving document that was never intended to fossilise into the status quo but was intended ... for constructive and ongoing engagement. ”

Augie Fleras and Paul Spoonley, 1999



“ **If we are to reclaim the truth of what is us, if we are to bequeath to our mokopuna a world in which they can stand tall as Māori, then we have to ... challenge definitions that are not our own, especially those which confine us to a subordinate place.** ”

Moana Jackson, 1999

▷ **CASE STUDY - FLYING THE FLAGS:** Mass news media depicted the tino rangatiratanga flag as a challenge and potential source of conflict. Māori TV referred to the flag as “ours”, meaning all of us, while *One News* referred to it as “their” flag, using the familiar dichotomy of us (the viewers) and them (Māori).

▷ **CASE STUDY - FISHERIES:** Mass TV news positioned Māori as combative and unreasonable, and supported the Minister of Fisheries’ construction of Māori commercial fishing interests as a threat to the New Zealand way of life. *Te Kaea* emphasised the potential for resolution of the issue and presented protest positively as a way to prevent further problems.

▷ **CASE STUDY - MEDIA TALK ABOUT MEDIA:** Mass media hid its own role in shaping national representations of Māori issues by presenting the news as something that exists independently of the media which shapes and constructs it.

▷ **SILENCES:** Mass media items in both years provided little or no background explanation or context about the Treaty or Māori issues, in contrast to items on *Te Karere* and *Te Kaea*. The absence of links between current issues and their colonial origins supports status quo understandings of Māori/Pākehā relations.

▷ **MEDIA FRAMES:** When mass media talked of unity, they emphasised a form of nationalism that silenced Māori rights and aspirations. When Māori news programmes did so, the unity was in diversity, focused on tino rangatiratanga and challenged the Government to honour te Tiriti o Waitangi. Māori language news assumed that the fight for Māori rights and aspirations is a necessity and is not divisive or unjustified.

▷ **MEDIA CONSUMERS’ CHECKLIST:** We have produced this to support direct action by media consumers about poor media representations of Māori (see www.trc.org.nz/resources/media.htm). It will be updated regularly. We also look forward to working with media on a checklist for journalists and public journalism projects about Māori issues.

TE KAUPAPA - MISSION

Kupu Taea aims to analyse media representations of Māori and te Tiriti o Waitangi to help improve the standard of reporting on these issues. We hope that this project will contribute to the emergence of what is elsewhere known as public journalism; news media which aim to engage with their audiences as responsible citizens in democratic processes that enrich public life and the wellbeing of communities.

Mai te tīmatanga - Background

For many people, media news provides their major source of information about political issues, processes and personalities in the Māori and non-Māori worlds. The proportion of what many people know from direct experience has shrunk to the point where mass media strongly shape their personal and collective social realities. What the news media say about Māori/Pākehā relations and the Treaty, therefore, influences the possibilities for Treaty-based social change.

This report summarises our second pilot media research project and is written for working journalists, news media managers and media consumers. The project was funded by the JR McKenzie Trust. It enabled us to refine our research process and develop a tool to help media consumers assess the quality of news media reporting about Māori and te Tiriti.

Ko mātou ēnei - About us

We are an independent group of Māori and Pākehā media, public health and film researchers. Individual members are profiled on the back page. Collectively we have experience in newspaper journalism and video production, and have published several academic papers about media and Treaty issues. The Auckland Workers' Education Association administers our finances.

The name Kupu Taea evokes the power of the word. We call ourselves the Media and te Tiriti Project because it is the Māori text of te Tiriti which is recognised in international law, and which was signed by more than 500 rangatira. The relationship between Māori and non-Māori is based on te Tiriti, and we use it in our title to represent what is at stake when we discuss media coverage of Māori.

THE NEWSMAKING CONTEXT

The news production environment, including staffing diversity, attitudes and media ownership, has a major effect on representations of Māori in news items, and pressures on news production have intensified since the publication of our first report in 2005.

New Zealand's 1994 commitment under the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) through the World Trade Organisation restricts regulation of cross-media ownership and prevents the Government from requiring a minimal level of local content, and from controlling the level or nature of foreign ownership of our media. According to commentator Bill Rosenberg, these are all steps the Government should be taking.

Convergence

New Zealand news media have remained what the Engineering, Printing and Manufacturing Union (EPMU) calls "one of the most concentrated and foreign-dominated media industries in the world".

Media convergence and cost-cutting in newspaper and TVNZ newsrooms have increased the pressure on journalists to do more with less, which stimulated the organisation of two media conferences in 2007. The Convergence Conference in Auckland was organised by the Journalism Education Association of New Zealand (JEANZ) and the Journalism Matters Summit in Wellington by the EPMU.

Julie Starr, developer of the *Daily Telegraph's* London multimedia newsroom, told Convergence Conference participants that "All reporters are now writing for the web, it doesn't matter where they work". Fairfax New Zealand speakers described the integration of online and print news in their everyday operation. Professor Mike McKean of the Missouri School of Journalism told the conference that "most media growth in the next five years will be in convergent platforms".

One local example of this was the set-top boxes that Sky and Freeview developed to enable TV programmes from the Internet to be downloaded onto digital TV screens. However, Bill Rosenberg reports that a Telecom spokesman believed that their broadband network would not be able to support these downloads until 2009.

An overseas convergence example was the Amazon Kindle, an electronic reading device usable without a computer, launched in the USA by Amazon.com in November 2007. Its display mimicked the appear-

“any inquiry into how modern societies are ‘made and remade in every individual mind, on a daily basis’ ... needs to account in one way or another for the effects of the news media.”

Stuart Allan, 2004

ance of ink on paper. It downloaded newspapers, magazines, blogs and books wirelessly, using a proprietary format, and cost a few hundred dollars. The first production run sold out in hours.

Cost cutting in newspapers

The Journalism Matters Summit in Wellington was organised by the EPMU, which represents more than 1,000 media workers. *New Zealand Herald* writer Simon Collins told the summit that “newspapers, radio and TV are all losing advertising and audience to the net, and are reacting by cutting costs”. Karl du Fresne, writing about the event, said media companies have been forced to buy up new media “to stay in the game” and need to generate high returns to service the debt.

The most notable was Fairfax’s purchase of the highly successful local online auction site, Trade Me in March 2006 for \$700 million, to capture what Bill Rosenberg described as the “surging leakage of classified advertising to the Internet”. Fairfax newspapers account for nearly half the daily paper circulation in the country.

Chris Warren told the summit that annual online advertising revenues were predicted to reach \$5 billion within the next five years. “We are watching keenly to see how quickly classified advertising, once known as newsprint’s ‘rivers of gold’ will move exclusively online.”

This loss of advertising is combined with a steady decline in readership. Rosenberg reports that total audited daily newspaper readership has dropped by 46,000 since 2001 and the average age of newspaper readers is increasing: unlike those over 50, those under 25 generally don’t read papers.

Rosenberg also reports a former *Sydney Morning Herald* editor’s statement that cutting costs was the agenda for almost all decisions about journalism by major media companies.

Fairfax executives described their papers in New Zealand under previous owner INL as “very editorially driven organisations” and their intention to move them instead to “a sales and marketing organisation”, according to Rosenberg. In 2006, Fairfax New Zealand chief executive Joan Withers described the company’s business as “advertising and information delivery”, saying that it had to find innovative ways to “monetise” its content.

Following its purchase of INL, Fairfax increased editorial sharing, resulting in 130 staff redundancies, and increased the numbers of items reprinted from other Fairfax newspapers. This raised concern about reduced opportunities for differing views with centralised control of editorial lines in these papers. Fairfax is considering the centralised production of regional papers, where local editorial staff contribute limited local copy to slot in beside

overseas and other news sections that are collated and designed centrally.

The second arm of the newspaper media duopoly, APN News & Media (ANM), controlled by Irish billionaire Sir Tony O’Reilly, is also cutting costs. Simon Collins said that in 2004 the *New Zealand Herald* had half the number of general reporters as it had 10 years before. ANM is also centralising newspaper production.

In 2007 it contracted out the layout and sub-editing of the *New Zealand Herald*, *Northern Advocate*, *Bay of Plenty Times* and *Daily Post* (Rotorua), the *Auckland* and the *Listener* to Pagemasters, a subsidiary of Australian news agency AAP. This was expected to make 70 sub-editors around the country redundant and save the cost of 20 sub-editing jobs.

The move was condemned by many journalism and media commentators, among them Collins, in an unprecedented journalists’ protest at the 2007 Qantas Media Awards, as likely to create news that is less well-informed, contains more mistakes and which “the community can no longer trust”.

Competition between the newspaper duopoly led in April 2005 to the end of story sharing between newspapers through the New Zealand Press Association. NZPA had been handling around 180 domestic stories a day and writing about half of them.

By August 2006, NZPA journalists and freelancers were writing about 120 stories a day. Fairfax NZ and ANM described the change as a success, but Rosenberg says independent newspapers found the coverage only “adequate”, with significant gaps.

Cost cutting in television

Since 2003, TV 3 has gained audience share and profit at the expense of TVNZ. By mid-2005 TV 3 attracted more of the key urban 6pm news audience, leading to around 40 redundancies among TVNZ news staff just at the time the Government broadcaster was rolling out new 24-hour digital TV channels.

TVNZ 6, the first of the new Government-funded digital TV channels began broadcasting in October 2007, boasting 70% local content including programmes for children as well as entertainment and drama. TVNZ 7 went to air in March 2008, broadcasting news every hour, documentaries, sport and current affairs.

The first 100 percent Māori language channel, Te Reo, started broadcasting on March 28, 2008 between 8 and 11pm. TVNZ launched its digital terrestrial transmission service in April and expects to switch off its analogue network in six to 10 years.

“ Over the past few decades the status of the Treaty has changed as a result of political interference, Maori radicalism and judicial activism. Instead of binding us as equal citizens under one rule of law for all, the Treaty now divides, polarises and isolates us. ”

New Zealand First website

A new and worrying international trend became evident in 2006-2007. Increasing numbers of media companies are being taken over by private equity or leveraged buy-out investors.

Chris Warren describes “cost-cutting to boost short-term profits, rather than investing for the long-term” as the hallmark of private equity owners. Australian private equity investment company Ironbridge Capital gained control of TV 3 and music channel C4 by buying MediaWorks in 2007.

The result of these changes has meant that “those with full-time jobs ... are working harder than ever,” according to Warren. “Yet more and more journalists are engaged in some form of contingent work: freelancers, casuals, contractors.”

Cost-cutting has been behind another controversial criticism of media. As Collins told the summit, resources “have been increasingly diverted from serious public issues to private celebrity gossip and entertainment.” News judgements “are being made in response to panels of readers emailing in to comment on each day’s stories, and by the number of website hits on each story.”

This criticism is supported by a major content study of TV news on TV One and TV 3 in 2000 and 2003 by Comrie and Fountaine, before and after the introduction of the TVNZ Charter. They studied two randomly constructed weeks, counting 15 subject categories including Māori issues.

They found an increase in the time and number of items devoted to sports and tabloid topics and a decrease in politics, diplomacy and current affairs items between the two periods, continuing a trend noted in their research since 1985.

The EPMU invited submissions for a review of the state of journalism by the end of April 2008, and is also reviewing the union’s Journalists Code of Ethics.

The impact of ownership on content

Journalist John Pilger says that the digital revolution may appear to offer more choice, but that the ownership and world view of the media is shrinking. Haas summarised USA research on blogs and found a tight loop - elite weblogs that get information from, focus and comment on elite mainstream media, which in turn use elite weblogs to assess public opinion.

Commercial competition does not provide a variety of voices, says Rosenberg. “Rather, it provides sameness of voices for fear of driving off advertisers and mass audiences ... Debate where it occurs is usually within a more or less

narrow band of opinion” (p46). Owners of transnational media conglomerates practise high levels of tax avoidance and lobby hard for the removal of ownership restrictions.

“We should not wonder why issues like media ownership, the unpopular economic policies of the 1980s and 90s, international trade agreements, and business behaviour are not more intensively scrutinised by our news media,” says Rosenberg.

“Neither should it be a surprise that the media at best ignore trade unions and trade unionists, except in times of industrial crises, and frequently express hostility towards them, when media owners are large scale employers in their own right, and depend on advertisers who are also employers” (p47). Ownership does matter, he concludes, and “the overwhelming picture is of political conservatism”.

Regulation and standards

One of the most senior United Nations human rights officials to ever visit the country, the UN Special Rapporteur on Indigenous Peoples, Rodolfo Stavenhagen, raised serious concerns about mass news media after his visit in 2005.

The visit resulted from a 2004 complaint about the Government’s foreshore and seabed proposals by three Māori non-government organisations to the UN Committee on the Convention on Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD).

In March 2005, CERD found that the Foreshore and Seabed Act took away Māori rights and treated Māori unfairly; in effect, that it breached the Convention which the Government ratified in 1972.

The Special Rapporteur reported in 2006 that “the notion that Māori have received undue privileges from Treaty settlements, which has been floated in the media and by some politicians, lacks any substance whatsoever” (p9).

He saw this notion as an unwelcome return to an “assimilationist model”. He added: “The political media have taken up these arguments and have reflected the view of those who would like to see an end to the[se] alleged ‘privileges’” (p14).

He said that “...systematic negative description of Māori in media coverage [is] an issue that should be addressed through the anti-racism provisions of New Zealand’s Human Rights Act” (p17).

He recommended that “Public media should be encouraged to provide a balanced, unbiased and non-racist picture of Māori in New Zealand society, and an independent commission should be established to monitor their performance and suggest remedial action” (p22).

The Government and the National opposition dismissed and belittled his report. Lawyer Moana Jackson commented in 2006:

“ **Indigenous peoples are defined in terms of collective aboriginal occupation prior to colonial settlement. They are not to be confused with minorities or ethnic groups within states. Thus ‘indigenous rights’ are strictly distinguished from ‘minority rights’.** ”

Haunani-Kay Trask, 1999

“The report is the product of the most important international human rights institution there is. It was established by governments and for the New Zealand government to now belittle its work is to belittle the very notion of human rights.”

Poor media performance on Māori issues has been a consistent feature of other submissions to media reviews. Three Māori broadcasters at a 2006 Broadcasting Standards Authority (BSA) symposium about balance called for standards that encompass Māori and Pākehā world views, and said that balance is interpreted differently within the two cultures.

However, in Martin Hirst’s 2007 review of the balance provision in broadcasting standards, te Tiriti o Waitangi is not considered and there is only one mention of Māori in the context of cultural perspectives on what is a “period of current interest”.

TVNZ, incorporating TV One and TV 2, has the dual remit of returning a dividend to the Government and maintaining the public service function outlined in its Charter. Submissions on the review of the Charter in 2007 focused on insufficient and inaccurate representation of Māori as well as te reo obligations of TVNZ being superseded by Māori Television Service (MTS).

The Working Party recommended a number of amendments to the TVNZ Charter to read:

To provide entertaining, educational and informative programmes that reflect Māori interests, including language, history, culture and contemporary issues and to convey these interests to a wider New Zealand audience, TVNZ will:

- (a) Provide programmes by, for and about Māori involving significant Māori participation and perspectives; and
- (b) Provide programmes intended for general audiences that promote Māori language and culture.

The suggested new Charter has been referred to parliament’s Commerce Select Committee. Whether TVNZ has met its obligations to Māori is vigorously debated and interpretations of Māori programming vary considerably between the broadcaster and critics.

Ian Barker and Lewis Evans’ 2007 review of the New Zealand Press Council (NZPC) received submissions outlining “serious concerns” from Māori media organisations, the Human Rights Commission and others over monocultural bias in mass media, lack of balance and lack of any reference to the Treaty of Waitangi in the NZPC Principles.

While the reviewers did not see these criticisms as within their brief, they recommended that the

council should undertake an immediate review of its Principles (p73).

RECENT RESEARCH ABOUT MEDIA AND MĀORI

Our 2005 pilot study of media constructions of Māori news and te Tiriti summarised research on the topic, which found what Donald Matheson calls “a focus - consistent over time - on Māori as problems, criminal, radical, dangerous, exotic, deviant” (p93).

This section summarises research published since then, or not included in that report. However, some themes need reiterating as they recur in media items analysed for this project. They were identified by Tim McCreanor and Raymond Nairn in Pākehā submissions on the 1979 Haka Party incident (see Glossary).

These themes assume and normalise Pākehā dominance. They also isolate relations between Māori and Pākehā from our colonial history and social structures and the resulting unequal distribution of power.

They include the **Good Māori/Bad Māori** theme, which portrays Māori who ‘fit in’ to settler society as good, and those who resist, seek restitution or demand recognition as bad.

The **Stirrers** theme depicts anyone challenging the status quo, whether Māori or non-Māori, as troublemakers who mislead others for their own ends. This theme is used to distract attention from the substance of the grievance.

The **One People** theme assumes that New Zealanders should all be treated the same. This is linked to the **Privilege** theme, which portrays Māori as having rights or benefits denied most others in a way that is unfair and racist.

The **Ignorance** theme enables speakers to assert that a Pākehā action that offended Māori was not deliberate but due to ignorance; and the related **Sensitivity** theme portrays Māori responses to such actions as unreasonable and unduly sensitive.

The **Māori Violence** theme presumes that Māori are more likely to be violent and involves disproportionate focus on Māori in issues such as child abuse and crime.

Our pilot study identified three new themes. **Māori Resources** portrays potential or actual Māori control of significant resources - for example, land, fisheries or money - as a threat to non-Māori. It also implies that Māori have gained enough resources and been reimbursed generously in Treaty settlements.

“The police action on October 15 put fear into the hearts of many New Zealanders by raising the spectre of terrorism. It put fear into the hearts of the elderly and young people of Ruatoki and Taneatua, because again they saw the force of the State unleashed on them as it has been within living memory.”

Derek Fox, 2007

Financial Probity depicts Māori as having unfair access to diverse funding sources and support for projects that do not deserve it. It also constructs Māori as corrupt or economically incompetent.

The single positive theme we call **Māori Success**; it celebrates particular forms of Māori economic development in the arts, business and education, especially those using aspects of Māori culture for branding.

Impact of Māori media on news values

For many years, Māori journalists, radio programmes and magazines have challenged the monocultural news values of mass media. One of the most significant changes since 2004 is the daily visibility of an alternative set of news values and priorities on Māori TV.

The channel's remit is to screen programmes predominantly in te reo Māori and it is funded as the result of Crown obligations under te Tiriti o Waitangi. Although its ratings are not publicly available, the channel said in 2007 that they were steadily increasing.

While Jo Smith's 2006 comparison of MTS with TVNZ concentrated on documentary programmes, her comments also applied to news approaches. She described the parallel TV presence of MTS as "interrupting" dominant "national orthodoxies of a colonial consciousness that is tied to capital gain" (p28).

When viewing these parallel viewpoints, viewers could imagine a new kind of bicultural national community rather than "the homogenous dream of an abstract 'oneness' as touted by TVNZ" (p35).

Pou Kōrerō: A journalist's guide to Māori and current affairs was launched in 2007 by author Carol Archie and the New Zealand Journalism Training Organisation (NZJTO), the publisher. This required text in journalism education is rich with examples of the differing news values of Māori and Pākehā newsrooms.

At the launch, MTS journalist Wena Harawira spoke of different priorities for Māori journalists. "There is less inclination to get a scoop, and more concern about the responsibility to get the message out to people." When an issue comes up that she can't cover: "I'll ring up my cousins who are also reporters - the main purpose is to get the story out."

In *Pou Kōrerō* Archie gives the example of Mana Māori Media:

"Our style was to ask polite probing questions rather than badgering interviewees,

because we thought it more productive as well as respectful" (pxiv).

She also cited Derek Fox, who considered it more disrespectful in a Māori setting than a Pākehā one to interrupt with a question when interviewing.

"However, I've developed ways of leaning forward slightly or using my eyes and 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 says:

"confrontational stories are avoided in Māori media ... Opposing opinions are not positioned so that they will be perceived as putting another down" (p66).

She suggests that reporters working in a Māori environment use different ways of reporting conflict, avoiding words like "battles" or "squabbles" and presenting different opinions "so they are not seen as contradicting other views but, rather, bringing another element to the topic" (p86).

Reporting of Māori

Margie Comrie and Susan Fountaine's large study of news broadcast on TV One and TV 3 in 2000 and 2003 found fewer Māori news stories in the later year on both channels. On TV 3, stories about Māori issues took up 1.2% of news time in 2000; in 2003 there were no stories about Māori issues.

On TV One, Māori stories took up 3% of news time in 2000 compared to 1.6% in 2003. This was part of a decline in items about serious issues in favour of sports and items about what they label "tabloid" topics - crime, accidents and disasters, human interest and public moral problems.

Sue Abel analysed the media representation of the Ngāpuhi ban on media at Te Tii Marae during the 2003 Waitangi commemorations and found it suggested a strong "underlying and continuing mono-culturalism ... and a failure to seriously examine practice" (p 18).

Her analysis of previous Waitangi Days found that mass news media had continually overlooked the discussions among Māori that went on for several days at Waitangi, focusing instead on "what was often merely a few moments of conflict" (p23).

She suggests that the reason for the ban was:

"the way some images shot on the day are continually given prominence over others, or are used in a particular way to tell a particular version of events".

However, mass news media items did not consider whether there was substance to the Ngāpuhi perceptions, but instead asked whether the ban was racist. Ngāpuhi concerns were represented as being

“ **Now in making purchases from the Natives I ever represented to them that though the money payment might be small, their chief recompense would lie in the kindness of the Government towards them, the erection & maintenance of schools and hospitals for their benefit and so on - you know it all.** ”

Commissioner of Crown Lands, Otago, to the British Colonial Secretary, 1856

“**The Native Land Court, set up in 1865, was designed to determine ownership. Māori owners had to spend many months in town waiting to have their cases heard. If they did not show up they lost the right to the land. This caused many of them to build up huge debts and they had to sell a lot of their land to pay for them. Māori owners had to pay for any surveying work that had to be done.**”

Network Waitangi
Otautahi

about the censorship of certain images.

“..Jane Young from TV 3 described the ban as creating ‘an unfortunate situation of “us” and “them”, obviously oblivious to the fact that this is precisely what the news media had themselves been creating over a period of years” (p21).

A consistent assumption in the TV representation of the ban was that news “appears”, it just “happens”. The New Zealand Press Council expressed a similar viewpoint in a 2001 decision, when it said that “A newspaper’s responsibility is to present the news.”

Abel concluded that:

“..the mediating hand of the largely Pākehā media which chooses .. what Waitangi will be remembered for, is .. made invisible” (p21).

Sean Phelan and Fiona Shearer found that the politically-loaded labels “activist” and “radical” were applied overwhelmingly to Māori and their supporters in newspaper representations of the foreshore and seabed debate in 2003 and 2004.

Journalists were responsible for 64% of the “radical” labels and 73% of the “activist” labels. No more than 12% of the labels appeared in direct quotes.

Their application to Māori suggests the “relative media invisibility of an alternative way of telling the story of the [foreshore and seabed] conflict”.

Phelan and Shearer found the lack of an alternative frame ironic, “since arguably the most ‘active’ and decisive political energy in the ... conflict was a heavily mediated sense of a ‘Pākehā’ backlash to the Court of Appeal ruling”.

Phelan also analysed the first editorials on the foreshore and seabed debate by the four biggest daily newspapers, finding that they spoke to a mainstream Pākehā reader, and separated the interests of “all New Zealanders” from those of “Māori”.

These were the political voices of the most powerful figures within the newspaper’s editorial hierarchy, he said; their consensus replicates the close relationship between political and journalistic ideas found in earlier research.

Phelan found the editorials “prejudicial to the interests and cultural identity of Māori and contrary to a spirit of democratic inquiry and openness”.

Shiloh Groot and a group of Waikato University researchers found that coverage of the Meningococcal B epidemic on MTS and in community newspapers in 2004 and 2005 neglected “..wider socio-structural considerations that impact on the prevalence of illness among Māori” (p84).

It also relied on:

“distinctions between good Māori who comply with the dictates of Western expectation and bad Māori who dissent and offer alternative perspectives” (p85).

In 2007 Alice Te Punga Somerville described another common negative frame about Māori - the **Narrative of First Encounter**:

“..the ‘West’ encounters the ‘Other’ with an assumption that the ‘Other’ has just crawled out of their grass hut and it’s time to negotiate for the first time a relationship between these two groups.”

She says this frame

“gets played out over and over in the contemporary moment, often appearing in the form of ‘civilising’ and ‘development’ narratives and fanatical celebrations of ‘firsts’ on the part of the Other group”.

The frame makes invisible earlier Māori contributions to the issue under discussion and also “lets the dominant group off the hook for not paying [these contributions] any attention earlier” (p32).

The NZPC delivered a rare reprimand to national magazine *North and South* in June 2007 over an example of media racism. The council found that an article by former ACT MP and journalist Deborah Coddington asserting the existence of an Asian “crime tide” breached its principles of accuracy and discrimination.

The magazine and its company, ACP Magazines, owned by the family of media magnate Kerry Packer, defended the article and did not acknowledge its inaccuracies. Judy McGregor quoted one manager who said the decision was “igniting interest in the title”. This exploitative attitude does not bode well for other issues of racism in the media.

A recent guide to working with Māori in film and TV by Urutahi Koataata Māori provided an example of a 1992 mass news item that gave an incorrect view of the sailing methods of the ocean-going waka Te Aurere.

The result was that :

“the Polynesian Voyaging Society, the crew of Te Aurere, the tribal community associated with the waka and the 2,000-year-old seafaring tradition of the Polynesians were put to ridicule” (p24).

The network and story editors concerned took no responsibility, although eventually the reporter made a personal apology.

The guide continued: “Where a story uses sensationalism or conflict to draw an audi-

ence, the story is often portrayed without full understanding of the surrounding circumstances and cultural context. The cultural integrity and mana of a people or an individual are invariably compromised.”

DIVERSITY AMONG JOURNALISTS

Donald Matheson concluded from his 2005 interviews with seven concerned print reporters of Māori issues that their analyses of the issues involved “are not developed enough to do much about Aotearoa New Zealand journalism’s failures in covering Māori politics and culture” (p10).

The journalists were aware of inadequacies in news coverage of Māori and saw it as their job to educate their readers, explain Māori concepts and challenge negative images of Māori.

“The notion that racialising assumptions appear not just in one story ... but throughout a journalism that speaks about a subordinated culture to a dominant culture, in that dominant culture’s language, using its interpretive resources, was not available to these respondents” (p98).

The NZJTO’s *E-Noted* said in early 2008 that the proportion of journalism students with Māori ancestry (16%) approximates their proportion in the 2006 census (15%); it credits the Fairfax internship programme, which started in 2007 and included five Māori out of 17. However, the proportion drops to 9.3% if Waiariki, which caters mainly for Māori, is excluded.

Newsrooms are still well behind, with only 9% of respondents to the NZJTO National Survey of Journalists identifying as having Māori descent.

A majority thought that ethnic minority journalists were under-represented in our newsrooms, an issue regularly raised in previous research. The question about what should be done about this drew the largest number of comments in the survey, with 30% offering suggestions.

Nineteen percent said minorities should be encouraged to train, while 14% said ability to do the job is all that counts and found token quotas unacceptable.

Other initiatives have been established recently to encourage greater diversity in newsrooms. They include the TVNZ Journalism Diversity Scholarship established at AUT in 2007.

A new journalism award was established in 2008 to recognise reporting of diversity issues in New Zealand, organised by the JTONZ with three journalism schools, the Human Rights Commission and the Asia New Zealand Foundation.

Other colonial frames

Writing in 2006, Robert Harding compared historical (1860s) and contemporary (1990s) representations of indigenous people in Canada and found repeated themes similar to those in media here.

Mass media in the 1990s framed indigenous people as a threat to dominant interests. He found “ample evidence of binary thinking” in news coverage from the 1860s and the 1990s: “Settlers and Indians, us versus them, civilised versus savage” (p225).

“A feature of contemporary journalistic writing is its tendency to fixate on the extreme socio-economic conditions of colonised peoples, while simultaneously exhibiting a general amnesia about colonial history and its connection to the current state of affairs” (p229).

In the 1860s, Canadian editorials argued that the solution to problems with indigenous people was that they should be treated differently from Europeans.

Editorials in the 1990s said the solution is to treat everyone the same, and the root of the problem was the years of “special” treatment that indigenous people have received. But

“..invoking the principle of identical treatment for everyone ..requires that the past be unyoked from the present” (p229).

Harding says that when little-understood issues that are critical to indigenous people are presented in the news without context, the media discourages public support for vital initiatives around treaties and self-determination.

“..One of the greatest challenges for [indigenous] people ... is ensuring that ... the historical context of important issues is sketched in” (p231).

THE INVISIBILITY OF PĀKEHĀ ETHNICITY

Phelan and Shearer’s analysis of the foreshore and seabed debate found that the phrase “Māori issue” was used 55 times, while the words “Pākehā issue” only featured twice, in the phrase “Māori versus Pākehā issue”. In editorials about the issue, Phelan found that “Māori” is used 44 times while Pākehā ethnicity was never mentioned, being included in a larger national category.

Carol Archie in *Pou Kōrerō* (p90) says: “..we don’t write about “Pākehā leaders”, “Pākehā activists” or “Pākehā MPs”. But “Māori leaders”, “Māori activists” and “Māori MPs” are part of the everyday news language.”

Pou Kōrerō suggests that journalists use iwi or hapū names rather than the catch-all “Māori” to describe

“ ..many drunken Hakas or screeching versions of Pokarekare Ana will be performed in various watering holes around the planet in celebration of Waitangi Day because the presence of an indigenous culture is one of the few ways Pakeha New Zealanders can easily differentiate themselves from the other white countries that were former British colonies. But why is it that it takes a change of location for a lot of Pakeha to acknowledge this?”

Ex-apat, 2008

“some New Zealanders appear to approve of the view of “One law for all” (that is, no more special laws on Maori rights, understood as meaning Government should stop the alleged “pampering” of Maori). The political media have taken up these arguments and have reflected the view of those who would like to see an end to the alleged “privileges” accorded by the Government to Maori.”

Rudolfo Stavenhagen, UN Special Rapporteur on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms of Indigenous People, 2006

people, things and ideas: “Ngāpuhi lands” or “Ngai Tuhoe tikanga”.

Aotearoa New Zealand may be unique among other former British colonies in the use of an indigenous label, Pākehā, by members of the dominant culture.

The name can mean non-Māori or, more specifically, non-Māori of European descent. Although only 17% of New Zealanders with European ancestry used the label in a 1996 survey, Augie Fleras and Paul Spoonley say the use of the label is growing.

However, they also argue that many members of the dominant culture in Aotearoa New Zealand believe that

“majority groups conduct their public and private lives according to universally held and superior systems and values. Others are guided by culture; they are not.”

“The institutions of which they are part, what they believe, and how they act are not culturally bound, but are viewed as natural, normal, and necessary.” (p81)

Rose Black describes this as “cultural blindness”. Michael Billig (1995) reminds us of the vital contribution of the “banal”, the diverse mundane, unobtrusive, everyday expressions of identity and culture that constantly, almost subliminally, remind us of who we are and where our allegiances lie. For Pākehā, this sense of being normal and not part of an ethnic culture is such a reminder.

Abel describes the impact of Pākehā cultural views of the past on news values: “...for Pākehā, the past is out of sight, behind us ... This both results in and is reinforced by the news value of ‘frequency’.”

“It is this evacuation of history from the news that contributes to its monocultural nature. To tell a story without taking the past into account can in itself be seen as a monocultural practice ... it also produces a version of events which favours Pākehā” (p18).

Media depictions and racism

Media representations of the world construct and reproduce social reality. They affect people’s lives in concrete ways. Robert Harding says that modern elites deny the existence of racism by talking about tolerance and equality. “This is contradicted by a situation of structural inequality largely caused or condoned by these elites” (p229).

Disparities between the health of Pākehā and Māori are common news fodder. Health researcher Ricci Harris found in a 2007 review of research on racism and health that Māori people’s “experience of racial discrimination and deprivation together account for most of the inequalities”

in health outcomes between Māori and Pākehā.

More Māori (34%) than any other ethnicity reported experiencing racial discrimination, and 15% had experienced a racist incident in the last 12 months.

Yin Paradies’ 2007 review of international research about racism and health found a strong association between people’s reports of discrimination and ill-health. Studies of this issue done over a long time in people’s lives suggest that ill-health follows experiences of racism.

“The most consistent ... association [is] between racism and mental ill-health such as psychological distress, depression and anxiety.”

Despite this evidence, racism is often resisted as an explanation for ethnic health disparities. Wellington health researcher Donna Cormack says the different ways that people understand disparities in health between ethnic groups will produce different actions - surface explanations will encourage surface interventions. These “different understandings will also affect how ‘acceptable’ certain actions and interventions are seen to be”.

Consumer action about media depictions

Many Māori and non-Māori groups have challenged prejudicial mass news media depictions of Māori over many years. One example is the campaign organised in late 2007 by Allies of Whānau of Aotearoa (AWA).

They contrasted local mass media descriptions of Tuhoe arrested on gun offences as “Māori activists”, with the BBC and Al Jazeera terms “Māori rights/sovereignty campaigners”. AWA likened this to reports of the New Orleans floods that described Black people as “looters” and White people as “salvaging food”, and encouraged media consumers to complain to TV stations.

Other tactics have included boycotts. One example was noted in a 2005 NZPC decision - the Whakatohea Māori Trust Board had blacklisted one of the two reporters from the Opotiki News and told its staff not to communicate with him.

Overseas and local campaigns to reduce the stigma and discrimination surrounding mental illness, such as the Like Minds, Like Mine campaign here and Response Ability in Australia, have used media checklists and guidelines for journalists and encouraged consumers to complain about prejudicial coverage.

Te reo Māori

Our 2005 study found that Māori sources often use words in te reo Māori, such as kaitiakitanga

(guardianship) that convey different meanings to English words such as ownership, about land and other issues. Media use of te reo Māori acknowledges these indigenous meanings and supports the survival of the language.

Te reo Māori is an official language of Aotearoa New Zealand, and while its use is growing within families and among young people, only 14% of Māori in a 2007 Te Puni Kokiri survey spoke it well.

One goal of the Government's Māori language strategy is that "The Māori language will be valued by all New Zealanders and there will be a common awareness of the need to protect the language". Mass news media are major language users, and their use of te reo Māori is likely to play a major role in reaching that goal.

SOLUTIONS

Ngā Aho Whakaari, Māori in Film and Television, recently produced a guide to working with Māori in film and TV (Urutahi Koataata Māori, 2008). It includes a groundbreaking analysis of the relevance of the Treaty to the TV industry.

It defines as taonga (property or treasures) te reo Māori spoken on TV, as well as moving images of Māori and stories portraying Māori people and their history. Taonga are protected by the Treaty. It also includes a guide to filming culturally significant and sensitive events such as tangi for news items.

The book provides a code of ethics for engaging with Māori based on traditional tikanga. While the book is oriented towards drama and film, it is also valuable for TV news. It includes -

- ▷ Face-to-face meetings between sources and news producers
- ▷ Respect for Māori lore
- ▷ Making the kaupapa or goals of the project clear to all involved
- ▷ Informed consent about the benefits and consequences of their involvement by members of the public
- ▷ Appropriate acknowledgement of all authority, including stories and ideas
- ▷ Benefits for all involved (p 39).

Donald Matheson suggests that the education of journalists could learn much from that of nurse education, which "asks the professional to do the job ... [after] having reflected on her or his own cultural identity and the impact that has on her or his practice" (p103).

John Pilger says journalism teachers must make students aware of censorship by omission and the insidious nature of propaganda.

The 115 participants at the 2007 Journalism

Matters Summit agreed on a set of resolutions, including:

- ▷ Increased taxpayer funding of TVNZ
- ▷ Support for new media public issues outlets
- ▷ Support for funders of independent investigative journalism such as the Bruce Jesson Foundation
- ▷ The establishment of a Movement for Democratic Media to campaign for publicly-funded broadcasting.

Paradies, Vic Health and the South African Human Rights Commission suggested a range of tactics to improve media performance on indigenous issues:

- ▷ The inclusion of racism as a module in journalism training
- ▷ Racism awareness training for all journalists
- ▷ Exposure of journalists to cultural diversity
- ▷ Newsroom discussion groups
- ▷ Active consideration of the impact of the language used by politicians and officials
- ▷ Vigorous recruitment and training of indigenous and ethnic minority staff
- ▷ Promotion of investigative reporting
- ▷ Increased enforcement of existing legislation against racial vilification
- ▷ Campaigns by standards bodies to inform indigenous people about complaints processes
- ▷ Promotion of greater diversity in media ownership
- ▷ Policies and procedures, guidelines and ethical codes designed to promote fair reporting on indigenous issues.

Willie Jackson, speaking at the 2006 BSA balance symposium, pointed to the ineffectiveness of standards when racist statements by high-profile broadcasters - which the BSA says breach its standards - result in increased ratings and no serious penalties.

A review of research on racism and the media by the European Research Centre on Migration and Ethnic Relations said that standards alone are ineffective. It found programmes combining multiple approaches more promising; including media conferences, media training for ethnic minority organisations, media awards and national awareness campaigns.

Models of institutional accountability include a substantive equality programme run by the Equal Opportunity Commission of Western Australia. Government departments and agencies are required to assess the impacts of their policies, practices and procedures on the substantive equality of indigenous and ethnic minority people.

The process includes consultation with these communities, changes to deal with inequalities and ongoing monitoring. The commission defines unfair discrimination as: "practices that discriminate unfairly in their effect or impact or outcome, irrespective of the motive or intention" (p3).

“ If Aotearoa/New Zealand is to be a truly bicultural nation, then all New Zealanders need to be aware of Māori worldviews and Māori realities. News stories in Aotearoa/New Zealand need to incorporate diverse interpretive frameworks to be balanced in the truest sense. ”

Sue Abel, 2008

“We’re not asking [mainstream media] for special treatment, but if you’re going to run a story on Māori issues, don’t just do it from a Pākehā perspective, come and ask our side of the story too. Let’s have a level playing field.”

Mark Solomon, quoted by Dunbar, 2003

HOW WE GATHERED OUR DATA

In 2001, USA media researchers Lacy and others reviewed newspaper sampling and recommended that researchers should use two constructed weeks from each year to generate adequate representations of published stories when studying a period of less than five years.

A constructed week is seven individual days chosen randomly from different weeks. This copes with systematic variations in the number of news stories across weekdays and is less vulnerable to week by week fluctuations in story numbers.

Our data was gathered according to these best practice guidelines and reliably represents stories about Māori issues and te Tiriti in local, regional and national newspapers and the news bulletins of TV One, TV 3, Prime and MTS in 2007.

To avoid selection bias, Lacy recommended that the days of the constructed week should be specified before the media items are published or broadcast. We specified the following randomly-selected collection days six weeks prior to data collection. The collection period was February and March 2007 and the selected days were:

- ▷ Sunday 11/2, 11/3
- ▷ Monday 19/2, 12/3
- ▷ Tuesday 6/2, 27/3
- ▷ Wednesday 7/2, 14/3
- ▷ Thursday 1/3, 8/3
- ▷ Friday 9/2, 23/3
- ▷ Saturday 3/2, 17/3.

For newspaper items we contracted Chong Newztel Ltd for copies of all newspaper items that included any of the following key words or phrases:

- ▷ Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi
- ▷ Māori-Pākehā relations
- ▷ Disparities between Māori and non-Māori/mainstream
 - ▷ Sovereignty
 - ▷ Land Rights
 - ▷ Foreshore and seabed
 - ▷ Waitangi Tribunal
 - ▷ Māori development
 - ▷ Constitutional change
 - ▷ Iwi/hapū/whānau
 - ▷ Māori health.

For TV we sampled only news bulletins. The Chapman Archive in the Political Studies Department of the University of Auckland copied all items in English on the same days using the same key words. As none of the archive staff are fluent in te reo they copied all *Te Karere* (TV One) and *Te Kaea*

(MTS) bulletins on the chosen days.

The sample was then categorised and examined using content and discursive analyses. We ran two focus groups to explore the meanings that audiences take from these media items.

Māori stories sample

We believe the Treaty and Māori-Pākehā relations are equally relevant to Pākehā New Zealanders; however, like journalists, for this research we have called them Māori stories. Items were defined as Māori stories if they focused on:

- ▷ Treaty of Waitangi issues or Waitangi Day
- ▷ Māori control of resources
- ▷ Legislation and protest about this
- ▷ Māori arts, cultural and religious activities including visual displays of Māori culture
- ▷ Māori health and education
- ▷ Iwi and other Māori organisational and business activity
- ▷ Māori involvement in political processes
- ▷ The history of Māori occupation
- ▷ Historical or current relations between Māori and Pākehā
- ▷ The socio-economic status of Māori
- ▷ Individual Māori in conjunction with one or more of the above criteria.

Items were not defined as Māori stories if –

- ▷ They were non-news items, like letters to the editor
- ▷ Statistics about Māori were a minor part of an article about a health, social or education issue
- ▷ Māori political representation was a small part of an article about politics
- ▷ A Māori issue was used merely as a comparison in a story about another topic
- ▷ Māori ownership or claim to a resource under discussion was mentioned only in passing.

Newspaper items

The keyword search yielded a total of 1,048 items; 740 items were classified as Māori stories. Māori issues were peripheral in 308 items and they were excluded from further analysis.

Māori stories came from 118 different publications. Almost half the items (364, 49%) appeared in 20 provincial newspapers, 199 in 11 national or metropolitan publications, and twenty-four percent (177) in 87 local and suburban papers. Twenty-seven percent (199) items appeared in non-daily publications.

Most (85%, 633) of the Māori stories were news articles, 21 were feature articles, 33 were regular columns, 24 editorials, 14 invited or contributed

articles and 15 reviews. Seventy-one (11%) of the news articles were front page stories.

Of the remaining news items, 56% (355) appeared on news pages two to five, 18% (111) on news pages six to ten, 13% (82) in later news pages and 2% (15) in other sections of the paper.

The Māori stories were categorised using the same set of 14 topics as our first pilot project (see www.trc.org.nz/resources/media.htm):

- ▷ The Treaty, 174 items (23%)
- ▷ Political representation, 129 items (17%)
- ▷ Arts, 84 items (11%)
- ▷ Māori/Pākehā relations, 79 items (11%)
- ▷ Education, 65 items (9%)
- ▷ Health, 44 items (6%)
- ▷ Social status, 40 items (5%)
- ▷ Land, 40 items (5%)
- ▷ Business, 31 items (4%)
- ▷ Sports, 22 items (3%)
- ▷ Fisheries stories, 15 items (2%)
- ▷ Financial probity, nine items
- ▷ Religion, five items
- ▷ Foreshore and seabed, one item.

Origin of newspaper items

The origin of items was initially coded according to acknowledgements in the item. However, several items in local or provincial papers were identical to others listed by other publications as coming from NZPA or another outside source.

These items were then coded as NZPA. It is likely that other stories that originated from NZPA may not have been identified. The number of items originating with each newspaper, identified in Table 1, is therefore approximate.

Overall, 60% of the Māori stories (462) were generated by the newspaper that printed them; 204 were from NZPA; 53 were from a Fairfax-owned paper; 14 from an ANM-owned paper; and seven stories combined material by the paper's own reporters and NZPA.

The most common byline, with six stories was Jon Stokes, *New Zealand Herald* reporter for Māori issues; followed by *Dominion Post* writers Vernon Small with five; and Tracey Watkins and Haydon Dewes with four each.

Television items

A total of 118 TV items were classified as Māori stories. Seventy-four (63%) were broadcast on TV One, 27 (23%) on MTS, 11 on TV 3 and six on Prime. On TV One, 53 (45% of the total) were from *Te Karere*, 14 from *One News*, six from *Tonight* and one from *Midday*. Forty-one of the TV items (35%) were broadcast on Waitangi Day.

Ideally news items in te reo Māori would be analysed by a fluent speaker who would appreci-

ate the allusions and nuances in what was said. We did not have the funds to pay a fluent speaker, so we recorded the English subtitles as if transcribing the various speakers. The 7.30pm bulletin of *Te Kaea* was not subtitled, so we used the identical 11pm bulletin.

For that reason we confined our analysis of *Te Kaea* items to the nine broadcast on Waitangi Day, 11 stories covered by English-language broadcasters, and seven other items. This sample does not represent the variety of *Te Kaea* items, but it does allow us to compare how the different channels cover the same story or event.

Each TV item was categorised by topic, a collective task, and then transcribed. Items by topic are listed in Table 2. For this study we fully transcribed only the newsreader and reporter introductions to the item as these frame the story for viewers.

The remainder of the transcript was segmented for each speaker and we summarised what they said.

Table 1 Approximate proportion of items originating with regional and metropolitan newspapers

Publication	Circulation	Total items	Original items	Proportion (%)
New Zealand Herald	194,706	42	39	93
Dominion Post	98,134	50	41	82
The Press	89,049	42	29	69
Northern Advocate	15,012	44	29	66
Gisborne Herald	8,667	27	16	59
Daily Post	11,796	42	24	57
Daily Chronicle	2,661	9	5	55
Waikato Times	42,152	26	14	54
Wanganui Chronicle	12,532	22	11	50
Bay of Plenty Times	23,179	19	9	47
Southland Times	28,797	15	7	47
Wairarapa Times-Age	7,276	20	9	45
Hawkes Bay Today	27,201	23	9	39
Ashburton Guardian	5,670	13	5	38
Timaru Herald	14,120	23	8	35
Taranaki Daily News	26,525	23	8	35
Manawatu Standard	20,165	16	5	31
Otago Daily Times	41,448	20	5	25
Oamaru Mail	3446	4	1	25
Nelson Mail	17,497	27	6	22
Westport Evening News	2,016 (2004)	12	2	16
Marlborough Express	10,381	15	2	13

We also recorded the time, in seconds, from the beginning of the item so we could identify how long any person spoke and how far into the item they were first heard.

The gender and, where possible, the ethnicity of speakers was recorded. These data were transferred to an Excel spreadsheet. Also recorded in the transcript were summary descriptions of the broadcast images and ambient sounds for use in the case studies.

Circulation recorded on 31/3/2007 unless stated; taken from ABC site on 14/2/2008

METHOD

Items ranged from 16 seconds to almost six minutes long, with an average length of 2 minutes 7 seconds. *Prime News* stories were shortest, at an average of 62 seconds; *3 News* items were also short, averaging 1 minute 26 seconds.

Te Kaea, *One News* and *Tonight* items averaged a similar length - 2 minutes 5 seconds, two minutes 7 seconds and 2 minutes 12 seconds respectively. *Te Karere* stories were longer, averaging three minutes.

Two *Te Karere* reporters had the most items; Maihi Nikora with 10 and Taiha Molyneux with eight.

To ensure comparable TV and print analyses, for sources, “good” and “bad” news and conflict we analysed only the 77 Treaty and resource items from the TV stories.

Table 2 Television items by topic and programme

* Treaty and resource items.

Topic	3 News	Midday	One News	Prime News	Te Kaea	Te Karere	Tonight	Total
Arts						3		3
Business						3		3*
Education						8		8
Fisheries	1		2		4		1	8*
Health						7		7
Land	1	1	2		6	6	1	17*
Māori/Pākehā relations	2		1		3	6		12
Political representation					1	4		5
Religion						3		3
Sport						3		3
Treaty	7		9	6	13	10	4	49*
Total	11	1	14	6	27	53	6	118

Focus groups

In 1995, Carey described the way focus groups are used increasingly to gather data in the social sciences and their wide use in health research. Wilkinson in 1998 recommended focus groups as a useful method for scoping new research areas.

Fine in 1992 said that focus groups are valuable for illuminating participants’ experience, and giving voice to otherwise marginalised knowledge. Johnstone said in 1996 that they contribute to promoting social change.

This study used a standard focus group methodology, explained by Wilkinson, to gather data from two focus groups of four people each, one of Māori and one of non-Māori. Participants were people who read newspapers and watched television news and who were interested in talking about how media represented Māori issues.

They were recruited through researcher networks and had a range of views on the issues discussed; no participants were previously known to any of the researchers.

Participants were asked the same 25 questions about their media use, what they thought of media

coverage of Māori; how they thought it could be improved; and what impact it had on Māori, Pākehā and relations between the groups.

They were shown the first item from the *One News* Waitangi Day bulletin and an article about fresh water ownership from the *Greymouth Star* of March 23, 2007 (see Appendix 5) and asked what these items meant to them, whether they were typical items about the topics, and whether they could have been done better.

Analysis methods

We used two methods of analysis. Content analysis involved counting categories such as words in te reo Māori, sources quoted in stories, and whether stories were “good” or “bad” news or

neutral, among others. These counts by themselves did not indicate the framing of a story, or whose quotes were given credence.

For that, we used thematic and discourse analyses, which indicated the assumptions behind phrasing and story frames and considered who benefits from the ways in which stories were constructed.

We analysed use of te reo Māori across all the 740 newspaper Māori stories and carried out thematic analyses for case studies from this group. Due to resource constraints we were unable to count use of te reo Māori in TV items.

We did not have the resources to analyse content for all the newspaper stories, so we restricted the analysis of newspaper sources, conflict and “good” and “bad” news to Māori resources stories, which could be considered “core” Māori issues.

This included 254 stories - all those about te Tiriti o Waitangi, Waitangi Day, land, fisheries, foreshore and seabed, financial probity and some stories from the business category.

We analysed themes for case studies chosen from the 118 TV items. The analysis of sources, conflict and “good” and “bad” news was done only for the 77 Treaty and Māori resource stories.

NEWSPAPER ANALYSIS

Newspaper content analysis process

One team member scanned the articles and imported them into Microsoft Word documents. These documents were imported into QSR's qualitative research programme N6 for te reo analysis and searched for usages of words in English such as "activist".

One team member coded the newspaper items in an Excel spreadsheet by picture content; newspaper; date; page number; type of item; topic; origin; byline; sources (role, ethnicity, gender, first sentence and total sentences); conflict; "good", "bad" and "neutral" items.

This was the first time that we recorded the role of sources; they were coded as representing iwi, Government, non-Māori non-Government organisations (NGOs), Māori NGOs, or as non-Government MPs or individuals (such as vox pops).

Where ethnicity was not available from the article or the sources' public statements, it was identified by asking the sources directly, or if they were unavailable, their family members or close workmates. Spokespeople for individual politicians were assigned the ethnicity of that politician.

We did not attempt to identify the ethnicity of journalists, columnists or other authors. As the writer of opinion pieces was counted as a source, their ethnicity was usually coded as "not stated".

While many news items emphasise conflict or negative issues, we wanted to assess the balance of "bad" news for or about Māori, "good" news and neutral Māori stories, in response to McGregor and Comrie's broadcasting study and Ranginui Walker's chapter in *What's News?*

This is, of course, a value judgement, but to make the basis of the judgement clear we defined as "bad news" stories that included one or more of the following features:

- ▷ The reporter used belittling language about Māori or Pākehā (eg "squabbling")
- ▷ A source made negative generalisations about Māori that went unchallenged by the reporter or were supported by headlines or images (eg that Māori practices undermine equality)
- ▷ The story contained negative statements

about Māori and Māori comments were absent or inadequate

- ▷ The story focused on a negative issue such as possible fraud
- ▷ Sources insulted each other
- ▷ The story framed Māori as a threat
- ▷ The story was framed using themes or phrases identified by research as supporting negative constructions of Māori.

"Neutral" stories included but were not restricted to:

- ▷ Stories about conflict that included non-abusive comment from all sides of the controversy
- ▷ Announcements or descriptions of events

"Good news" stories included:

- ▷ Feature stories portraying rounded individuals
- ▷ Success stories
- ▷ Stories describing individuals or groups making progress.

Where the original coder was unsure, the whole research group decided on this value judgement.

Newspaper thematic analysis process

We used thematic analysis to identify ways in which grammar, syntax, phrasing and article structure shaped the meanings of newspaper items. That enabled us to describe the patterns of content used and the ideological frameworks underpinning particular stories.

We based our analysis on the development of this method by Wetherell and Potter in 1988; Nikander in 1995; Wetherell in 1998; Edley in 2001; and Braun and Clarke in 2006.

For each topic, one researcher read all the newspaper items closely and wrote a "first cut" description of the construction and content of themes. The whole research team selected particular topics and coverage to analyse for case studies, which were written by small groups.

Newspaper te reo analysis

To analyse newspaper use of te reo Māori, one team member identified every Māori word or phrase for which there is an alternative in English in all the newspaper items.

For example, paua was not counted, but whānau (family) was. Rotorua was not counted but Tairāwhiti was. Therefore, names of Māori organisations, Māori events, Māori course titles, flora and fauna known by Māori names, and Māori place names were not counted. We also did not count

“**Institutionalised racism is the mechanism by which historical injustices (eg land alienation through colonisation) are perpetuated, and is the reason that there is an association between socio-economic status and ethnicity.**”

Camara Jones, 1999

“the news that reaches audiences is the result of a lengthy process of selection and construction, in which those constructing the news choose some events and issues over others, select some sources rather than others, and unconsciously frame items from one perspective rather than another.”

Sue Abel, 2008

uses of the word Māori.

However, iwi names were counted if they were provided as part of an iwi affiliation not connected to the topic of the story. Variations in spelling were noted.

The same word, such as kōrerō (speech), could be recorded as an individual word or as part of a phrase such as kōrerō tuku iho (stories handed down). Each counted as one unit of te reo Māori.

The total number of different words and their repetitions were then counted using N6. Words were coded according to whether they appeared in the headline or subheading, first paragraph or body of the item and whether they were translated.

TELEVISION ANALYSIS

Two team members coded the Māori resource items onto an Excel spreadsheet for content analysis, using identical categories to the print data, except where the medium required a change. For example, instead of counting total sentences, for TV we counted total seconds. One team member analysed the use of sources.

Thematic case studies were chosen by the whole team from all Māori news items, and carried out by three researchers.

DEVELOPMENT OF MEDIA CONSUMER CHECKLIST

From existing research about news media representations of Māori and the first Kupu Taea pilot project, one team member developed a draft checklist that could be used to assess media construction of Māori issues in single news stories or groups of items.

This included the use of sources, themes or frames that undermine Māori, te reo Māori and images, as well as common omissions that can affect the balance of items. It also included examples of actions that media consumers could take about news items prejudicial to Māori.

The researcher then invited feedback from five Pākehā potential users of such a checklist, recruited from networks developed from our 2005 report. They included a former media worker and researcher, a community development worker, and three Treaty educators.

Feedback on a revised draft was received from the speaker's tent audience at the 2008 Parihaka International Peace Festival as part of a presentation about the Kupu Taea project.

LIMITS OF OUR

METHOD AND ANALYSIS

The limits of our collection of items and analysis mean that this research is unable to comment on:

- ▷ The number of Māori stories compared to other types of TV news and newspaper stories during our sampling period
- ▷ Māori stories as a proportion of the total number of TV news and newspaper stories during our sampling period
- ▷ Māori stories in TV current affairs programmes, as these were not analysed
- ▷ Radio news, magazines, digital TV news and Internet representations of Māori
- ▷ Non-news items such as talkback or letters to the editor
- ▷ How stories and themes identified in our items, for example Māori economic management and financial probity, compare with similar stories about non-Māori.

“90% of voters follow election news on television “always” or “sometimes” ... [so] short changing citizens in the flagship news hour has potentially far reaching implications for democracy.”

Comrie and Fontaine, 2005

TE REO MĀORI IN NEWSPAPERS

We report on use of te reo Maori to indicate the level of support in mass news media for this threatened language, as well as its use to convey Māori understanding of issues.

Our 740 Māori stories were selected because they contained words relating to Māori or Māori words; our sample was therefore more likely to contain words in te reo Māori than news articles in general. Just over half (406, 55%) of the 740 items included at least one word of te reo Māori for which there was an English alternative. Of these, 101 items used only one Māori word.

A total of 186 different words, phrases and sentences, including alternative place names and iwi affiliations, were used multiple times, totalling 1,791 instances. We counted 126 words that were translated at least once, leaving 60 different words and phrases untranslated.

Iwi (360), marae (108) and Pākehā (93) were the most frequently used words, followed by kaumatua, haka, hapū, whānau, tino rangatiratanga, hui and waka.

Six items included more than 20 words in te reo Māori. A *Dominion Post* feature about the international adoption of the haka included 42. Second, with 27, was a news item in the *Bay of Plenty Times* about the transfer of ownership of Mauao (Mt Maunganui) into iwi hands. Equal third, with 26 was a feature in the *Bay Weekend* about Ngāti Awa head Jeremy Gardiner and a *New Zealand Herald* news item about a kōhanga reo.

Fifth, with 24, was a news item in the *Wanganui Chronicle* about the signing over of the city's courthouse to iwi as part of a Treaty settlement. Sixth with 22 words was a *Turangi Chronicle* item about tertiary education at Korohe Marae.

Eight sentences, two untranslated, and five phrases in te reo Māori were used in the whole sample. Four sentences came from a haka about Te Arawa soldier Haane Manahi, quoted in one *Daily Post* item.

The *Daily Post* also published an untranslated sentence in te reo Māori by a Māori columnist. Other sentences in te reo Māori were used by a Māori conference presenter quoted in the *Wanganui Chronicle*, Dun Mihaka quoted in the *Northern Advocate* and a te reo course co-ordinator quoted in the *Turangi Chronicle*.

The Treaty was referred to by its Māori name 11

times, ten by Māori sources. The phrase tino rangatiratanga (Māori self-determination) was used 58 times, almost all by Māori sources in stories about the flag, ownership of fresh water and Waitangi.

Eight stories gave the iwi affiliations of people mentioned. Among the place names mentioned for which there were English alternatives were:

- ▷ Mauao, used 28 times, 27 in three *Bay of Plenty Times* stories
- ▷ Tairāwhiti, used seven times in three *Gisborne Herald* items
- ▷ Tai Tokerau, used six times in five items from the *Northern Advocate*
- ▷ Maungakiekie, used six times in five stories in different papers
- ▷ Aotearoa, used in five items, three in the *Daily Post*
- ▷ Pakaitore, used in three *Wanganui Chronicle* stories
- ▷ Tauranga Moana, in three different *Bay of Plenty Times* items
- ▷ Te Moana nui a Kiwa, used by Māori in three separate news stories
- ▷ Te Rerenga Wairua, used twice in one *Wairarapa Times-Age* story
- ▷ Tamaki Makaurau, used in a regular column by a Māori writer in the *Bay of Plenty Times*.

The newspapers with more than nine items in our sample are listed in Table 3. A group of higher language users includes the *New Zealand Herald* in Auckland, the *Dominion Post* in Wellington, the *Northern Advocate* in Whangarei, the *Daily Post* in Rotorua, the *Press* in Christchurch, the *Bay of Plenty Times* in Tauranga and the *Wanganui Chronicle*.

Papers that used six words or phrases of te reo Māori or less included the *Northland Age* (six, in four items), the *Greymouth Star* (two in eight stories), the *Sunday Star-Times* (two in seven), the *National Business Review* (one in five), the *Oamaru Mail* (one in four), the *Dannevirke Evening News* (two in three), the *West Coast Times* (five in one) and the *Southland Express* (two in one).

The *Sunday News* and the *Herald on Sunday* used no te reo for which there were English alternatives in their single stories.

The *Bay of Plenty Times* made richest use of te reo Māori in stories it originated, followed by the *Marlborough Express*, the *Wanganui Chronicle*, the *Otago Daily Times* and the *Southland Times*.

Other papers that used a higher average of te reo Māori in their own stories compared to items from other sources included the *Daily Chronicle*, the *Manawatu Standard* and the *Ashburton Guardian*.

FINDINGS

Table 3 Newspaper items by newspaper listed by total number of te reo Māori words and phrases used

Paper	Total te reo	Total items	Items with te reo	Average te reo words per item	Original items	Te reo units in original items	% te reo in original items	Average te reo in original items	Te reo in headline/sub-head	Te reo in intro/first par	Translated
New Zealand Herald	159	42	27	3.8	39	148	93%	3.8	7	11	10
Dominion Post	147	50	31	3	41	131	89%	3.2	4	11	5
Northern Advocate	120	44	31	2.7	29	95	79%	3.3	2	7	12
Daily Post	119	42	29	2.8	24	73	61%	3	4	5	11
Press	115	42	25	2.7	29	87	76%	3	2	7	7
Bay of Plenty Times	95	19	11	5	9	87	92%	9.6	4	5	7
Wanganui Chronicle	91	22	10	4	11	74	81%	6.7	3	4	8
Southland Times	49	15	10	3.3	7	34	69%	4.8	3	2	3
Gisborne Herald	46	27	14	1.7	16	34	74%	2.1	2	2	4
Otago Daily Times	45	20	11	2.2	5	24	53%	4.8	4	4	5
Taranaki Daily News	44	23	10	1.9	8	14	32%	1.7	1	2	3
Timaru Herald	43	23	9	1.9	8	4	9%	0.5	1	2	4
Nelson Mail	42	27	11	1.5	6	4	9%	0.6	2	8	3
Waikato Times	39	26	14	1.5	14	30	77%	2.1	4	5	3
Hawkes Bay Today	38	23	11	1.6	9	22	58%	2.4	1	3	4
Manawatu Standard	37	16	10	2.3	5	18	49%	3.6	2	4	
Marlborough Express	35	15	7	2.3	2	11	31%	5.5	2	2	1
Wairarapa Times-Age	33	20	4	1.6	9	15	45%	1.6	1	1	2
Whakatane Beacon	27	13	10	2	13	27	100%	2		3	
Ashburton Guardian	20	13	7	0.6	5	6	30%	1.2		1	1
Daily Chronicle	19	9	6	2	5	17	89%	3.4		1	2
Westport Evening News	8	12	4	0.6	2	1	12%	0.5			1
Totals		740							49	90	

Numbers have been rounded down to the nearest whole number apart from averages.

The *Timaru Herald* and *Nelson Mail* used a lower rate of te reo Māori in their own stories.

Of papers with more than nine stories in our sample, 30 to 80% of items included only Māori words that could not be avoided. Use of te reo Māori in headings was rare - the highest was the *New Zealand Herald's* use of seven words in 42 stories.

Spelling and use of te reo Māori was inconsistent and some obvious typos made it past the sub-editors. Pākehā was used uncapitalised 15 times and with a capital 78 times. Kapa haka was spelt as one

word seven times and as two 20 times.

Māori Party MP Te Ururoa Flavell's name was spelt Te Ururoa by the *Southland Times*, *Taranaki Daily News* and the *Timaru Herald*, and Whirimako Black was spelt as Whirimatea in the *Northern Advocate* and *Bay Chronicle* stories.

Whenuakite lost its last e in one *Hauraki Herald* headline and the Kororareka Marae Society was spelt Kororeka twice in the *Bay Report*.

The *Taranaki Daily News* spelt Ngāti Tamaahuroa

as Tamaahuroa, and twice used tohanga for tohunga in an item about the death of a revered kaumatua. The *Kapi-Mana News* used Ngatitota for Ngatitōa.

Inept combinations of Māori and English included 82 instances of “the Te”. Some usages such as “the Te Hana community” may flow more easily than “the Te Runanga” but all are redundant.

Māori nouns such as hapū, iwi, kōhanga, marae and whānau were made possessive or plural by adding an s in 22 stories. There were five “hakas” and one use of “wakas”. There were five instances of “hongis” as a verb from an NZPA story and one of “honging”, all in captions.

We noticed two coinings that have not made their way to *Te Aka Māori-English, English-Māori Dictionary*: mihini moko, tattoo machine, and Rotovegas for Rotorua.

Te reo Māori in Te Kaea subtitles

As these are written for a general audience, they provide an indication of the vocabulary that speakers of te reo Māori believe is generally known.

The subtitles in the 27 items left untranslated 22 words or phrases in te reo Māori, used a total of 39 times. Most speakers were identified by iwi rather than role, making a total of 22 iwi affiliations. This totalled 61 words or phrases.

Six of the words or phrases were not found in the 740 newspaper stories: mihimihī (greeting), rangatira (chief), whakaminenga o ngā hapū (hapū gathering), whakatau (settlement), the name Te Whakaminenga o Ngā Hapū (United Tribes of New Zealand), and the phrase “ki tēnei kaupapa i tēnei rā” (this issue for today).

NEWSPAPER THEMES RELATED TO TOPICS

Political representation

The Māori Party was central to a series of stories about modifications to electoral boundaries and the growth of registrations of voters on the Māori roll, one facet of which was the call led by the National Party for the abolition of the Māori seats.

A related debate on immigration saw the Māori Party accusing the government of undermining the “browning” of Aotearoa New Zealand by liberalised immigration policies.

There was coverage of a dispute between Ngāpuhi and Te Arawa over the legacy of Hongi Hika and of debates within Ngāi Tahu about the membership of its trust board. The electoral and

immigration stories linked to the Privilege theme while the disputes covered reinforced notions of conflict as a Māori characteristic.

For example, the *Bay of Plenty Times* page 13 editorial on February 3 was headed “Māori seats a crutch unneeded”, and described Māori, including Tariana Turia, as “beneficiaries” of the arrangement, the seats as “special”, an “anachronism” and “political welfarism”.

Arts

New books, plays, music, festivals movies, exhibitions, and a museum all celebrated aspects of Māori visual or performing arts in 84 stories.

The bulk of these were produced as reviews or other copy that did not cite sources. There were items about the launch of an all female waka,; Tā moko as an art form (and a tourist souvenir); previews of MTV and TVNZ programmes; and the creation of a new mural, all of which highlighted Māori creativity and success.

There was often a lack of contextual information, so that the origins of Māori endeavours were not clear. They appeared to rely on Māori funding streams in ways that resonated uncomfortably with the Privilege theme.

For example, a page seven *Daily Post* story on March 27 about Māori scholarships from Te Waka Toi, the Māori Arts Board of Creative New Zealand, provided no explanation of why the scheme exists, past successes or likely outcomes, so that readers were presented with a direct example of public money going exclusively to Māori purposes.

Māori and Pākehā relations

Two stories provided most of the 79 items in this category; the flying of the tino rangatiratanga flag (see Case Studies) and the visit of Prince Andrew to Rotorua.

A number of minor stories presented themes of conflict – the destruction of mangroves at Whangamata, the disproportionate use of taser guns against Māori and Pacific offenders, the rejection of Māori language road signs – in which Māori were presented as aggressors or protesters.

Education

Most of the 65 stories covered particular or local Māori educational issues such as new appointments to Māori departments in schools, a pōwhiri for new entrants at a kura at Rotoiti, and leadership training at Te Puke Highschool.

There were several national stories including Māori performance on NCEA and high rates of Māori among the teen mothers at schools. One small story in the *Christchurch Star* mentioned criticism

“Whereas race has connotations of biological variation and genetic determinism, ethnicity emphasises social and cultural distinctiveness and places greater importance on world views, lifestyles and societal interaction.”

Mason Durie, 2004

of a new draft school curriculum for deleting references to the Treaty of Waitangi. Together the usual implication of Māori failure and theme of Maori Privilege were at least implicit and often overt.

For example, a page eight story in the *Press* on February 6 focused on a Sport Tasman complaint that one of its programmes had been rejected for funding by Te Puni Kokiri on the grounds that it was not run by a Māori provider.

The first paragraph noted that the programme was “designed to stop young Māori falling through the cracks” and the story paraphrased the Sport Tasman source: “a lot of young Māori fell by the wayside as they are not encouraged to stay in school”. The story therefore evokes both the Privilege theme and Māori failure.

Health

Most of the 44 stories mentioned Māori as one group (although often over-represented) within national studies of diseases. Local stories, which were more often focused on Māori, were mostly related to specific issues and there were a number of items about district health board activities. Finally there was a cluster of health research stories, again showing Māori suffering disproportionately.

These stories not only emphasised a crisis in Māori health but, by consistently focusing on individuals and their lifestyles and failing to explore or explain the social context and systemic contributions, they blamed Māori people for that crisis (Hodgetts; Masters & Robertson).

Consequently when stories referred to treatment or intervention costs, they easily implied that Bad Māori, who have undermined or failed to take responsibility for their health, were an unnecessary charge on other New Zealanders.

Further, health stories framed in this way created and now maintain the image of Māori as an unhealthy people, a sustained echo of the earlier settler belief in the “dying race”.

Social status and statistics

These 40 stories reported on population data or trends. By far the most numerous were reactions and analyses arising out of John Key’s claims about a permanent underclass in this country where Māori were mentioned in passing as over-represented.

Land

Forty items (10 repeats) covered a range of stories about Māori interests in land, sites and water. The bulk of the stories were about a range of objections and protests by Māori groups about actions

and proposals to change environments. Several stories reported on specific Māori development activities. In other stories Māori took the role of kaitiaki of specific public resources.

Three stories covered Māori and rates. Two of these followed a commonsense notion that Māori are a bad payment risk. The first reported the proportion of rates remitted on Māori freehold land in multiple ownership, among other much greater remittances, by the New Plymouth District Council.

A much longer item about the Wairoa District Council constructed Māori rates arrears, particularly for land with multiple ownership, as a long-standing and intractable problem. While the emphasis was on finding a workable solution, the item gave prominence to one councillor’s claim that council could not be seen to be funding a “romp” around the district for its Māori liaison officer.

In the final story, coverage of a Hamilton family invoking the Declaration of Independence of 1835 and freehold Māori title as rationales for not paying rates, presented Māori as unrealistic trouble-makers. The rates stories drew together images of Māori as inadequate citizens of a modern state and as privileged people who were an imposition on fellow citizens.

Business

Multiple stories (31) on iwi or hapū tourism ventures (Rotorua, Whanganui, Tauranga, Whakatane) and other businesses (Internet café, rental workshops, media) were complemented by stories about the history and nature of Māori enterprise.

The fact (and success) of these initiatives evoked familiar concerns with Privilege and Māori exclusivity. For example, a page four story in the *Manawatu Standard* on February 7 reported a plan among seven local marae to pool resources and collaborate to develop assets and provide business opportunities for their people, portraying the use of Māori economic resources in an exclusive, unfamiliar business model.

Financial probity

These seven stories were mostly local, quite long items reporting irregularities and mismanagement in Māori social service organisations. They characteristically detailed inadequate practices, reporting or accounting in ways that confirmed broad expectations that Māori were incompetent, dishonest or corrupt in such situations.

“Government definitions of Māori began as ‘persons greater than half Māori blood’ and Māori-European ‘half-caste’, living as Māori, ie ‘living as members of Māori tribes’. This definition later evolved to a classification based on quantum of blood, usually expressed as ‘persons of half or more Māori blood.’”

Bridget Robson and Papatāngi Reid, 2001

ORIGIN OF NEWSPAPER ITEMS

An almost identical proportion of stories were produced by the newspaper in which they were published in 2007 (59%) and 2004 (60%). The proportion of NZPA stories declined, however, from 30% in 2004 to 25% in 2007.

Other papers from which stories were repeated, mostly the *Dominion Post*, were identified by name in 2004 and contributed 3% of the items. In 2007, reflecting ownership changes, non-NZPA origins were identified more often by ownership (eg Fairfax), and accounted for 13% of the Treaty and Māori resources stories.

SOURCES

Newspaper sources

A total of 764 sources were used in the 254 newspaper items about Māori resources and Te Tiriti, an average of three sources per item. The number of sources is listed in Table 4.

Fifteen stories gave no source for their information. Two appeared in the *Daily Post*, one each in the *Bay of Plenty Times*, the *Manawatu Standard* and the *Northern Advocate*; the rest were published in smaller regional or suburban non-daily papers. We counted opinion pieces and editorials as having at least one source.

Fifteen stories noted that sources had declined or been unavailable for comment. Eight were Māori, representing iwi and non-government organisations; six were Pākehā, representing Government agencies.

Ethnicity and gender of newspaper sources

People who identified as Māori were the biggest group of sources by ethnicity, 45% (341). Almost 35 percent (264) identified as Pākehā or New Zealand European. Three people identified as both. Almost five percent (35) had a different ethnicity. For 84 sources (11%), ethnicity could not be identified.

This last group was made up of government agencies and other organisations; publications; writers of editorials and columns; and other sources who could not be contacted.

There were seven regular columns in our sample and eight invited opinion pieces. Of these, seven were by Māori and seven by Pākehā, with one author's ethnicity unknown.

Nine editorials commented on Māori or Treaty issues; while these pieces may be written by any member of the editorial management team,

we are not aware of any Māori editors of city or regional centre newspapers.

Journalists quoted more than twice as many men (470; 61.5%) as women (197; 25.8%). The gender of 97 sources (12.7%) was not stated. They included groups of Māori elders, organisations and publications.

The proportion of male and female sources varied by ethnicity. Women made up almost a third of Māori sources (108; 32%) but only 25% of Pākehā sources. As a proportion of the whole sample, Māori men made up almost a third (30%), Pākehā men 26%, Māori women 14% and Pākehā women 8.5%.

The two most quoted sources were the Pākehā leaders of the main political parties; National Party leader John Key was quoted 36 times and Prime Minister Helen Clark 30 times.

Number of sources	Number of stories	Percentage of stories
0	15	5.9
1	59	23.2
2	50	19.7
3	46	18.1
4	31	12.2
5	21	8.3
6	10	3.9
7	10	3.9
8-11	12	4.7
Total	254	99.9

The third most quoted source was Māori Party MP Hone Harawira, quoted 26 times, followed by his party colleague Te Ururoa Flavell, quoted 25 times.

Pākehā State Owned Enterprise Minister Trevor Mallard was the fifth most common source, quoted 20 times, followed by the most commonly quoted Māori female source, Māori Party co-leader Tariana Turia, who was quoted 16 times. Labour MP Nanaia Mahuta was the second most quoted Māori woman, quoted 13 times.

Of the 239 stories that quoted at least one source, 113 (47%) used both Māori and non-Māori sources. Twenty-four percent of stories (58), more than half of which were about Waitangi Day or the Treaty, used Māori sources only.

Twenty-two percent of stories (53) used non-Māori sources only; just over half these stories were also about Waitangi Day or the Treaty. Fifteen stories (6%) included non-Government sources whose ethnicity was unidentified.

Order of newspaper sources

By ethnicity, Māori sources were quoted earlier on average, starting at the eleventh sentence in a story. Pākehā sources were first quoted at the fourteenth

Table 4 Newspaper items by number of sources

“the dictatorship of the single word and the single image [is] much more devastating than that of the single party.”

Uruguayan novelist Eduardo Galeano, 2001

sentence in a story on average.

This was the first time we recorded people's roles, enabling us to count the order in which Government and iwi representatives were quoted. Government sources were quoted slightly earlier in stories, on average at the eleventh sentence, while iwi sources were quoted slightly later on average, at the twelfth sentence.

Pākehā sources were quoted for longer - five sentences on average compared to four for quotes by Māori sources. Iwi sources, at an average of four sentences each, were quoted for longer than Government sources, at three sentences each.

Role of newspaper sources

Crown or Government sources made up almost one-third of sources by role (241, 31.5%), followed by iwi sources (175, 22.9%). MPs from non-Government parties made up the third-biggest group (129, 16.9%), followed by representatives of non-Māori organisations (106, 13.9%), those speaking as individuals (86, 11.3%) and those speaking for Māori non-government organisations (27, 3.5%).

Of the 377 Māori sources, 170 (45%) represented an iwi. A further 79 (21%) were non-Government MPs and 55 (14.6%) represented the Crown or government. This means just over one in three Māori sources (35.6%) were MPs or represented Crown agencies.

Television sources

Nine items (12%) used a studio presenter only, with no sources quoted or pictured. The other items used a total of 212 sources. Fifteen items (19%) used one source; 14 items (18%) each used two and three; eight used four; ten used five, four used six and three used seven sources.

TV 3 broadcast the most items without a source (four of its nine items). Of the programmes with more than eight items, *One News* used the highest average number of sources (just under four); followed by *Te Kaea* (just under three); *3 News* (2.3) and *Te Karere* (2.1).

For non-studio items, *3 News* and *Prime News* averaged two clips of sources per item. *Te Kaea* and *Te Karere* averaged four clips and *One News* and *Tonight* averaged five. On the three mass news programmes, the average total time for individual interview clips was less than 13 seconds.

Sources on *Prime News* averaged a total of seven seconds across all clips in the item; *Tonight* sources averaged eight seconds; *One News* 10 seconds and *3 News* 12 seconds. *Te Kaea* averaged 19 seconds per source while *Te Karere* averaged 37 seconds per source, almost three times the average in mass TV news.

Ethnicity and gender of television sources

Of the sources, 66% (140) were Māori; 19% (40) were Pākehā; eight (4%) identified as both; the ethnicity of 15 (7%) was not stated; and nine were neither Māori nor Pākehā (4%). Ninety-two (80%) of the sources used by *Te Karere* and *Te Kaea* had Māori ancestry, compared to 55% of the sources in mass TV news items.

Of the 68 items that used sources, 32 (47%) used Māori sources only. Twenty-eight of these items were broadcast on *Te Kaea* or *Te Karere*, which are required to promote te reo Māori. Twenty-eight items (41%) used both Māori and Pākehā sources.

One item used Pākehā sources only to tell a Māori story, compared to our 2004 sample of Māori stories, where six items featured only non-Māori sources. For the other eight 2007 items, the ethnicity of vox pop or other sources could not be ascertained.

Sixty-eight percent (145) of the sources were male and 27% (57) were female; the gender of eight (publications or groups) was not stated. Almost half the total sources used were Māori men, followed by 17% Māori women, 13% Pākehā men and 6% Pākehā women.

The Māori news programmes used almost half the number of female sources (32) as male (67); the mass news programmes used under a third as many women (25) as men (78).

Order of television sources

We analysed the order in which sources were quoted by ethnicity and by role. Mass news programmes quoted Pākehā sources earlier, at an average of 57 seconds for their first quote, than Māori sources, who were first quoted an average of 67 seconds into the item.

Māori-language news programmes quoted Pākehā (eight sources) significantly earlier at an average of 41 seconds into the item, compared to 69 seconds for their 87 Māori sources. Iwi sources were quoted slightly earlier at an average of 60 seconds after the item started, compared to 64 seconds for Government sources. For seven items we were unable to record the order of sources.

Role of television sources

The biggest group of sources represented the Government (59 people, 28%), largely as Government MPs or ministry spokespeople. Those representing iwi and hapū made up 23% of sources (50) and the next biggest group were individuals (45, 21%); for example, those interviewed at Waitangi events or in vox pops.

Opposition or other party MPs made up 16% (33) of sources. Mass news programmes used a higher proportion of Government sources (64%) than Māori language news (21%) and a minority of iwi sources (14%) compared to (86%) on Māori language news.

Māori sources spoke on average for 21 seconds in these items, compared to 12.5 seconds for Pākehā sources. By role, iwi sources spoke for longer, averaging 27 seconds, followed by non-Government MPs at an average of 18 seconds and Government sources averaging 15 seconds.

Prime Minister Helen Clark was the most quoted TV news source, appearing in 10 items. Māori Party MP Hone Harawira appeared in nine items. Following him were Labour MP Shane Jones (8), fellow Māori MP Te Ururoa Flavell (6) and the most quoted Māori woman, Ngāti Kahu spokesperson Margaret Mutu (6). National Leader John Key was the most quoted Pākehā man, in four items.

NEWSPAPER IMAGES

The Treaty and resources stories ran with a total of 202 images, including photographs, cartoons, maps and diagrams. Almost half (121, 48%) of the stories did not have a picture. Thirty-eight percent (97) had one image, eight percent (21) had two; six percent (15) had three or more.

Twenty-six images were of objects or landscapes. Of the 176 that focused on people, in 48% (85) they were identified as Māori; 27% (47) were of non-Māori; 13% (23) included both; and in 21 the ethnicity of subjects was not stated.

Just over half the people in the images (51%, 89) were male only; just over a quarter (26%, 45) were female only; 36 images (20%) included both and in six images the people's gender was not discernable. Forty-four images featured Māori males only, 21 Māori females only, 30 non-Māori males only and 16 non-Māori females only.

Image subjects were categorised by role; the biggest group were those categorised as individuals (64, 26%), followed by those representing iwi (49, 29%). Non-government MPs made up the third largest group (24, 14%), followed by non-Māori non-Government organisations (17, 10%) and Crown representatives (16, 9%).

Of those 85 Māori pictured in the resources and Treaty stories, just over half (46, 54%) represented iwi and 19 (22%) were coded as individuals. There were eight images of Māori non-Government MPs (9%) and five of Māori Government MPs (6%).

To identify the most commonly pictured individuals, we counted across the whole Māori stories

sample. The most commonly photographed person was Prince Andrew during his visit to acknowledge the bravery of Te Arawa Sergeant Haane Manahi (14 images). There were two images of Manahi in the coverage.

John Key was the subject of 13 photographs or cartoons, and Sir Brian Lochore's photo appeared in nine stories about Order of New Zealand recipients.

Green MP Sue Bradford was the most photographed Pākehā woman (nine images) as part of coverage of her bill to prevent caregivers claiming reasonable force when they beat children. Prime Minister Helen Clark's image appeared seven times in the sample.

Tariana Tūria was the Māori person most commonly pictured, with eight photographs or cartoons. The most commonly photographed Māori men, both with seven, were Hone Harawira and former Governor-General Sir Paul Reeves, for his Order of New Zealand. The next most common Māori woman was Nanaia Mahuta with two images.

“GOOD” AND “BAD” NEWS

Newspaper items

Items coded as neutral made up almost half of our restricted Māori news sample (120 items, 47%). Items coded as “good” news made up just over a quarter (68, 27%), as did items coded as “bad” news (66, 26%).

All but seven of the 66 “bad” news items were coded as including conflict, while only a quarter of the 68 “good” news items included conflict. Just over half the “neutral” items (57%) were coded for conflict.

Topics with the highest proportion of “good” news items were Business (68%) and Fisheries (40%). All eight items categorised as Financial Probity were coded as “bad” news. Half the Treaty items were coded as neutral, as were slightly more than half the items about Land.

Five of the editorials, regular and invited columns were classified as “bad” news, 12 as neutral, and seven as “good” news.

Items generated solely by the newspaper in which they were published included three times the proportion of “good” news stories (78%) as those contributed by NZPA or other outside sources (22%). Similar proportions of items from both sources were coded as “bad” news and “neutral”.

Shain and Phillips' research found a similar result in stories about mental illness; in one USA sample, more stories from wire service UPI about people

“ It is the Treaty that gives a framework for us all to be able to hold onto the things we value. ”

Katherine Peet, 2007

with a mental illness focused on their involvement in a violent crime than in a constructed month of newspaper stories.

Television items

Forty-three percent of the Treaty and resource items were coded as “good” news, 39% as neutral and 16% as “bad” news. All six *Prime News* stories were coded as “good” news, and all 16 *Te Karere* items were coded as “good” news or neutral.

CONFLICT

In newspapers

A majority (145, 57%) of newspaper Māori resources items focused on a conflict or disagreement. Stories from NZPA and other newspapers were more likely (68%) to represent conflict or disagreement than stories generated by the paper’s own reporters (49%).

Most of the conflict depicted was between Māori and Pākehā (145, 66%), with 18% (26 items) about conflict among Māori; in 16% (23 items) ethnicity had no bearing on the conflict.

In television

Television items were reasonably evenly divided between those containing conflict (54%) and those without (45%). None of the *Prime News* items and only two of the nine *3 News* items included conflict. There was no distinction in the proportion of stories with conflict between Māori-language and English-language items.

When conflict was part of news stories, it was overwhelmingly between Māori and non-Māori (80%). In five stories the people in conflict had a range of ethnicities; in two the conflict was among Māori.

ASPECTS OF BALANCE

We counted the use of the terms “radical” and “activist” and their derivatives in the 740 newspaper Māori stories. The words “activist” or “activists” were used 39 times in 25 items. They were applied to Māori 35 times and to non-Māori four times.

Two headlines and ten first paragraphs represented Māori as activists. The noun phrase “Māori activist” was used 11 times. Non-Māori activists included one mention each of “Labour activists”, “anti-mangrove activists” and a Pākehā “hippie activist” character in a film. The “activist” label was used by reporters 38 times and in an opinion piece once, and was not used in a quotation.

The words “radical” or “radicals” were used 12 times in 11 items. Seven of these usages referred

to Māori; in the other five the word was used as an adjective meaning “major” about topics such as demographic change. Only two of the seven usages were in direct quotes; the rest were in opinion pieces and an editorial.

Our 2004 sample had fewer uses of “activist” - 19 across the whole sample. All the uses applied to Māori, including 11 uses of “Māori Party activists” in 11 repeats of an NZPA story. The term was used 13 times in paraphrases or quotes from sources and six times by the writer.

The word “radical” was used nine times in the 2004 sample, associated with Māori in four instances and with Government or National initiatives four times. It was used by the writer six times and by sources three times.

SILENCES

We identified what we believe to be gaps or silences on particular topics. As our sample days included Waitangi Day and the day after, there were 556 references to the Treaty, Treaty settlements, Treaty claims and the Treaty House in the 740 Māori stories newspaper items. There were also 10 usages of *te Tiriti o Waitangi*, all in quotes by Māori speakers.

Almost all these items assumed that readers knew what the Treaty said and how Treaty settlements were made. Three items gave limited explanations.

One quoted a Māori source about the Treaty preamble allowing immigration; another said the Crown breached the Treaty by failing to preserve pre-European kūmara varieties; a third said that Article One allowed the Crown to set up a Government. No other items provided any detail about what the Treaty says.

The words “colonial” or “colonisation” and their derivatives were used 23 times in 16 items. Five were reviews of historical books, three were opinion pieces and nine were articles; most referred to colonisation as history.

Only four usages in three items referred to colonisation as having a contemporary impact. One example was an opinion piece on Māori customary title by law professor Jock Brookfield, who said that the Foreshore and Seabed Act 2004 had extinguished claims Māori could make using the legal system brought by colonisation.

The terms “bicultural” or “biculturalism” were used seven times in four items. All were in quotes except for two mentions in a Press editorial.

The phrase “race-based” was used four times in four opinion pieces. The phrase “Treaty-based” was used twice in one item, in quotes from Māori about immigration policy.

“codified conventions of newswork contribute to the naturalization of the various social divisions and inequalities indicative of modern society, principally by helping to reaffirm these inequalities as being appropriate, legitimate or inevitable...”

Stuart Allan (2004)

Four stories were covered by Māori programmes but not mass TV news or newspapers;

- ▷ The opening of the national School of Māori Weaponry at Te Aute College, with a welcome to inaugural head Dr Pita Sharples (*Te Karere*).
- ▷ A visit by Te Arawa elders and a Rotorua councillor to Ngāpuhi to resolve conflict after a picture of Te Arawa enemy Hongi Hika was removed from a history wall at a new events centre in Rotorua (*Te Karere* - the conflict was covered in seven newspaper stories, but not the resolution).
- ▷ A celebration of 10 years of Hunga Manaaki, a Bay of Plenty support and advocacy service for Māori patients and whānau at Rotorua hospital (*Te Karere*).
- ▷ An accord signed by the Government for \$81 million to revive Lake Taupo (*Te Kaea*).

FOCUS GROUPS

Māori focus group

The four participants read newspapers and watched the news regularly. Particularly popular amongst all participants were the *New Zealand Herald*, *One News*, *3 News* and *Whakaata Māori* (MTS). Three participants also regularly used the Internet to source news and current events.

Popular media sites included the *New Zealand Herald* online; *msn.co.nz*; *stuff.co.nz*; Aotearoa Independent Media; the Tino Rangatiratanga Newsgroup email list; the *Guardian Weekly* online and *Tangata Whenua* online.

Only one participant listened to radio regularly, usually to Radio Waatea, Radio New Zealand, Niu FM and 97.4 FM.

Mass media construction of Māori issues

All participants believed that mass media representation of Māori news was often unbalanced and predominantly negative. This included presenting Māori issues with little to no historical, social or cultural context and using negative images and themes with Māori issues.

One participant said:

“..we appear as specific news items and they are usually negative and the analysis is short...”

Another added:

“Oh, like that road development up at Cape Reinga... And that punch-up that they showed... So they talk about an incident instead of the context of the issue.”

Most participants perceived Māori perspectives as usually contrasted with oppositional sources

in ways that made the Māori perspectives look “extreme” and “threatening”:

“..you don’t have to set Māori against Pākehā. Māori doesn’t necessarily mean bad and Pākehā doesn’t necessarily mean good. Māori and Pākehā don’t always disagree on things. You don’t have to say that everything Māori do is bad [and] threatening to the status quo...”

All participants believed that mass media reproduced “unhealthy” racialised discourses and stereotypes about Māori that created unnecessary racial controversies and tensions and promoted divisive politics. They believed mass media exploited these stereotypes and racialised attitudes to hook readers and “sell” news:

“..it’s the same attitudes again and again. Partly it’s exploitative, you know, because they make money by bashing Māori. People love reading about Māori and bad things...”

Another said:

“It’s like they’ve got this picture of Māori and they don’t want to change it.”

Most participants also noted that when the media were seeking a Māori perspective, they usually limited them to the opinions of high profile Māori personalities/politicians:

“..they’ll just get certain Māori personalities to talk on the issues and they also look for a certain view from Pākehā, as well. Like it’s not right across the board and so they are always ensuring that there’s that gap...”

Differences between Māori and mass media news

All participants said that the way news items were presented on *Whakaata Māori* and other Māori media was often very different to how the same items were presented in mass media:

“Māori Television and Māori media - they don’t only tell good stories, there is a positive balance, but it’s the fact there is a balance that makes the difference... It’s like two totally different groups. One is in crisis mode and the failure of a race... and the other is this really dynamic group of indigenous people from the South Pacific who are doing amazing things in every imaginable field.”

Another participant said:

“I’m just reminded of last week’s coverage of the tangihanga of Sid Jackson... you look at Māori media, the iwi radio in his area. The Tino Rangatiratanga [website has] a day by day posting what is happening, they feature a whole range of individuals paying tribute ...”

“As far as television news is concerned, the psychology of perception competes with the psychology of the image.”

Judy McGregor, 2002

“**Journalists are conduits. They stand between significant information and the public’s awareness of it. What they report and the way they report it has an impact on public knowledge and perceptions.**”

Al Morrison, 2002

“The *Herald* had a little box somewhere in the corner on the third page on the day that he passed away and then I think they had a little something on *Breakfast* and then in the evening and the final image that you were left with was of his grieving daughter saying nobody cared about my father when he was alive... that to me highlighted perfectly the dynamic [between mass and Māori media]. Omission, isolate, and ... celebrate..”

Most participants preferred the news presented on *Te Kaea* and other Māori media, as they believed that it was more positive, fairer and included views from a broader range of people:

“..Te *Kaea*, yeah, that’s where you start seeing what’s going on in different communities, they’ve gone out and they’ve found the stories... you know that you’re going to be hearing something that is in the provinces sometimes from locations outside of Auckland and sometimes you wouldn’t even know that there was an Auckland or a Wellington and that’s really important..”

Another participant said:

“..just better images, positive images and then some of those other...like that e-pānui they’ve got like positive things, not just on the issues put on mainstream but also about things that you didn’t know in the communities.”

When compared with mass media organisations, some participants noted that Māori media like Whakaata Māori were usually more receptive to outside news ideas and provided more support and guidance for people being interviewed. For

“..Pākehā broadcast or Pākehā corporate media, you gotta write a really cool catchy press release and get it to them within a certain time and they will probably not acknowledge that they got it, and then you need to do all the follow up, unless you are someone who keeps feeding them stories and then give them the right to edit it as they see fit. And then you’re meant to be grateful and then it doesn’t make it on to prime[time] news it gets like the 11 o’clock news [slot], and there’s a little bit of you looking manic or something...”

In contrast:

“..for Māori media, if you want someone to come and cover an event .. you just need to ring them and ask them and they’ll go okay, when... and you don’t need to write a big sophisticated press release and when they get there, they will tell you how to present yourself better or help you articulate things better and re-record.”

Alternative media sources

Three participants liked to source news from Internet sites or email lists that they described as “less likely to have edited a news item” and “more likely to provide a informed and balanced perspective on an issue”:

“..like stuff.co[nz] The reason I like looking at them, they are a Pākehā media, but they will publish stuff that groups put out themselves, they don’t seem to edit... [you] can put out a pānui and you can agree with it or disagree with it from there but they haven’t changed it. So I like that.”

Mass media and te Tiriti

All participants thought that mass media’s treatment of events like Waitangi Day focussed too much on specific parts, like the protests, and ignored other important aspects:

“Waitangi is a good example, it’s this wonderful day, celebration, food, sports, and all this different stuff and all we ever get is a protest...”

Another said:

“..that whole Treaty thing there is a whole week of it and not just a day of it for the locals, eh. So there’s wānanga and that going on all during that week.”

A third said:

“..there is about a half an hour where there is going to be a traditional march and ‘oh, that’s right. we have to think about the Treaty’, and the rest of the day is catching up with friends, whānau and enjoying the sun...”

Some participants also thought that portraying events like Waitangi Day in this way had a negative impact on what people thought about the Treaty and Treaty-related issues:

“Waitangi day... I think of the way the Treaty is represented [in mass media] .. it’s portrayed like this evil thing that hovers over everything... And it’s not, but .. it’s almost like it’s this dark social phenomenon...”

Accuracy and professionalism

Most participants questioned the accuracy of news constructions in mass and Māori media. For some, Māori journalism was still developing:

“..so often I find that the Māori journalists in *Te Kaea* when they are covering Māori in unions, the younger ones don’t know what unions are anyway. So they get things wrong and it’s a process of educating them but the older ones know what unions are and ... they report things okay.”

Participants also acknowledged their higher expectations of Māori reporters and media. Three named favourite journalists and commentators, including Wena Harawira, Dale Husband, Shane Taurima, Matt McCarten, Rawiri Taonui, Malcolm Mulholland and Mereana Hond.

How media coverage of Māori could be improved

Participants had a number of suggestions for possible ways to improve media reporting of Māori news. Most wanted to see more “mā te Māori, mō te Māori” (by Māori, for Māori) initiatives, such as more Māori journalism schools and Māori journalists:

“I want to see a Māori John Campbell ... you know, a staunch Māori in the mainstream. Mainly it's just developing Māori journalism.”

Another said:

“..let's make great Māori journalists and put them in mainstream and Māori media, but after that there should be something to educate people.”

Participants suggested better rules or a code of practice to achieve better balance in Māori news items:

“Get rid of the polemics, get rid of that basic stereotype of bash Māori, Māori bad, Māori violent, Māori poor, you know... just some basic rules.”

Participants also wanted better resourcing of Māori journalists and Māori media:

“..so we already have Māori TV and my understanding is that the really good programmes are being made on a shoestring budgets and staff aren't being paid properly and that's because of the cash flow, so hurry up and pay for the things properly..”

Participants also thought that strengthening relationships and networks with other communities facing discrimination such as migrant communities would be beneficial for Māori:

“..but we've got the Māori TV of the region called Al Jazeera, in English, so we should be linking up with the people of the region especially people of colour, or the migrant communities here. You've got migrant media, people who are thinking and experiencing life in New Zealand in a different way ... those are our allies that can get a different view of Māori..”

Other suggestions included:

- ▷ A national survey about what Māori think of media performance
- ▷ Support the TVNZ charter for more Māori

and local content

- ▷ Support educational institutions training Māori journalists
- ▷ Encouraging the development of electronic media for young people, particularly through kura (Maori immersion schools)
- ▷ More vigorous discussion and organised opposition to racist media depictions.

Use of te reo Māori

Participants wanted to see increased use of te reo Māori by mass media journalists and broadcasters:

“When I see a Pākehā presenter putting in a little bit of effort it has a huge effect on me. Maybe it will change in 20 years when we get used to it, but right now it makes a huge difference to me personally when I hear it. It just makes me want to cry. Like when they pronounce someone's name right, just the little things ... it has to be followed up, it can't just be little things..”

Another added:

“But those sort of terms would actually mean that they would have had to make some effort to be familiar culturally, so hopefully that will indicate that someone is making an effort somewhere to know that it's Te Tairāwhiti and that is how you say the name.”

Impact of mass news media representations on Pākehā

All participants thought that mass media construction of Māori news items merely reinforced and reproduced negative attitudes and perceptions about Māori:

“Just confirms their suspicions, eh, their stereotypes, doesn't challenge them to think outside the square, they just go 'oh yeah, those people, that is what they are like, I knew that' ... that is what news is, eh - brown people hitting their kids and Arabs bombing things.”

Participants also found these media representations contributed to ethnic tensions and hostilities in their workplace, or pushed them into the position of expert or advocate for all Māoridom:

“..where something big like [the foreshore and seabed debate] happens, everyone looks at you sideways for ages ... they will sidle up and say 'Do you people really want to stop us from going down to the beach?' you know. I work with a lot of Pākehā and [it] – makes it bad.

Another said:

“It is part of my daily routine to read the paper because you get yourself ready for what you might get volleyed with [at work]...”

“ The New Zealand Herald took a strong line in promoting settlers' claims to land but was not politically aligned.”

Karl du Fresne, 2005

“What these [TV news] items had in common was that each failed to present the news event in a neutral or disinterested way... Objective journalism gave way to sympathy, prejudice and sheer drama.”

Brian Edwards, 2002

Impacts of mass news media representations on Māori

Participants felt the cumulative impact of negative media constructions of Māori had a negative effect on Māori health and wellbeing:

“Self esteem, your pride; you know if you are in a group of Pākehā talking about anything personal, if someone says Māori mentally you prepare yourself - I can't imagine a Māori not preparing themselves. Either to acquiesce, just to submit to the group bully that we are useless and victims, or you have to get prepared to say Yeah, no, a range of emotional responses that will get your message across - either stop it, or you are wrong or this is the other view. So the negative media affects self esteem, it does and it is depressing.”

Another said:

“Resignation, depression, even just smoking ... They tell us we are sick and make us sicker ..”

Response to newspaper article about fresh water ownership

Participants thought this article (see Appendix 5) reinforced stereotypes about Māori - that Māori are greedy, privileged, in “grievance mode” - and promoted divisive politics:

“It is in the vein... that New Zealanders are the victims of greedy Māori asserting outdated ownership rights and it looks like they are asserting ownership commodity rights.”

Another said:

“..there are all those debates happening in the background and tribunal issues and things that haven't been aired at all [or] done properly so you wouldn't know the context of these discussions from these articles. But we do know what the context is, if you are Māori and if you have been following your own rohe issues or in the family with other news media. I don't think Māori TV would report this.”

Non-Māori focus group

Three participants identified as Pākehā and one as American. They all read newspapers; three watched TV news and two regularly listened to radio news. They used the Internet to see alternative news outlets.

They all agreed that they were getting the same news stories from the mass TV news programmes. Talking about one day's coverage, one asked: “..are you telling me that there's only five news stories..?” They talked of stories where the only difference between programmes was the camera angle in the interview.

They also agreed that it was hard to tell whether news stories were accurate. One said: “you have to take accuracy on trust”.

Media constructions of Māori issues

The participants expressed dissatisfaction with the way media reported Māori news, for different reasons. One saw coverage as reactive:

“it doesn't actually stimulate productive debate; I think it's ... promoting guilt and frustration and reaction”.

Another said:

“when John Campbell went ‘Tena koe’, they sort of went, tick, Māori content .. there is a real glibness that I find disturbing ... there are deeper issues that go back to the Treaty ... why the people who are poor in New Zealand are poor ... there are systemic problems ... but you don't actually see it being reported that way.”

They added:

“What the limitations are as well the strengths within the Treaty ... I don't think the media actually deals with [that] because they think it's too far gone, it's in the past.”

A contrasting view was:

“..where people want to .. claim things like radio frequency .. it is an attempt to create apartheid in New Zealand. And I think that the news media does a very poor job of pointing out that it is really an attempt to create apartheid.”

Participants agreed that most people were ignorant of what the Treaty said:

“..nobody has any idea about what they are talking about half the time [about] Treaty principles”.

General media coverage of the Treaty gave one participant the impression that “it is going to be something really bad for me so you should be against it”. This person saw media coverage as “very surface and reaction, as opposed to going into .. the spiritual realm and things like that..”

One participant said that mass news presented Māori as homogenous: “when we say Māori we actually mean ‘the Māori’.”

Another added:

“But... there are variations of hierarchies and structures ..that are really important...it's not just enough to say ‘Waitakere’ correctly.. it's got to have more depth about ..differentiating within Māori culture.”

When participants were asked about recent Māori stories, some of the child abuse cases were mentioned and the group discussed whether they were Māori stories or not. One participant described:

“how they make it into a Māori story ... I mean that something horrific happens like the murder of a child ... so it doesn't start off like that ... and it will be channelled that way and the media will pick it up and run further with it and go ‘How can we generate some more?’”

They added:

“If you're going to talk about Māori news, that fact that you're constantly bombarded by these terrible stories means that it creates stress; and the reasons we're bombarded by terrible stories isn't that everything is terrible – it's that terrible stories sell.”

Differences between Māori and mass media news

Three participants had watched or listened to news by Māori in te reo or in English and talked about differences. One said:

“..what *Te Karere*.. consider(s) to be newsworthy [is] a big difference to what is considered news .. and how they are reported .. by mainstream media.. It's quite different even if it's the same story.”

This participant also said about MTS:

“..it can be really different how the same issue can be reported - the interview, the questions, the sound bits, what they take out, what they deem appropriate to use.”

Another described *Mana News* on National Radio:

“It's not formulaic, it's just interesting stories about things that have happened without that sensational stuff, and I really like that.”

It gave this participant:

“a glimpse into a “whole network of things occurring that I'm totally unaware of... completely outside my realm of understanding”.

Use of te reo Māori

All the participants were interested in learning more about te reo and seeing it used more in the news. One said: “I like that Māori Language Week when they speak a bit more Māori.”

Another gave an example of a survey showing poor Pākehā knowledge of Māori terms and said:

“That's an interesting aspect to how the reporting could go – the lack of knowledge of the language, lack of usage of those terms.”

One participant, asked about the impact of media coverage on Māori development, said:

“..if you're talking about development, then that and language for me go hand in hand ... it would be great to have more of that because I think ... that would help with the development of not just Māori ... but of New Zealand, actually.”

Another also affirmed its value: “..it's hearing your own voice, hearing about your people and your stories.”

However, two participants spoke about negative Pākehā reactions to the use of te reo. One said:

“..how it affects the non-Māori groups .. is highly important... if it's not presented in the right way.. people will hate it anyway without even thinking about it, and so ..the way Māori news is presented is absolutely important and has to be treated with the utmost care so that it is ... palatable in order for it to work.”

Response to newspaper article about fresh water ownership

Two participants said the article (see Appendix 5) was poorly written:

“..they're actually not giving you enough information. I actually don't understand what's being said there... the Māori party is saying that in some cases ... Māori may retain customary rights.”

“They never say in what cases that is... It goes on to ..polarising it into yes or no. Then there is a glib dismissal at the end .. they have just dismissed the whole debate.”

They wanted the item to say where readers could “go to find out more information”.

Another agreed: “The article doesn't seem to have much substance to me.”

A third “found it incredibly boring.” The fourth disagreed: “I don't think that it was poorly written.”

One summarised the message:

“I think that what people would get from reading this article is that the Māori Party has made yet another outrageous claim ... It reminds me of a whole lot of stories just like this.. minerals under the sea was another one.”

Another participant said:

“..this is the problem that I have with [this] type of reporting ... because people are going to get .. stereotypical views [and] ... start conflating really important issues in really black and white ideas of the Māori..”

“Protect your drain pipes!”

“Yeah.”

“Annette Sykes was reported by *Waatea News* on 13 February 2008 as saying that Māori Television and some Māori reporters working on some mainstream media outlets are failing to provide balance when reporting on Tame Iti, in that ... the images selected are sensational ones of spitting and baring buttocks, while there are no images of Iti as the beloved father, grandfather and partner. The reporters, she says, have failed to report in a kaupapa Māori manner.”

Sue Abel, 2008

“ **But for whatever reason, it is illusory to develop policies, programmes and practices that purport to be ‘blind’ to race and ethnicity, when for an increasingly large number of people an ethnic orientation underlies both personal and collective identity, provides pathways to participation in society, and largely influences the ways in which societal institutions and systems respond to their needs.**

”

Mason Durie, 2004

Response to television news item

One participant said:

“They didn’t actually ask any of the people that were [at Waitangi] .. what is it about the Treaty that you want honoured; [where do] you think there has been injustice? Why is it that you were out here today and what part of it can be changed..? It didn’t get a sound bite.”

“They asked closed questions, like ‘so the weather didn’t keep you away today?’ When they could have asked ‘what brought you here today in the rain?’ Which would have been a much more interesting ... answer possibly.”

Another participant said: “you’ve got no history there – so you’re not seeing the history about those people.”

In a discussion of how coverage of Māori could be improved one participant said:

“..the Treaty is about Māori and the Crown, which is a different thing [from] Māori versus Pākehā, which I think is a big mistake that gets made, so that portrayal in the media needs to be dropped.”

1 WAITANGI DAY

Abel (1997) showed that TVNZ coverage of Waitangi Day 1990 emphasised the protests, party politics and the Queen. That coverage did not include several important issues: the gathering of iwi, “the significance and effect of the waka, [and] the debate about the Treaty” (p. 34).

As Waitangi Day 2007 was part of our sample we have been able to see whether there have been significant changes in the way the day is reported. This case study included 42 TV items broadcast on Waitangi Day (see Appendix 1), together with 57 news stories and 13 opinion pieces from 23 newspapers from February 6 to 9.

Newspapers

At Waitangi

Twenty-six stories focused on the lack of tension, anger or confrontation that had made previous year’s stories newsworthy. For example on February 6, the *Marlborough Express*, the *Nelson Mail* and *Manawatu Standard* ran headlines highlighting the lack of protest.

Focussing, as so many papers did, on the weather (most, including the major dailies, made this their opening paragraph or headline) the media also exemplified those reduced to small talk rather than vital discussion.

The cluster of stories around the call by Hone Harawira for a Treaty commissioner contributed to the theme of harmony, with the *Dominion Post* running the headline “Harawira the peacemaker” on February 7. This echoed the status of his ancestor Tamati Waka Nene in the original Treaty debates.

Waitangi Day elsewhere

In contrast to the stories from Waitangi, the major theme in coverage of celebrations in many communities elsewhere was peace, fun and enjoyment. Nineteen stories covered such activities on February 6, including a reggae based festival in Wellington (*Capital Times*), harmony in Tauranga in the context of the return of Mauao to iwi (*Bay of Plenty Times*), celebrations and discussions at Onuku (*Southland Times*), and a peace and remembrance gathering in Dunedin (*Otago Daily Times*).

Two inaugural celebrations included a successful event in Timaru (*Timaru Herald*) and a race meeting fun day at Tauherenikau, Masterton.

Newspaper opinion

Twenty-five articles and opinion pieces aired and debated views about the role of the Treaty and Waitangi Day in public life.

For example, the *Ashburton Guardian* and *Taranaki Daily News* ran a syndicated story on February 6 arguing that the Treaty and celebrations polarise the population, while the *New Zealand Herald* on February 3 reported with approval John Key advocating that the Treaty be “embraced and celebrated”.

Several papers covered Peter Dunne’s argument that we need a separate “New Zealand Day”. The *Wanganui Chronicle* suggested on February 9 that the Treaty makes us who we are. Several papers including the *Waikato Times*, *Dominion Post* and the *Taranaki Daily News* on February 6 assembled panels of well-known commentators from both sides of the debate to give their views, while others used the vox pop format.

Some commentaries included a vigorous new element that moved beyond the familiar binaries. These writers argued that the Treaty, while inescapably a source of tension and a goad to self-examination, is also a key determinant of national identity.

For example, the *Dominion Post* (February 6), the *National Business Review* and the *Wanganui Chronicle* (February 9) wrote of the Treaty as a challenging but vital part of our national identity, as the struggles we experience over the Treaty are a unique feature of our national life and consciousness, helping to forge culture and traditions that distinguish us from any other nation.

Other articles discussed an opinion poll finding that 55% of respondents rated the Treaty negatively; 43% had a different position, with young people and Māori predictably more positive.

The *Northern Advocate* and the *Bay of Plenty Times* (on February 3) reported Professor Paul Moon as endorsing the idea that the poll reflected widespread indifference to the Treaty; however, another reading is that he was warning those who are pro-Treaty to get on with its promotion.

Television

English-language television

In the 26 items broadcast on *Prime News*, *One News*, *Tonight* and *3 News* (Appendix 1) we found obvious similarities to the newspaper coverage.

“The events at Waitangi may seem like posturing, on all sides, but it doesn’t take much digging to see why it’s a necessary annual ritual.”

Chris Bourke, 2008

At Waitangi

On English-language TV Waitangi, the place, was consistently linked to politics, especially protest. As both politics and protest emphasise confrontations, that encourages viewers to see the place and the Treaty as divisive.

The *One News* bulletin opened: “Hundreds of protestors converged on Waitangi” and newsreaders, reporters and the cameras constantly told viewers, referring to protest that “some things will never change” (*One News*, second item).

The first item intercut excerpts from an interview with Titewhai Harawira, who was called “the face of protest at Waitangi” and titled “Activist”, with shots of her grand-daughter marshalling the 2007 march.

As with the newspapers the absence of violence - “no fists flying” (*3 News*); “not a single blow was thrown” (*One News*) - was contrasted to the “anger and violence” (*One News*) of previous years.

Even party political “sparring” (*One News*, *3 News*, *Tonight*) was linked to protest through the leaders’ sound-bites. Helen Clark explained the “calm across Waitangi” (*One News*, *3 News*, *Tonight*) was due to improved economic and social outcomes for Māori. John Key referred to “pain and some wrongs haven’t been righted” (*One News*, *3 News*, *Tonight*).

The three earlier bulletins (*Prime News*, *One News*, *3 News*) made much of the violence of the weather that buffeted people and tents, lashed the Treaty Grounds, and disrupted the programme.

Waitangi Day elsewhere

Representations of 12 Waitangi Day events in Auckland, Manukau, Porirua, Wellington, Dunedin and Banks Peninsula emphasised unity and enjoyment of “sun, food and music”.

Coverage of four festivals - Groove in the Park, One Love, Porirua, and Manukau - emphasised a relaxed enjoyment and bringing people together.

The *One News* round-up began: “Sun on their faces, reggae on the PA - hard to imagine Waitangi Day was ever associated with division”. Similarly *Prime News* cast the day as “just another holiday”, adding, rather inaccurately, “not a flag or politician in sight”.

The Governor-General spoke of including everyone (*3 News*), and a festival-goer said the day was: “Celebrating New Zealand, celebrating being one people” (*One News*).

The air of carefree hedonism was captured by the *Tonight* reporter: “... in most places waiata rang through the sky, kai sizzled in the sun ... enjoy the day and feel the unity”.

These representations built on the stormy weather

at Waitangi and sunny calm elsewhere to provide an emotionally loaded contrast, emphasised by visuals from Waitangi and elsewhere.

One News and *3 News* emphasised the Made from New Zealand.com event in the USA as a celebration and promotion, giving considerable airtime to the economic aspects and values; TV *One* reported that Waitangi Day can include “commerce as well as culture. That a patriotic day can become a branding opportunity.”

This commodification of Māori aspirations was portrayed as a satisfying and welcome aspect of the day, a perspective that was not evident in Māori language TV.

Māori-language television

The coverage of Waitangi Day on *Te Kaea* and *Te Karere* (Appendix 1) put participants and the issues they considered significant in the foreground at the different events.

Te Kaea (11pm, MTS)

The presenter introduced the bulletin speaking live to camera from Waitangi. That simple device held the various segments of Waitangi Day together as the bulletin traversed issues and events nationally and internationally.

Here protest was legitimated. Dun Mihaka, titled “Tohunga Porotehi” (skilled protestor), said “we need to speak out on hard issues”, adding that the protest must be “worthwhile and appropriate”. Paraphrasing him, the reporter reminded viewers of times when “White police swamped” the Treaty Grounds. Now “they have a Māori face” and violence has been absent for two years.

Interviewed participants included Hone and Titewhai Harawira, kaumatua, Bishop Kitohi Pikahu, and leaders of Te Whakaminenga o Ngā Hapū (Confederation of Tribes).

Topics included the significance of land ownership and native title, honouring tupuna, the future of mokopuna, the importance of hapū, iwi and kaumatua coming together, understanding the meaning of te Tiriti and Waitangi Day, and how te Tiriti binds Māori and non-Māori. The programme gave politicians attending Waitangi little airtime.

Events outside Waitangi included Hamilton, where Tainui and the Waikato river issues were mentioned, although the focus was on the festival as a unifying occasion. Other venues were Onuku Marae, for a celebration and honouring of Sir Tipene O’Regan, Gisborne, and Whanganui-a-Tara.

Those interviewed spoke of the importance of whānau, global indigenous rights, honouring and promoting te Tiriti, tupuna and tino rangatira-tanga, alongside the promotion of goodwill and harmony.

“ Another Waitangi Day in which the usual parade of politicians and protestors confront and avoid each other, in which the professional grievance industry bewail their fate and issue further demands for the taxpayer to give ‘til it hurts.”

Peter Cresswell, 2008

Two international events were reported. From Santa Monica came the launch of the Made from New Zealand.com initiative in USA, which linked the celebration of Waitangi Day with the indigenous Tongva people, making only a brief reference to its promotional aspect.

Coverage of Waitangi Day in Sydney emphasised the need to inform Māori about Waitangi Day, the importance of whānaungatanga, tupuna, indigenous unity globally and tino rangatiratanga.

Te Karere (TV One)

The coverage generally affirmed the Treaty of Waitangi and the possibility of a unified Aotearoa that celebrated diversity. Of the Waitangi service a spokesman said “there were people from Samoa, Rarotonga, China and Pākehā at the service”.

Another interviewee pointed out that “people ... came (to Waitangi) for different reasons”, emphasising the diversity. Rather than the emphasis on “protest”, Waitangi was described as the site where “The Treaty was signed and fiercely debated in recent years... this is the birthplace”.

Party political divisions were acknowledged with National and Labour scored for their presence at Waitangi. Weather was only mentioned as an indication of the commitment those attending Waitangi had shown in participating. Other Treaty issues raised in the bulletin included land claims, confiscations, and the foreshore and seabed legislation.

Only *Te Karere* reported on the proposal by New Zealand First to remove the principles of te Tiriti from legislation and the education curriculum. The Dunedin hikoi, mentioned on *One News* and *Tonight*, was described as honouring “ancestors affected by racist laws of New Zealand Governments”.

In this representation, the main theme was the historical and ancestral significance of te Tiriti o Waitangi and its relevance to current and future generations.

Summary

Neither *Te Kaea* nor *Te Karere* employed the contrast between Waitangi and elsewhere that was so prominent in English-language representations. The entire bulletins of both programmes was given to representations of Waitangi Day.

Mass media coverage in 2007 differed little from that offered in 1990. Protest remained the dominant theme in coverage of events at Waitangi, although the 1990 dichotomy of “wild Māori/tame Māori” that Abel identified was less prominent.

An emphasis on a total “unity” in “our national

day” and “being one people” (*One News*) remained strong. Unsurprisingly, Māori-language items did not rely on this notion of a homogeneous “one people”, preferring to speak of diverse people coming or working together.

In Māori-language items unity was created by the participants in an event like the service on Mauao (Mount Maunganui, *Te Karere*, item 5), or efforts to challenge the Crown and advance tino rangatiratanga (*Te Kaea*, items 1 and 2).

In contrast to the other news channels, politicians were in the minority on *Te Kaea* with more time given to diverse Māori voices and perspectives.

2 FLYING THE FLAGS

Waitangi Day TV news stories included mentions and visuals of the flying of the Tino Rangatiratanga and United Tribes of New Zealand flags. All TV news programmes except *Te Karere* reported on the flying of the flag on Maungakiekie (*One Tree Hill*).

Two newspaper stories, one about flags on volcanic cones in Auckland and one about the bid to fly the flag on the Harbour Bridge, were the focus of 21 stories in 15 metropolitan and provincial newspapers. In the various news items covering Waitangi Day, the two flags were also referred to as the “Māori” flags.

Prime News, *One News*, *3 News* and *Tonight* all named Maungakiekie only as One Tree Hill. MTS subtitled Maungakiekie as One Tree Hill and Tamaki Makaurau as Auckland.

All newspaper items (except the *New Zealand Herald* and the *Northern Advocate*) referred only to One Tree Hill. The exceptions, syndicated repeats, used One Tree Hill first and then “One Tree Hill or Maungakiekie”.

Television

Te Kaea presented a short item on February 3 about the refusal of Transit New Zealand to allow the flying of the Tino Rangatiratanga flag on Auckland’s Harbour Bridge.

It included a brief justification supported by Anglican bishops, arguing that the flag has been flown at Waitangi and in hikoi for almost 20 years. The flag was described as “representing Māori aspirations”.

Te Kaea referred to the flag flyers as “protestors”. Sources interviewed on MTS reiterated the significance of the flags: Dan Davis of Ngāti Whatua said it “signifies to non-Māori that we have our own supreme authority”. Interviewees, except for Green Party MP Keith Locke, were all Māori men identified by name and iwi affiliations.

“ the beauty of Waitangi Day is that it represents an annual stocktaking day for the Maori/Pakeha relationship - not necessarily the real relationship but the theoretical one.”

Luke Williamson, 2008

“ In March 1834, New Zealand adopted its first flag [the United Tribes of New Zealand flag] at a meeting of Maori and Europeans called by British Resident James Busby at Waitangi ... so that ships built in New Zealand could be registered - unregistered ships in international waters risked seizure and the impounding of cargo. The flag later featured in a Shaw Savill Line postcard. ”

NZ Herald insert, *Our Treaty*
- Where it all began, 2008

Speaking of the flags flying on Maungakiekie, the *Te Kaea* reporter said that “our flag will be recognised”. Visuals of the flags were prominent throughout the item. During the Waitangi Day coverage the programme also mentioned the handing over of the Tino Rangatiratanga flag to the “next generation” in the struggle for self-determination.

On February 6 all the TV mass news programmes briefly referred to Transit’s refusal to allow the flag to fly on the harbour bridge. *Prime News* and *One News* items began on One Tree Hill, the former calling the event “celebrations”, the latter “protests” before mentioning the Transit ban. Only *One News* and *Tonight* items included clips of sources, a mix of Māori and Pākehā.

One News opened the item with a description of the flag as a “symbol for many New Zealanders marking our national day”. It then reported that the “Māori symbol of liberation and identity” was selling out fast.

Coverage moved from Maungakiekie as a “place of protest” to a Dunedin hikoi that flew the flag. This was intercut with interviews with residents of “some of our poshest suburbs” who flew the flag, where it was described as not “just” a “symbol of marches and protests”.

The item mentioned a general unfamiliarity with the flag and ended with the reporter saying that Māori hope for “greater recognition of their flag”, underlining that hope with visuals of the Tino Rangatiratanga flag.

Tonight began the item: “a simple red, white and black flag reminded everyone there are still grievances to be resolved”. The segment linked the flying of the flags at Waitangi and Maungakiekie, reporting that there was no “sign” of “anger or violence” at Waitangi and no “fists flying but flags”.

The Tino Rangatiratanga flag was also called the “silent symbol of Māori protest”. The reporter concluded that supporters hoped the flag would become a “symbol of unity on Waitangi Day”.

The Tino Rangatiratanga flag was introduced by 3 News during live coverage at Waitangi where bad weather assisted the flags to fly “proudly”. In the studio the presenter said that “civil disobedience... failed to materialise” with a caption of “One More Flag” over a still shot of Maungakiekie and the Tino Rangatiratanga flag. This and the United Tribes of New Zealand banner were described as “flags of protest”.

Prime News also briefly reported on the flying of the flags, described as the Tino Rangatiratanga and Declaration of Māori Independence flags, from Maungakiekie and mentioned the cultural significance of the location.

Te Karere (TV One) showed how a large flag of Te Whakaminenga o Ngā Hapū (the United Tribes) was the centre of the dawn service on Te Tii marae. It was said to have “led the ceremonies” before it was “taken out and raised to its rightful place”.

Newspapers

Flying the Tino Rangatiratanga flag was a prominent newspaper topic in early February. On February 3, several papers reported Transit New Zealand’s rejection of the request to fly the flag from the bridge in seven stories, emphasising the challenge and conflict that this represented.

Some writers refer to the significance of the bridge, the protocol that only national flags are raised there, and to the actions of Hone Heke at Kororareka. The focus then shifted to Maungakiekie where newspapers widely reported the flying of multiple flags in 15 stories, many with photographs.

The first group of stories included snippets, longer stories with photographs and two editorials, and represented multiple opinions. Among these were the Prime Minister’s, who was reported as saying that it was not an issue and in future the request could be granted.

The *New Zealand Herald* on February 7 reported in detail on the Transit decision. The refusal to allow the Tino Rangatiratanga flag on the bridge was backed by the engagement of six “contractors” stationed on the bridge leading up to Waitangi Day to prevent “protestors” from getting access, and the arrangement of special “police access” to the bridge as necessary.

It noted in the second story that the Tino Rangatiratanga flag was flown from six other Auckland peaks on February 6 and the Confederation flag was also flown.

While there is evident acceptance of this activity, several markers in headlines and elsewhere suggest the tension entailed; the terms “Māori activists” (*Otago Daily Times*), “protestors” (*Hawkes Bay Times*, *Ashburton Guardian*) and “flagwavers” (*Nelson Mail*) are used and one *New Zealand Herald* story refers to the banners as “colours”, evoking martial associations.

Two items headline the term “handheld”, evoking the notion that any advance by Māori was minor. Several of the stories mention the cutting of the tree on Maungakiekie or quoted Kingi Taurua as stating that Maungakiekie is a better site for the action because the Harbour Bridge has no meaning or wairua for Māori.

Summary

One News, *3 News* and the print media emphasised that flying the flag issued a challenge and was a potential source of conflict.

The linking of disobedience, violence (even though named in its absence), Māori protest and grievances with the Tino Rangatiratanga flag hinted at possible threats and disturbances.

Some newspaper items reinforced the threat by referring to the significance of the bridge, implying that the request was inappropriate, and referring to previous Māori actions of chopping down flagpoles and One Tree Hill's tree. There were no similar references or implications made on *Te Kaea*.

MTS referred to the flag as “to tatou” (our – all of us) flag, and conveys a Māori-centred perspective that is new to our screens. *One News* referred to the flag as “their”, flag evoking the familiar dichotomy of us (the viewers) and them (Māori/Other) that Abel (1997) identified in earlier media constructions of Waitangi Day.

One News' positive reporting on retail sales of the flag attached an economic value to the flag, in contrast to emphasis in *Te Kaea* on the aspirations and values of unity and tino rangatiratanga.

3 FISHERIES

Television

Eight TV items, three on TV One, one on *3 News*, and four on *Te Kaea*, focused on Māori concerns about a Government *Shared Fisheries* proposal to take fishing quotas from the commercial fishing industry to provide greater amounts to the recreational sector. This would result in a greater share of fisheries resources going unreported and could erode the value of fisheries settlements between the Crown and iwi.

Mass news items emphasised disagreement and positioned Māori as combative and unreasonable. The emphasis was on present discord and possible continued conflict between Māori and Pākehā; Te Ohu Kaimoana, recreational fishers and Government; and between Māori Party MPs and Labour Party Māori MPs. One item suggested that the issue may be “too difficult to resolve”.

Mass news items used language derived from fighting, arguments, and battle, including “screaming”, “hysterical”, “fight” and “hard won”. A *One News* item (March 11) introduced and trivialised the issue as “a racial spat”.

This Māori versus Pākehā frame was made explicit in the Minister of Fisheries' construction of Māori as a threat to “Mr and Mrs Brown and

their kids” catching “a few decent fish for tea”.

In all but one item, Minister Jim Anderton's quotes were belittling and aggressive. In one instance he described Māori concerns as “hysterical and ridiculous”, adding that they should “get a life”.

His description in a *3 News* item of Māori as wanting to “stir up the issue” explicitly evoked the Stirrers theme and went unchallenged in the item.

Anderton consistently minimised Māori concerns and positioned himself and the Government, as reasonably defending the average family. He did this by evoking romantic and nostalgic images of “Kiwi” recreational fishers, whose right to fish he was protecting.

The mass news items contributed to his construction of Māori commercial fishing interests as a threat to the New Zealand way of life by juxtaposing images of commercial fishing practices and workplaces, which were not romantic, with romanticised images of recreational fishing.

The items reiterated the large financial interest Māori have in the issue: “...up to a hundred million dollars worth of assets are at stake”.

In contrast, *Te Kaea* items used less inflammatory language and promoted the potential for resolution of the issue. Although the proposal was described as a breach of the Treaty, legal recourse looked likely and protest was possible, the coverage was ultimately conciliatory and the focus on the greater good of those on all sides of the issue.

In one March 23 item, Māori speakers with different positions both emphasised trying to resolve the issue and prevent further injustices.

Protest was presented positively as a way to prevent future problems. Jim Anderton was used as a major source in a March 27 item after negotiations had been held on the issue and what he was heard saying was less overtly aggressive and more conciliatory.

Newspapers

The 10 newspaper fisheries stories included four on Te Ohu Kaimoana dispersal of assets, three on the Government' *Shared Fisheries* discussion document, two on impacts of local control of reserves by Māori at Tauranga and Kaikoura, and one other item.

Most of the items presented multiple takes on the threat of Māori control of commercial and other fishing assets. The largest cluster, on the Te Ohu Kaimoana dispersals, was reported neutrally.

However, Māori ownership of significant economic assets presented a significant challenge to conventional assumptions about business and control, presented in the three items where Māori

“ **The Treaty is a document of nebulous value and significance, and is undeserving of the reverence in which we now hold it.** ”

Bruce Sheppard, 2008

“ of the millions of events which occur every day in the world, only a tiny proportion ever become visible as ‘potential news stories’: and of this proportion, only a small fraction are actually produced as the day’s news in the news media.”

Stuart Hall, 1981

representatives of fisheries and political interests responded to *Shared Fisheries*.

The Māori position as owner of the largest commercial fishing operation in the country meant that their voice was highly influential and easily regarded as “privileged” by the recreational fishers lobby, which positioned itself as representing an important established right of the common people (to catch a fish).

Two other single stories also evoked the Privilege theme. The first suggested that the new iwi management of Mauao (Mt Maunganui) might impose mataitai (seafood) restrictions around the reserve; the second described concerns that set-net restrictions in the Kaipara might disadvantage them.

4 MEDIA TALK ABOUT MEDIA

These eight newspaper items focused on five different media topics in publications ranging from small rural weeklies to front page metropolitan dailies. Three items represented media reactions to the request from Te Tii Marae at Waitangi for a koha to film on the marae grounds.

Another three focused on Aroha Ireland’s presence at Waitangi with National leader John Key. The remaining items discussed media representation at two different Rotorua events, and the appointment of the first intern in the Fairfax journalism intern programme.

One item about Te Tii charging media admission to its grounds for filming and reporting was written by *New Zealand Herald* Māori issues reporter Jon Stokes and repeated, slightly abridged, in the *Otago Daily Times*. Another original item appeared in the *Northern Advocate*.

The first paragraph of Stokes’ article started: “Controversy erupted” involving “threats of violence ... and requests for thousands of dollars to report from the historic site”.

This opening sentence associated Waitangi and, by implication, the Treaty with conflict, and evoked two negative themes that undermine Māori - Māori and violence, and Māori management of money.

The item positioned Māori as demanding; they are “understood” to have asked for another donation from MTS for a second day’s filming. An unnamed source described Māori as threatening and intimidating a cameraman.

The item mentioned that the ban on media was due to “past media behaviour and breaches of protocol”, but those were neither described nor acknowledged. Leaving out the context constructed the charge as a one-sided imposition

by allegedly frustrated Māori on to implicitly innocent and excluded reporters.

Ngāpuhi elders declined to comment for the story; it quoted MPs Shane Jones and Tau Henare who both belittled the charges and an “unaware” Hone Harawira. Only in the last sentence did Henare mention that the marae was private property.

The *Northern Advocate* item started with a less prejudicial frame, saying that “Media are being asked to pay” to go on to “the Waitangi Marae” to cover Treaty anniversary activities.

However, this naming, followed by Te Tii Marae in the second paragraph, and a subsequent use of “Waitangi Marae” was likely to confuse readers who did not know the difference between the public Whare Runanga on the Treaty Grounds and Te Tii Marae on Ngāpuhi land.

The *Northern Advocate* quoted a named Māori TV publicist who described the koha as an ordinary part of reporting: “It’s the Māori thing to do - you pay your own way.” However, the item then noted that “the Waitangi Marae” had received “substantial state funding” to cover the costs of Treaty anniversary commemorations, evoking the Financial Probity theme.

The implication was that the Marae had had unfair access to funding and that the money may have been mismanaged, as a Marae spokeswoman was quoted about toilets that are broken.

The article twice mentioned Marae expectations of media coverage, saying it was told that “positive” coverage would be required to ensure admission next year.

Once, tellingly, the item quoted another reporter describing marae “officials” as “a bit uppity”, a phrase associated with rebellious Black slaves in the American South. Their “uppity” behaviour consisted of “dictating” how a report should be compiled.

These simplistic and insulting comments echoed those of media items about the original media ban in 2003, analysed by Abel, which implied that Ngāpuhi wanted to censor media coverage of Waitangi Day events on the marae.

The original reasons for the ban concerned the way some images shot on the marae atea on the day were continually given prominence over others, or were used in a particular way to tell a particular version of events. That earlier coverage also failed to distinguish between the two marae.

The three NZPA items about Aroha Ireland at Waitangi are notable for their first sentence, which said the 12-year-old had “hogged the Waitangi Day spotlight usually reserved for Māori protesters”.

The implication, as in Abel's previous items about the Ngāpuhi media ban, was that news "just happens", that the spotlight moves by itself. The role of the mass media in deciding what Waitangi will be remembered for was made to vanish. The sentence also took for granted that "Māori protesters" with "grievances" who disrupted Waitangi day celebrations were central to the event, a view not shared by focus group members who had been there.

The *Piako Post's* long article about its new Māori intern was notable for leaving any mention of her ethnicity to the second to last paragraph and omitting her iwi affiliations. The journalism intern initiative was reported to be "designed to encourage a broader range of people to take up journalism as a career", but potential Māori journalists may have viewed this report of her success differently from the casual, smiling group of Fairfax managers who surrounded her in the photograph.

A long opinion piece in the *Rotorua Review* exposed some of the behind-the-scenes media jostling for position at public events when it compared its reporter's exclusion from the opening of the Rotorua Energy Events Centre with the ceremony at "the Marae at Ohinemutu" where Prince Andrew honoured Te Arawa soldier Hanne Manahi. It concluded: "Here's a cheer for the openness of the marae!"

“ Third class passengers on the Titanic were twice as likely to die as first class passengers. Why? Were poor people so stupid that they forgot to pack their wetsuits? Or were the parents of the poor people on the Titanic so neglectful that they failed to teach their children to swim? Obviously, these are ridiculous explanations. The reasons were structural. There were only enough lifeboats available for the first class passengers, and doors were locked preventing third class passengers accessing the lifeboats. ”

Blakely & Robson, 2003

“ **The full expression of tino rangatiratanga positions Māori statistical needs as being equally as valid as those of the total population, and challenges the Crown to meet those needs as part of its Treaty obligations.** ”

Bridget Robson and Papaarangi Reid, 2001

TE REO MĀORI

Our data showed very low levels of use of te reo Māori by one of the premium language institutions of our society. Our representative newspaper sample of Māori newspaper stories used on average a little over two words of te reo for which there is an English alternative per item, a clear indicator of its low priority.

Nearly half of the stories in the sample did not use a single Māori word that could be avoided, and of those that did, a quarter used only one. Just three words of te reo (iwi, marae and Pākehā) made up nearly one third of those used. The number of misspellings, misuses and language cross-overs (such as maraes) was high.

The proportion of newspaper items using words of te reo and the average number of words per item was constant in our two studies.

The 2007 sample was almost double the number of 2004 stories, but the vocabulary did not increase proportionately and the number of words and phrases left untranslated remained the same (2007: 60; 2004: 62). Two of the three words most commonly used in each study – iwi and Pākehā – were the same.

As with our data from 2004, there was a cluster of papers that making better use of te reo than others; the *New Zealand Herald*, the *Daily Post* and the *Bay of Plenty Times* were near the top in both studies. Those that performed poorly in both samples included the *Greymouth Evening Star*, the *West Coast Times* and the *Dannevirke Evening News*.

Fifty-nine percent of words in te reo were found in items generated by the newspaper's own staff. If moves to centralise production result in fewer locally-produced stories, the proportion of te reo in newspapers could fall below its already low level.

Overall there was little movement on this parameter between 2004 and 2007, but the comparative work shows that monitoring te reo produces a viable and useful indicator.

There is clearly plenty of room for improvement, and we are happy to note that some of the papers that made the greatest contribution included some with high circulation as well as those that served areas of high Māori populations.

MEDIA THEMES

Cumulatively, the health stories that mentioned Māori positioned them in a health crisis. Health and social stories routinely compared Māori with

Pākehā without any mention of the impacts of past punitive state policies. Effects of monocultural health and social services were made invisible.

Representations of Māori as protestors, agitators and objectors were also common in stories about the Treaty, land and Māori/Pākehā relations.

Mass media constructions of Waitangi Day seemed stuck in a rut. They represented potential threat by emphasising the absence of protestor violence and the presence of nature's violence at Waitangi.

While Māori language television referred to protest and weather, it was not a key theme and on *Te Kaea* the weather was linked to the commitment of those who remained at Waitangi.

Similarly, mass media reporting on fisheries framed Māori commercial fishing interests as a threat to New Zealanders, whereas *Te Kaea* placed the debate within a Tiriti framework and the potential for resolution.

As in previous years, what was said in iwi discussions after the pōwhiri was treated as irrelevant for mass audiences. The triviality of this impoverished frame is shown up clearly by the thoughtful representations of iwi discussions at Waitangi and around the country on *Te Kaea* and *Te Karere*.

There, protest was depicted as a legitimate tactic for achieving justice, and veteran Māori rights activists were given honoured titles rather than loaded labels. However, while *Te Kaea* represented protest in a positive frame, like the other news channels it used labels such as “protester” rather than “Māori rights campaigner”.

The difference in focus was also stark in the stories about the flags. Mass media again predicted civil disobedience and then reported its lack, while ignoring the justice issues the flags represent.

In many land stories, ongoing Māori concerns as kaitiaki or tangata whenua were presented as an interruption of business as usual for property and environment in non-Māori hands.

The Privilege theme is an enduring and self-serving Pākehā perspective, which enabled Māori to be viewed simultaneously as poor, sick and a drain on “the taxpayer” while also having privileges unfairly denied to Pākehā.

This theme was clear in stories about abolishing the Māori seats, which consistently fail to give their political history; for example, their creation as a way to contain the Māori vote. The UN

Special Rapporteur's dismissal of the existence of "Māori privilege" seemed to have had no impact on media support of this theme.

Financial probity stories also remained a fixture, stigmatising Māori as a whole as unreliable with money. While a group of positive Māori newspaper stories avoided these stereotypes, it was clear from the focus group discussions that audiences found the negative themes had a much greater impact.

A new thread emerging in this sample attaches an economic value to Waitangi Day and the Tino Rangatiratanga flag, reminiscent of neo-liberalism. TV One and TV 3 present commerce and commodification of Māori sovereignty and rights as positive and enhancing.

SOURCES

Māori resources and te Tiriti are core Māori issues, so it is no surprise that more Māori than Pākehā sources were used in both media in this sample. The proportion of Māori sources used in our 2007 TV sample (66%) was higher than in 2004 (43%) due to the inclusion of *Te Karere* and *Te Kaea*.

These programmes are required to use a high proportion of fluent speakers to fulfil their remit of promoting te reo Māori. The Mayor of Gisborne, Meng Foon, interviewed in 2007 on *Te Kaea* about the Gisborne earthquake, is a rare example of a non-Māori able to be interviewed in te reo.

However, on mass TV news in 2007 only 55% of sources were Māori. The proportion of Māori sources in newspapers in 2007 increased by a similar percentage (10%), but still amounted to less than half.

Māori men made up almost all of the increase in Māori newspaper sources. Newspapers quoted twice as many Māori men as Māori women in both samples. The proportion of Pākehā women to Pākehā men increased from one-quarter to one-third in 2007, but the proportion of Pākehā women in the whole sample (8%) was identical in both years.

Mass TV news used more than three times as many male as female sources, compared to Māori programmes, where women made up nearly half the sources. This consistent pattern across both media reflected media choice of source as well as the gender mix in the pool of possible sources on the issues reported.

It indicates that there may be more space in the Māori than the Pākehā world for women to be spokespeople, as well as an ongoing media preference for male sources. The higher proportion

of Māori female sources than Pākehā sits alongside ongoing media depictions of Māori culture as more sexist than Pākehā culture.

Television and newspaper use of sources by role in this sample was consistent; under a third represented Government (TV: 28%; papers: 31%); 23% represented iwi and around 17% were non-Government MPs. However, the TV percentages are deceptive, as mass TV news programmes relied heavily on Government sources and used only a small proportion of iwi sources. There was no consistent pattern in the order in which sources were quoted by ethnicity or role.

Te Kaea and *Te Karere* let sources speak for much longer than the mass news programmes. Since more than four out of five of their sources were Māori and represented iwi, this contributed to the longer average speaking time of Māori and iwi representatives across the whole 2007 sample.

Despite the higher proportion of Māori sources in the 2007 sample, the proportion of newspaper items using non-Māori sources only (22%) was almost identical with that in the whole Māori stories newspaper sample in our 2004 sample. This indicates newspaper reliance on Pākehā authority figures to set agendas for Māori issues.

Monitoring sources provides a valuable indicator that can be tracked over time on a range of useful dimensions to rate media performance.

AUDIENCE MEANINGS

For the first time, our focus groups enabled us to indicate some of the meanings that audiences draw from news media representations of Māori. These interviews showed that media representations of Māori were not an abstract issue, but one that could have a regular negative impact on people's lives.

They suggested that every time news media depict Māori as threatening or privileged, thousands of Māori may face hostility or prejudice the next day in their interactions with Pākehā.

Māori and non-Māori focus group participants viewed mass media representations as unbalanced, negative and frequently depicting Māori as extreme or threatening.

They saw such constructions as re-inforcing divisive discourses about Māori and Māori Pākehā relations, as seen in the focus on protest over days of Waitangi Day commemorations. Mass media coverage was seen as often superficial, decontextualised and commercial.

The effects were seen as damaging to the health and wellbeing of Māori participants, and reinforcing negative Pākehā perceptions of Māori.

“References to the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi in legislation and policy are essential if Māori health is to be improved and racism in health addressed.”

Public Health Association submission to the Justice and Electoral Committee considering the Principles of the Treaty of Waitangi Deletion Bill, July 2007

“the English Acts Act 1854 was New Zealand’s first race-based policy. Built on the presumption that English common law had a universal dimension, the culture, customs and conventions of Britain were imposed on all New Zealanders to the benefit of a few. Then Māori outnumbered settlers.”

Mason Durie, 2004

Unlike the mass media that used a narrow range of Māori opinion, participants saw MTS as fairer, more balanced and responsive with a wide range of locations and communities and a good spectrum of sources. Non-Māori participants also enjoyed the less sensational approach of Maori programmes.

Accurate use of te reo Māori by mass media was strongly appreciated by Māori members, and the non-Māori focus group members also wanted to hear more of the language in the news. Māori expressed some criticism of the experience and professionalism of MTS journalists. They were eager to see Māori journalism develop to the point where it was competing with mass media, and “staunch” Māori journalists were fronting both MTS and mass media programmes.

Their suggestions for improving coverage included increased training and resourcing, more detail and context about Treaty clauses and breaches, better links with the interests of other marginalised groups, more Māori and local content, research and action over existing media performance.

“GOOD” AND “BAD” NEWS

The balance between these categories in 2007 was quite different from our 2004 assessment. The preponderance of neutral newspaper items and the strong showing of neutral TV items were encouraging, compared to the 46% of newspaper and 75% of TV items that were coded as “bad” news in 2004.

However, this may be a reflection of the Treaty and resource items compared with the whole Māori stories sample.

In 2007 TV coverage the greater proportion of “good” news stories is likely to reflect the specialist Māori coverage now available.

However, these categories can only be very broad indicators. If we had found the same heavy weighting towards “bad” news in 2007 as we did in 2004 that would be cause for greater concern. Discourse analysis in the case studies shows that items coded as neutral can still represent Māori as a problem.

In both our studies, items taken from NZPA and stablemate publications included a much higher proportion rated as “bad” news compared to stories originating with the newspaper’s own staff.

This indicates that the sub-editors who select these items consistently rate stories that are bad news for or about Māori as more newsworthy than “good” news.

This is a disturbing finding, given owners’ moves towards increased media centralisation.

CONFLICT

Newspaper stories in 2007 had a slightly lower rate (57% compared to 60%) of stories coded for conflict than in 2004, and the rate in TV was almost identical (54%). Again, local reporting in newspapers is important in producing coverage with less focus on conflict.

SILENCES

The analysis reveals multiple inadequacies in the level of background explanation provided. The assumption that readers know about te Tiriti or settlement processes is clearly false, given one of the stories about just that issue in this sample, and therefore is no justification for this information vacuum.

The absence of links between current issues and their colonial origins supports status quo understandings of Māori/Pākehā relations.

Mass media represented news as something that is independent of its own role in shaping and constructing national representations of Māori issues. Like a magician who made the rabbit appear out of the hat, it hid its hands and pretended that the trick happened all by itself.

Māori news items indicated a range of issues, perspectives and positive initiatives in Māori communities and society that received little or no attention in the mass media.

BALANCE

Our data confirmed that Phelan and Shearer’s finding about the news media’s unequal and prejudicial use of the “radical” and “activist” labels for Māori was ongoing in newspapers and that it was largely journalists who used them rather than sources.

The media rarely labelled Pākehā who advocate abandoning or breaching te Tiriti as “radical”; the imbalance in these terms showed the mass media’s overall conservative orientation on Māori resource issues.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MĀORI AND MASS TV NEWS

Our case studies show marked differences between the frames used by mass news media and Māori language news to construct central topics in Māori news.

When mass media talked of unity, they emphasised a form of nationalism that silenced Māori rights and aspirations. When Māori news programmes did so, the unity was in diversity,

focused on tino rangatiratanga and challenged the Government to honour te Tiriti o Waitangi.

Māori language news also assumed that the fight for Māori rights and aspirations is a necessity and is not divisive or unjustified. This perspective also challenged the familiar separation of us (the viewers) and them (Māori/Other) regularly seen on mass news programmes.

The topics raised by sources in Māori language news on Waitangi Day were grounded in Māori world views and recognise the affects of colonisation, a context generally absent in mass media news and located within a quite different framework when it is included.

Te Kaea used fewer politicians as sources and they were given less airtime. *Te Karere* used predominantly Māori politicians in its Waitangi Day coverage. The Māori sources were often people rarely seen on mass TV news.

Mass programmes, in contrast, relied heavily on politicians and used Māori faces well-known to Pākehā audiences. In contrast to mass media television, *Te Kaea* and *Te Karere* almost always provided the iwi affiliations of sources.

Values, concepts and world views expressed on Māori language television included honouring tupuna, mokopuna and whānaungatanga; these concepts were generally absent on mass media. Māori language TV also frequently expressed the importance of understanding te Tiriti and indigenous rights locally and globally.

Te Kaea and *Te Karere* also showed a major difference in how long they allowed sources to speak: *Te Kaea* averaged one and a half times as long per source as mass TV programmes, while *Te Karere* averaged three times as long.

They also used a much higher proportion of Māori and iwi sources than mass TV news, and a higher proportion of Māori female sources. Combined with their less confrontational interviewing style and less sensational approach, they mount a major challenge to the monocultural news values so long espoused as universal by mass TV news programmes.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN 2004 AND 2007

Comparing the two mass media samples showed a persistently low use of te reo Māori by newspapers, with no indication of any attempts to support readers in learning or increasing their use of the language.

It showed a consistently low use of Māori as sources in core stories about Māori; barely a majority in mass TV news and still a minority in newspapers. These Treaty and Māori resources stories used 10 to 12% more Māori sources than across the whole Māori news sample.

A lower proportion of stories were coded as “bad” news in Treaty and Māori resources stories compared to the whole Māori sample.

Mass news items were persistently structured from within a Pākehā cultural paradigm. When they talked about us, the taxpayers or the public, these categories largely excluded Māori. The two samples showed persistent use of anti-Māori themes such as Privilege, Māori Violence, Stirrers, Māori Resources and Financial Probity.

As in 2004, these negative themes outweighed the single positive theme of Māori Success.

Given ongoing cost-cutting in newspapers and television news, the numbers of journalists are likely to decline. With less time to produce the same number or more stories, conventional Pākehā story frames become more likely because it takes more time to create stories using alternative frames.

Journalists aspire to be a watchdog for all citizens and sceptical about everything, particularly the statements of the powerful.

However, these two samples indicate that the mass media acts as a watchdog for Pākehā interests and is rarely sceptical of Pākehā initiatives that breach the Treaty. Instead, it is sceptical of Treaty-based initiatives or points of view.

POSSIBLE ACTIONS

What media workers can do

- ▷ Avoid the anti-Māori themes identified in this research in stories, headlines or teasers; if a source uses them, ensure another source comments, otherwise your story will support those themes whether or not that is what you intended.
- ▷ Ensure that story frames include Māori, rather than excluding them from groupings such as taxpayers, the public or New Zealanders.
- ▷ Acknowledge Pākehā officials and concepts where appropriate; for example, by using “Pākehā history” instead of “our history” or “Pākehā MPs” when you talk about “Māori MPs”.
- ▷ Be pro-active about using te reo Māori terms; report the iwi affiliations of Māori interviewees.
- ▷ Avoid labels such as “radical” or “activist” for Māori, or use them equally for “radical” Pākehā groups or ideas.
- ▷ Explain the relevant Treaty clause or the background to a resources dispute.
- ▷ Take a long term view of history and think of Māori perspectives about an issue before deciding

“ the label European places people elsewhere – they are still just visiting and are not taking up their full citizenship responsibilities in Aotearoa. This could be described as a powerful take it or leave it position. ”

Rose Black, 2004

“among the Pakeha respondents, greater amounts of television news exposure were associated with greater perceptions of Māori populations as unhealthy and overly dependent on welfare.”

Mary Beth Oliver, 2006

what is newsworthy; for example, a Māori contact may consider the spiritual value of a river the key issue rather than just “pollution.”

- ▷ Avoid “dial-a-Māori” sources and seek out more iwi or hapū sources for stories.
- ▷ Ensure that stories explain the context of past discrimination and colonisation behind stories about Māori health, education or social issues, as well as Māori efforts in the area; avoid depicting Māori failure.
- ▷ Avoid using the terms “race” or “race relations”; they are pseudo-biological terms, commonly and inaccurately used to refer to ethnicity or cultural differences.

What media outlets can do

- ▷ Develop programmes to encourage readers and audiences to use and understand more te reo Māori.
- ▷ Be pro-active about newsroom diversity; institute recruitment programmes and scholarships for Māori journalists. Require all journalists who apply for journalism jobs to have proficiency in pronouncing Māori words, a basic knowledge of the Treaty and how to behave in Māori settings.

MEDIA CONSUMER CHECKLIST

We believe direct action by media consumers about media representations of Māori can be an important factor in improving coverage. This can include boycotts and protest as well as complaints.

Our Media Consumers’ Checklist is available on the Kupu Taea web page (www.trc.org.nz/resources/media.htm) as a tool that media consumers can use to assess news media representations of Māori.

Feedback is welcome and the checklist will remain a work in progress. Paper copies have been distributed to Māori organisations, human rights and Treaty education networks and other interested groups.

However, as well as “push” strategies, we also support “pull” strategies and look forward to working with media on a checklist for journalists and public journalism projects about Māori issues.

GLOSSARY

“ Institutional racism in the media ... relies on “commonsense methods and systems without interrogating what messages these conveyed about the cultural diversity of our country, about the history of inequality and about the dominant knowledge systems that create a unipolar view of the world.”

South African Human Rights Commission, 2000

Aotearoa - Māori name for the North Island, often used for the whole country.

BSA - Broadcasting Standards Authority

District Health Boards - Providers of public health services

Aroha Ireland - National Party leader John Key had visited Aroha's street in Owairaka, Auckland, the previous weekend - one of those he had referred to as “dead-end” streets inhabited by an “underclass” - and invited her to come with him to Waitangi in his Crown limousine.

Crown - The Treaty was originally signed between Rangatira and the British Crown; responsibility later passed to the New Zealand Government.

Foreshore and seabed debate - The Court of Appeal decided on June 26 2003 that eight South Island iwi in Marlborough could take their claim to their foreshore and seabed to the Māori Land Court. The day afterwards, the Government announced it would pass legislation vesting ownership of the foreshore and seabed in the Crown. The Act was passed in November 2004 and came into effect in January 2005. Maria Bargh describes the Act as inherently racially discriminatory.

Haka - Physical demonstration of a challenge accompanied by chanting

Haka party incident - This confrontation between Māori and Pākehā youth at the University of Auckland over an annual mock haka received wide media coverage and public attention, and individual Pākehā wrote 220 submissions to the subsequent Human Rights Commission enquiry.

Hapū - Sub-tribe

Hikoi - Walk, march

Hone Heke - A Ngā Puhī chief who ordered the cutting down of the flagpole at the British settlement in Kororareka in 1844. It was re-erected and cut down again three times.

Hui - Meeting, gathering

Iwi - A nation of people with a shared identity and genealogy; tribe

Kai - Food

Kaitiaki - Guardian, steward

Kaitiakitanga - Guardianship

Kaumataua - Elder

Kōhanga reo - Māori language preschool

Kura - Māori language school

Mana - Full authority, sovereignty

Māori roll - People of Māori descent can choose to enrol on the Māori or the general electoral roll. Those on the Māori roll vote for the Māori seats, originally established in 1867. Their number is now determined by the number of people on the Māori roll.

Marae - Place of Māori practice, often including a carved meeting house, marae atea (sacred space in front of the meeting house), dining room and ablution facilities.

Mataitai - Seafood

Mokopuna - Grandchildren

Pākehā - New Zealander of European descent

Pānui - Notice, news release

Paua - Shellfish

Rangatira - Chief/s

Rohe - District

Tā moko - Tattoo

Taiaha - Long club

Tangihanga - Funeral, mourning

Tapu - Sacred

Tauīwi - Non-Māori

Te Ohu Kaimoana - A statutory organisation established to allocate fisheries assets from Treaty settlements

Te Tairāwhiti - East Cape area of the North Island

Te Whakaminenga o Ngā Hapū o Nu Tirenī/United Tribes of New Zealand - also The Confederation of United Tribes of New Zealand, those who signed the Declaration of Independence in 1835 and subsequently (Orange, 1992 & King, 2003). The confederation's flag is also called the Flag of the Independent Tribes of New Zealand, the Confederation of United Tribes flag and Māori Confederation flag by *Te Karere*.

Tena koe - Hello (formal) to one person

Tikanga - Ways of doing things, protocol

Tino rangatiratanga - Māori control and self-determination (See Durie, 1994, p 57); See <http://aotearoa.wellington.net.nz/back/flag.htm> for an image and history of the flag.

Treaty House - Historic house at Waitangi where te Tiriti was signed

Tupuna - Ancestor/s

United Tribes of New Zealand - The Confederation of United Tribes of New Zealand signed the Declaration of Independence in 1835. The confederation's flag is also called the Flag of the Independent Tribes of New Zealand, Confederation of United Tribes flag and Māori Confederation flag by *Te Karere*.

Wahi tapu - Sacred place

Waiata - Song/s

Wairua - Spirituality

Waitangi Day - A national holiday commemorating the signing of te Tiriti o Waitangi at Waitangi on 6 February 1840 by a group of Rangatira and the British Crown, represented by Lieutenant-Governor Hobson.

Waka - Canoe

Waka ama - Outrigger canoe

Wananga - Seminar/s, course/s, learning

Whānau - Family that extends beyond the concept of the nuclear or biological family.

Whānaungatanga - Relationship/s

Whanganui-a-Tara - Wellington

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“ A prime example of a major Maori story which hasn't prompted any mainstream interest is the Government's disregard for the second article in the Treaty of Waitangi. It's of more than passing interest for Maori. Article II provided a Crown guarantee of tino rangatiratanga for the Maori chiefs in return for the kawanatanga, the right to govern, which was ceded to the Crown.”

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APPENDIX 1

WAITANGI DAY CASE STUDY ITEMS

Television

Te Karere

1. Dawn ceremony, Te Tii Marae
2. Political parties, Treaty Grounds
3. Manukau celebrates, Haymans Park
4. John Key at Hoani Waititi marae
5. Mauao ceremony, Mt Maunganui
6. Treaty mural, National Archive
7. Otepoti hikoi, Dunedin.

Prime News

1. Waitangi and weather, Treaty Grounds
2. Garden party, Government House, Wellington
3. Service on One Tree Hill, Maungakiekie
4. Groove in the Park, Western Springs
5. One Love festival, HAITAITAI Velodrome
6. Treaty mural, National Archive.

One News

1. Protest at Waitangi, Treaty Grounds
2. Weather at Waitangi, Treaty Grounds
3. Party politics, Treaty Grounds
4. Waitangi appraised, Māori Affairs correspondent
5. O'Kains Bay, Gifting of 20 hectares to QEII Trust
6. Tino Rangatiratanga Flag, symbol at protests and in affluent suburbs
7. Treaty settlements, 2008 deadline for historic claims
8. Hone Harawira interview, Wendy Petrie
9. Festival roundup, Auckland, Wellington, Porirua.

3 News

1. Waitangi weather, Treaty Grounds
2. Tino Rangatiratanga Flag, service on Maungakiekie
3. Party politics, Treaty Grounds
4. Garden party, Government House Wellington
5. O'Kains Bay, Onuku marae open day
6. Porirua festival, Te Rauparaha Park
7. One Love festival, HAITAITAI Velodrome

Te Kaea

1. Protest at Waitangi, Treaty Grounds
2. Hapū gathering, Waitangi
3. Raising flag on One Tree Hill, Maungakiekie
4. Hamilton festival, Kirikiriroa
5. O'Kains Bay, Onuku marae – Honouring Tipene O'Reagan
6. Gisborne festival, Turanganui a Kiwa
7. Wellington region, three events includes Porirua
8. Santa Monica beach – Dawn blessing by tangata whenua and fern
9. Sydney festival, Sydney.

Tonight

1. Tino Rangatiratanga flag
2. Party politics, Treaty Grounds
3. Festival roundup.

Newspapers

Opinion

February 3

New Zealand Herald – Dual identity will grow from 'much chewed parchment'

New Zealand Herald – Key wants Treaty 'embraced and celebrated'

Bay of Plenty Times – BoP Māori contest Moon's disinterest claim

Northern Advocate – Moon suggests disinterest in Treaty

February 6

Press – Pākehā are 'Playing with the advantage' in their cultural congruence

Waikato Times – Four non-Māori score achievements against Treaty aims; more work to do.

Capital Times – James/ Durie/Orange/Boast panel at Te Papa

Taranaki Daily News – Four other non-Māori rate Treaty; Jones/Mcdonald, Walker, McCormick

Dominion Post – Four other non-Māori rate Treaty; Jones/Mcdonald, Walker, McCormick

Ashburton Guardian – Treaty divisive not unifying

Dominion Post – Treaty tense but a crucial part of us

Manawatu Standard – Four other non-Māori rate Treaty; Jones/Mcdonald, Walker, McCormick

Taranaki Daily News – Celebrations divisive

Southland Times – Waitangi Day is a solemn reminder of agreement to honour

February 7

Petone Herald – Dunne's argument for NZ day based on Moon's data and the Transit flag

Marlborough Express – Recent Treaty poll

Greymouth Star – Recent Treaty poll

Hawkes Bay Today – Recent Treaty poll

News - Waitangi

February 6

Northern Advocate – Pupils at Waitangi and on Te Kaha

Otago Daily Times – Clarke and Key around Waitangi but weather and low key the focus

Dominion Post – Key at Waitangi

New Zealand Herald – Te Tii marae access denied to media without koha

Northern Advocate – Te Tii marae access denied to media without koha

Nelson Mail – Lack of protest underwhelms celebrations

Waikato Times – Weather dominates Waitangi

Hawkes Bay Today – Weather and Ngāpuhi control dominates Waitangi

Marlborough Express – Lack of protest

Manawatu Standard – "United we stand" lack of protest

Press – Key at Waitangi

Ashburton Guardian – Waitangi quiet

Wairarapa Times-Age – Key impresses Aroha at Waitangi

Southland Times – Key at Waitangi

Marlborough Express – Key at Waitangi

Waikato Times – Key at Waitangi

Taranaki Daily News - Key at Waitangi

Manawatu Standard - Key at Waitangi

Daily Post - Key at Waitangi

New Zealand Herald - Key at Waitangi

New Zealand Herald - Clarke and Key around Waitangi but low key focus

February 7

Press – Harawira proposes Treaty commissioner
Dominion Post – Harawira proposes Treaty commissioner
Southern Times - Harawira proposes Treaty commissioner
Waikato Times - Harawira proposes Treaty commissioner
New Zealand Herald – Weather dominates Waitangi
West Coast Times – Weather dominates Waitangi
Ashburton Guardian – Weather dominates Waitangi
Taranaki Daily News – Weather dominates Waitangi
Greymouth Star – Weather dominates Waitangi
Daily Post – Weather dominates Waitangi
Northern Advocate – Weather dominates Waitangi
Northern Advocate – Weather dominates Waitangi
Otago Daily Times – Weather dominates Waitangi
Bay of Plenty Times – Weather dominates Waitangi
Northern Advocate – Māori criticise Key for being substantially the same as Brash
Northern Advocate – Police report of peaceful Waitangi day

News - Elsewhere

February 6

Capital Times – Reggae festival in Hataitai acknowledges Treaty
Waikato Times – Hamilton festivities emphasise family fun and de Bres comments on positive mood
Dominion Post – Five individuals talk about what they will do on 6.2.07
Southern Times – Four individuals talk about what the day means to them
Daily Post – One individual reflects on day

February 7

Bay of Plenty Times – Peace and harmony at Tauranga (controversy over Mauao)
Southern Times – Onuku (Akaroa) celebrations included political discussions.
Wairarapa Times-Age – Race-meeting/fun day at Tauheranikau
Wairarapa Times-Age – “Awesome” inaugural Waitangi Day celebrations for Masterton.
Daily Post – Peace and harmony in Rotorua
Guardian – Vox pop on Treaty
Timaru Herald – Peace and harmony for inaugural Waitangi Day celebrations in Timaru
Hawkes Bay Today – Peace and harmony at Clive Waitangi Day celebrations
Otago Daily Times – Remembrance and peace at Dunedin
Press – Peace and harmony (with good weather) in Christchurch
Wairarapa Times-Age – Vox pop
Timaru Herald – Kingi Tairua bus quote

APPENDIX 2

FLAG CASE STUDY ITEMS

Television

February 6

Prime - One Tree Hill, Maungakiekie service
One News - Tino Rangatiratanga flag
3 News - Tino Rangatiratanga flag on Maungakiekie
Te Kaea - Flag on Maungakiekie
 Most items about Waitangi Day also included content about the flags.

Newspapers

February 3

New Zealand Herald - Māori flag changes course to One Tree Hill, p1; Māori must decide what they want, editorial, p26
Bay of Plenty Times - Māori flag set to fly over One Tree Hill, p8, from *New Zealand Herald*
Greymouth Star - Māori flag plan, NZPA, p3
Nelson Mail - Flag may fly, p 2; Signs of the times, p13.

February 6

Ashburton Guardian - Protesters wave the flag on One Tree Hill, NZPA, p1
Daily Post - Govt willing to look at flag issue in future, NZPA, p15
Hawkes Bay Today - Protesters fly the flag, NZPA, p1
Nelson Mail - Flag wavers take a stand, NZPA, p1.

February 7

Dominion Post - Māori flag may fly on bridge, p1
Daily Post - Hand-held Māori flags fly from One Tree Hill, NZPA, p5
Northern Advocate - ‘Honourable’ Māori flags flutter on high, NZPA, p5
New Zealand Herald - Māori colours fly from summits, NZPA, p5
Otago Daily Times - Māori activists fly flag, NZPA, p 3
Press - Māori flag ‘could fly next year’, p 4; The bicultural myth, p16
Taranaki Daily News - Flags fly around city to mark day, NZPA, p2
Timaru Herald - Māori flags fly on One Tree Hill, NZPA, p2
Wanganui Chronicle - Hand-held flags allowed on One Tree Hill, NZPA, p3
Waikato Times - Over to public if Māori flag to fly: PM, Fairfax, p 3; Flying a kite or a flag? p6.

APPENDIX 3

FISHERIES CASE STUDY ITEMS

Television

3 News - Friday February 9
Te Kaea - Friday February 9, 11pm; Monday, March 12; Friday, March 23; Tuesday, March 27
One News - Sunday March 11; Monday, March 12
Tonight - Monday, March 12.

Newspapers

Daily Post - February 6, Iwi receive \$385m in fisheries assets, p15
Capital Times - February 6, Fishy subject tackled at Te Papa, p17
Daily Post - February 9, Tuwharetoa fisheries assets, p5
Marlborough Express - February 9, Settlement worth nearly \$2m for iwi, p5
Nelson Mail - February 9, Iwi score fisheries assets, p2
Daily Chronicle - March 8, Shared fisheries, Robin Hapi, p5
Manawatu Standard - March 14, Fisk-hooks in finding our fishery future, Robin Hapi, p11
Taranaki Daily News - March 27, Fairer share of the fish catch, p6
Kaikoura Star - February 7, Waiopuka reef food gathering area closed to allow it to recover, p13
Bay of Plenty Times - March 27, Fishers may boycott Māori reserve meeting, p1.

APPENDIX 4

MEDIA TALK ABOUT MEDIA CASE STUDY ITEMS

Marlborough Express - February 6, Focus on Waitangi's new faces, NZPA, p2
Waikato Times - February 6, It's all Aroha for Key, NZPA, p1
Manawatu Standard - February 6, Girl centre stage, NZPA, p5
New Zealand Herald - February 6, Marae leaders tell media organisations to pay up or miss out, p3
Otago Daily Times - February 6, Media fees sought at Waitangi, from *New Zealand Herald*, p3
Northern Advocate - February 6, Media Scrum: Crouch, touch, pause, reach for wallet..., p3
Piako Post - March 14, Waikato gets first intern in Fairfax programme, p17
Rotorua Review - March 27, Open day on the marae, p7.

APPENDIX 5

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION STARTER

Fresh water ownership queried

Wellington. The Māori Party is questioning the Government's ownership of water in the country's lakes and streams, saying in some cases Māori may retain customary rights.

The Government is consulting over water use through its Sustainable Water Programme of Action.

As part of the consultation it is using the slogan "four million careful users".

Māori Party MP Te Ururoa Flavell yesterday said that amounted to "misinforming the public".

"The very clear advice from the Māori reference groups and Te Puni Kokiri is that Māori customary rights to water still exist or are, at the very least, contestable in court," he told Parliament.

Associate Environment Minister Nanaia Mahuta said the Government had been clear it believed freshwater was a public resource.

"I can state categorically that the Government's position is that water is a public resource that the Government and local authorities will continue to manage on behalf of all New Zealanders." In response to a question from Māori Party co-leader Tariana Tuna she said there was no intention to privatise water.

The Māori Party claims have echoes of the foreshore and seabed controversy, which sparked its formation.

That was spurred by an Appeal Court decision that if Māori could prove continuous customary use of parts of the seabed and foreshore in some cases that might amount to freehold ownership.

In response the Government legislated to put the foreshore and seabed clearly in the public domain.

Māori groups said it was a confiscation of a potential property right.

However, no such court case has been taken in relation to water and even if such a case was successful it is not clear if the scope would be as far reaching as in the

foreshore and seabed case due to the fact no one holds private freehold ownership over water.

United Future leader Peter Dunne today said Māori claims of customary rights over fresh water went beyond what was acceptable to most New Zealanders.

"The Māori Party appears to be asserting Māori rights to all New Zealand's natural resources, the things we have in common," he said.

"The fresh water claim simply raises the question 'who owns the rain?' and show the absurdity of the position being adopted," he said.

"Natural resources like air and water belong to all New Zealanders and it is the Crown's responsibility to exercise that ownership equally and fairly on our behalf," he said.
 NZPA

APPENDIX 6

ABOUT KUPU TAEA

Angela Moewaka Barnes (Ngāpuhi Nui Tonu)

Angela has practical experience in film and video production. She completed her MA in film, TV and media studies at the University of Auckland in 2004. Her thesis analysed Māori documentaries screened on mass TV during prime time. She is enrolled in a PhD focusing on Māori short and feature films.

Belinda Borell (Ngāti Ranginui, Ngai Te Rangī, Whakatohea)

Belinda is a Māori researcher in Te Rōpū Whāriki, a Massey University social research group, with a particular interest in rangatahi Māori. She completed her Masters thesis - *Living in the City Ain't So Bad: Cultural Diversity of South Auckland Rangatahi* and has worked as an impact evaluator for community action projects on youth, alcohol and drugs.

Mandi Gregory (Pākehā)

Mandy has gained expertise in qualitative research, especially discourse analysis, at Te Rōpū Whāriki.

Kupu Taea:
Angela Moewaka Barnes, left, Raymond Nairn, Mandi Gregory, Jenny Rankine and Tim McCreanor;
Inset: Belinda Borell and Hector Kaiwai.



Hector Kaiwai (Ngāti Porou/Ngāti Maniapoto/Tuhoe)

Hector is a researcher with skills in qualitative research methodologies, interviewing and focus groups and data analysis. Hector also works at Te Rōpū Whāriki.

Dr Tim McCreanor (Pākehā)

Tim carried out a major analysis of submissions to the Human Rights Commission on the 1979 Haka Party, which identified enduring Pākehā patterns of ideas about relations with Māori. He is involved in research projects on the health of Māori men and alcohol marketing to young people, and is supervising several PhD projects. He is based at Te Rōpū Whāriki, and is also an honorary Research Fellow at the University of Auckland Department of Psychology.

Dr Raymond Nairn (Pākehā)

Consultant, Media Meanings, Kingsland, Auckland. Raymond has studied and published on race discourse and media analyses for more than 13 years, and more recently has extensively analysed media depictions of mental illness in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Jenny Rankine (Pākehā)

Words and Pictures, Auckland. Jenny is a freelance researcher, editor, writer and graphic designer with more than 20 years' experience in print media and public relations.

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