

MEDIA **& TE TIRITI O WAITANGI** **2004**



Whakatauki

He tao rakau
E taea te karo
He tao korero
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*

Acknowledgements

He mihi aroha kia koutou i manaaki, i awahi, i tautoko, i tenei kaupapa.

We thank everyone who assisted and supported the development and writing of this report.

Particular appreciation goes to

Naida Glavish, our tikanga adviser

The Auckland Workers Educational Association, our financial umbrella group, for their generous support
Our peer reviewers Carol Archie, Margie Comrie, Donna Cormack, Paul Diamond, Judy McGregor, Tapu Misa,
Helen Moewaka Barnes, Carey Robson and Gary Wilson, for their care and suggestions

Our proofreader, Heather McPherson.

Their feedback greatly strengthened this report.

Funders

Treaty of Waitangi Information Unit

Cathy Pelly Maungarongo Trust

University of Auckland Staff Research Fund

Disclaimer

The State Services Commission and the Treaty of Waitangi Information Programme
neither endorse the information, content, presentation and accuracy of the information,
nor make any warranty, express or implied, regarding future research.

Publisher

Kupu Taea: Media and Te Tiriti Project

c/- PO Box 78 338 Tamaki Makaurau/Auckland 1002

ISBN 0-473-10403-2

<http://www.trc.org.nz/resources/media.htm>

MEDIA **& TE TIRITI O WAITANGI** **2004**



Angela Moewaka Barnes
Mandi Gregory
Tim McCreanor
Raymond Nairn
Frank Pega
Jenny Rankine

CONTENTS

5 Summary

7 Introduction

- 7 Te kaupapa - Mission
- 7 Mai te timatanga - Background
- 7 Ko matou enei - About us
- 7 The news-making context
- 9 What earlier research says

12 Method

- 12 How we gathered our media items
- 13 Maori stories sample
- 14 How we categorised our items
- 14 Topics

15 Analysis

- 15 Newspaper analysis
- 16 Television analysis
- 16 Limits of our method and analysis

17 Findings

- 17 Te reo Maori
- 18 Sources
- 20 Images
- 21 Themes
- 21 “Good” and “bad” news
- 22 Conflict
- 23 Silences
- 23 Statistical comparisons
- 23 Consecutive week story development
- 24 Aspects of balance

25 Case studies

- 25 Television
 - 25 CS1: Civil Union Bill march
 - 26 CS2: Ani Waaka’s resignation
 - 26 CS3: Te Uri o Hau
- 27 Newspapers
 - 27 CS4: Fisheries
 - 27 CS5: Powhiri
 - 28 CS6: Maori and property
 - 29 CS7: The lakes settlements

32 Conclusions

- 32 Te Reo Maori
- 32 Maori perspectives
- 33 Sources
- 33 Themes
- 34 “Good” and “bad” news
- 34 Conflict
- 35 Silences
- 36 Statistics
- 36 Aspects of balance
- 36 Standards
- 37 Training
- 37 Indicators

39 Glossary

40 References

42 About Kupu Taea: Media and Te Tiriti group

SUMMARY

▷ THIS IS A PILOT STUDY of content and meaning in a representative group of newspaper and television news items relating to Maori and Te Tiriti o Waitangi. We collected 353 newspaper and 29 television items from 14 pre-selected days in August, September and October 2004, and analysed them using content and thematic analysis.

▷ WE DISTINGUISHED between items about Maori people and issues, which we called Maori stories, and items that mentioned Maori only in passing.

▷ THE LIMITATIONS of our sample mean that we cannot compare stories about Maori issues with coverage of any other issues.

▷ WE found low levels of use of te reo Maori across almost all the items, with roughly half the newspaper items containing no Maori words for which there are English alternatives, and the other half containing very few. The 20 television Maori news items used only seven Maori words for which there are English alternatives.

▷ STORIES were overwhelmingly framed within Pakeha terms of reference. For example, Maori concepts about ownership of resources, such as kaitiakitanga, were mentioned in only five stories.

▷ PAKEHA SOURCES outnumbered Maori sources in 260 newspaper stories about Maori and more clips of Pakeha than Maori sources were used over the television Maori news stories. Forty-five percent of newspaper sources were Pakeha and 37% Maori. Pakeha men made up the biggest group of sources by ethnicity and gender (37%). Stories cited Maori men twice as often (25%) as Maori women (12%).

▷ PAKEHA SOURCES were quoted earlier than Maori on average in newspaper items.

▷ RATHER than taking a neutral position, a significant minority of newspaper and television items framed items to support themes which undermine Maori. A number of these themes were identified 16 years ago as part of commonplace Pakeha concepts of relations between the two cultures. One such theme, which we have labelled “Privilege”, portrays Maori as unfairly having benefits denied to others.

▷ WE identified a number of new themes that also had the effect of undermining concepts of Maori as worthy citizens. Potential or actual Maori control of significant resources was framed in some prominent media items as a threat to non-Maori, who were implicitly defined as synonymous with “the public”. Another new theme, “Financial probity”, involved repeated depictions of Maori as poor managers, either corrupt or financially incompetent. Detailed depictions of conflict between Maori, in combination with this theme, worked to critique Maori control of resources.

▷ WE identified a theme of stories about Maori success; however, the impact of the more common negative themes and depictions of Maori undermined these items.

▷ CASE STUDIES of print and television stories provide detailed analyses of the ways in which media use of these themes and depictions plays out in specific instances.

▷ WE found that “bad” news predominated in television Maori news and made up nearly half our newspaper sample of Maori stories; a little over a third of newspaper items were coded as “good” news. Items generated by newspapers’ own staff included five times the proportion coded as “good” news compared to those reprinted from NZPA and other outside sources. This provides a benchmark for future analyses of Maori stories.



“ It was said that the Treaty was to protect the Maoris from foreign invasion. But those bad nations never came to attack us; the blow fell from you, the nation who made that same treaty.”

Renata Tamakihikurangi
1861

[From *Maori is my name*
edited by John Caselberg,
p93]

SUMMARY

▷ THE perspective of colonisation as a process which disrupted Maori culture, health, education and social fabric was almost completely absent from our media items. There were repeated mentions of the Treaty and settlements, but almost no detail of Treaty clauses, government breaches or settlement processes. This lack of context forms a loop with poor understanding of Treaty issues among the non-Maori public.

▷ ITEMS about health and social statistics in our sample repeatedly compared disparities in Maori and Pakeha social status without context or the history of these disparities. This repetition had a stigmatising effect.

▷ WE identified what we regard as serious aspects of imbalance across our items. Two Pakeha sources made unchallenged denigrations and some Pakeha commentators were given space to make insulting comments about Maori. We did not identify any Maori voices making insulting generalisations about Pakeha people or culture. Maori voices were not included in stories about changing the terms of Treaty settlements. Pakeha voices were more common than Maori in items focusing on Maori-Pakeha relations.

▷ WE found examples of what we believe are prima facie breaches of voluntary codes and guidelines about journalism in television and newspaper stories, including reliance on rumours and unverified assertions.

▷ THESE FINDINGS echo earlier research and commentary that identified systematic negative depictions of Maori in New Zealand media coverage. We believe these inadequacies and imbalances of coverage in our items make it impossible for their audiences to develop an informed understanding of Treaty issues.

▷ WE have identified some potential areas of coverage which could be developed into indicators of the extent to which stories and coverage depart from neutrality to construct or support negative depictions of Maori. They include uses of te reo Maori, sources, key terms from negative themes, reporting of Maori issues, levels of “bad” news, and the characteristics of headlines or other proxies for content.

▷ THE practices that encourage or justify these serious imbalances must change and we look forward to working with those helping to make these changes.

“ [The Treaty of Waitangi] allows one small group of people who can claim some minute trace of Maori ancestry, an open cheque book to the country’s wealth and assets. ”

One New Zealand Foundation, 2005

TE KAUPAPA – MISSION

We have written this report for working journalists, editorial managers and media consumers. Our aim was to analyse coverage and identify any gaps and weaknesses, as a step to improving the standards of reporting on Maori issues in newspapers and television. We intend this report to be the first in a series. Our immediate plan is to gather and analyse another set of media news items next year, and we would value feedback from people working in the media and media consumers.

MAI TE TIMATANGA - BACKGROUND

The media is the crucial interface between the issues and people it identifies as news, and the audience. Most readers and viewers will never get to have tea with Titewhai Harawira, or discuss Kiwi slang with John Tamihere. They rely on what the media says about these and other Maori people and issues in the news.

Relations between Maori and non-Maori are part of every area of national life – the economy, health and wellbeing, resource management, arts and culture, future development, international relations – and if the media are not reaching their potential for positive contributions to this domain, then we all need to be concerned about it.

This report describes our pilot project, which aimed to analyse the characteristics of our media items, refine our research process, stimulate further debate on these issues and lay the foundation for more comprehensive research. We have worked mostly unpaid, evening and weekends alongside other jobs and responsibilities.

None of us has worked full-time on the project and we rarely had the resources for more than one person to analyse any particular set of items. We have used accepted best practices for this kind of project from international research and we are confident that this report presents a valid critique of media practices in Aotearoa/ New Zealand.

KO MATOU ENEI - ABOUT US

We are a group of Maori, Pakeha and Taiuiwi

media, public health and film researchers associated with Massey University and the University of Auckland; collectively we have experience in newspaper journalism and video production, and have published several academic papers about media and Treaty issues.

Our name, Kupu Taea, means the power of the word. We call ourselves the Media and Te Tiriti Project because it is the Maori text of the Treaty which is recognised in international law, and which was signed by more than 500 rangatira. Several different English texts exist and only 39 rangatira signed an English version.

The relationship between Maori and non-Maori is based on Te Tiriti, and we use it in our title to represent what is at stake when we discuss media coverage of Maori. We have chosen to use both names for the Treaty in the body of this report.

We came together because we knew of no ongoing research programme analysing media constructions of Maori and Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and we think there should be one. We believe this issue is hugely important to social relations and justice in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

We hope that this project will contribute to the emergence of what is elsewhere known as civic or 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. The media can be a mighty force for progressive public good.

THE NEWSMAKING CONTEXT

The socio-political context within which newsmaking occurs influences what counts as news, styles of reporting, journalism ethics and media ownership. Ranginui Walker and James Belich have described the historical role of the media in the colonial period, as circulating representations of Maori-Pakeha relations that were unfair and discriminatory. The neoliberal political developments of the last two decades have seen deregulation of many sections of the economy and the privatising of many former state functions.

In this time almost all of the major newspapers, as well as regional and local publications, have been acquired by transnational conglomerates and local ownership has all but disappeared. From the early 1990s, television, once a state monopoly, has been corporatised and opened up to commercial competition with impacts on State-owned stations.

“ **The pervasiveness and power of the news media and its central place in the information exchange means it warrants systematic and continuous scrutiny.** ”

Judy McGregor and Margie Comrie, 1995

“Media technology such as the ‘digital revolution’ may appear to offer more choice and greater horizons, yet the media itself is actually shrinking in its ownership and editorial agenda or world view.”

John Pilger, 2001

This competitive environment has built pressures for ratings that determine advertising revenues. As Bill Rosenberg said in 2003: “Advertisers are the real customers of a commercial media organisation, not its readers, viewers or listeners”.

As part of these changes, the number of journalists per paper has reduced as media organisations have become leaner. There is very little continuing education for journalists, or structured newsroom discussion of ethical issues. Computer technology has created paperless newsrooms where, with a mouse click, journalists send stories to subeditors and from there pages go straight to the presses.

The resultant cuts in printing staff in particular have meant a less militant and less unionised workforce with arguably lower resistance to managerial imperatives. While the increasing centralisation of media ownership across print, radio, television and telecommunications may produce efficiencies for the corporations, it does little to ensure diversity and citizen engagement with media.

There is concern in many countries about monopoly control of the media and overseas ownership. Goode and Zuberi summarise the debate; supporters argue that multinational ownership increases consumer options whereas critics assert that this power can be misused.

While mainstream media ownership became concentrated into fewer hands, Maori-controlled media outlets have burgeoned in a similar way to those in the early colonial period. Ranginui Walker credits iwi radio, totalling 23 networked stations, with a major contribution to current Maori development.

These stations, and Maori print media outlets, generally remain small and underfunded. Mana News, funded by Radio New Zealand, has been a significant Maori-controlled voice on National Radio. The establishment of Maori Television has finally provided a Maori-led alternative in free-to-air television programming.

Media corporations are moving into ownership of emerging internet and cell-phone technologies. The internet offers a greater diversity of voices than the mainstream media, and content such as web blogs, including those by Maori, is influencing media coverage.

Aside from the commercial pressures of the contemporary media environment, the statutory and ethical requirements of journalists are complex and patchy, with no single code covering all workers.

Television context

The impacts of the Television New Zealand Charter introduced by the Labour Government are ongoing. In July 2003 the former strongly commercial state-owned enterprise became a Crown-owned broadcasting company required to return a dividend while implementing Charter objectives.

The Charter requires programming that “informs, entertains and educates”, which had not been imperatives for the SOE but had become founding principles of the Broadcast Commission (NZ On Air). In particular the Charter requires TVNZ to provide:

- ▷ Independent, comprehensive, impartial, and in-depth coverage and analysis of news and current affairs
- ▷ Feature programming that promotes informed and many-sided debate and stimulates critical thought.

It also requires TVNZ to “ensure in its programmes and programme planning the participation of Maori and the presence of a significant Maori voice”.

All free-to-air broadcasters have obligations and requirements under the Broadcasting Act 1989 and the 2002 Free-to-Air Television Codes of Broadcasting Practice agreed to by TVNZ, TV3, TV4, Prime TV and other free-to air services

Under the Act every broadcaster is required to ensure that “when controversial issues of public importance are discussed, reasonable efforts are made, or reasonable opportunities are given, to present significant points of view either in the same programme or in other programmes within the period of current interest”.

Like all broadcasting practice standards, balance, accuracy and fairness are loosely specified. For example, the guideline accompanying the practice standard for balance states: “Programmes which deal with political matters, current affairs, and questions of a controversial nature, must show balance and impartiality”. As McGregor and Comrie said in their 1995 introduction, balance and fairness are “at best, ill-defined and contested and, at worst, downright fuzzy”.

The Broadcasting Standards Authority (BSA) reviews codes of practice and operates a complaints process, and has the regulatory power to require broadcasters to screen its decisions. For example, TVNZ and the Bay of Plenty Times published the results of a BSA decision which comprehensively supported a 2003 complaint by the Ngati Pukenga iwi of Tauranga against the *Holmes* programme.

Profitability is, however, the major imperative for broadcasting, leading to aggressive competition for viewers, ratings and thus advertising revenue during prime time (6-9.30pm). News programmes are seen as audience leaders during this slot. Atkins argued in 1994 that the focus on ratings has led to “pacier” items that “tend to displace the more complex” and less visual subjects for populist news.

The focus on ratings driven by the imperative to make a profit clearly impacts on scheduling and content, as do the culture, structure and processes of the networks, as discussed by Abel in *Shaping the News; Waitangi Day on Television*. Abel identified how TV networks’ needs and the values of individual, predominantly Pakeha, newsmakers influence selection and judgements of newsworthiness. These are based, unconsciously or not, on their attitudes towards Maori and te Tiriti o Waitangi.

Researchers have been documenting the effect of ratings pressure for some time. Winter said in 1994 that market pressures prevented any equitable balance between TV as a public service and the industry’s profit. McGregor and Comrie in 1995 noted television’s increasing use of entertainment and populist criteria for news presentation and content.

The audience polling they describe in TVNZ in the early 90s has intensified recently as Prime seeks to become a major player and TVNZ and TV3 revamp their news programmes. McGregor and Comrie found that the reporter spoke directly to the camera in almost one third of their television news sample, making journalists “part of the story as well as the story-teller”. This branding of reporters and presenters as celebrities, the trustworthy faces we want in our living rooms each evening, has also intensified with the ratings wars.

Newspaper context

Print journalists who are members of the Engineering, Printing and Manufacturing Union are nominally covered by a code of ethics that was last updated in 1989. The code is vague and unenforceable and the number of members is not made public. However, it may be as little as 20% of the total workforce.

Jim Tucker says that some of the large commercial news media companies have similarly loose ethical requirements of their workers, but these are of dubious efficacy in producing or maintaining standards. The New Zealand Press Council (NZPC) maintains a set of 13 voluntary principles (see www.presscouncil.org.nz) that could provide a

framework for debate, and the council, which is industry funded, also operates a complaints procedure.

However, such self-regulation of commercially driven enterprises is notorious in other domains (such as advertising, marketing and research funding) for consistently producing outcomes that allow businesses to proceed without undue impediment.

Given the scope for interpretation of the NZPC principles, where wording is profoundly value-laden, it is unlikely that any seriously challenging complaint of systematic media inequity in reporting Maori news would ever be upheld. If it were, there are no penalties or levers for change available through this avenue.

Jim Tully in a 1989 article outlined ten Guidelines for Reporting Race Relations. They include avoiding stereotypes; labels; race-typing; being careful with statistics, headlines and unrepresentative images; evaluating the authority of sources and always naming them.

He also warns against use of unverified rumour, advises journalists to portray positive aspects of race relations and not to exploit human fears. However, these guidelines have not been adopted by the NZPC or other bodies and remain an idealistic expression of a professional ethic for journalists working in this sensitive area.

WHAT EARLIER RESEARCH SAYS

In 1973 the Wellington Race Relations Action Group reported to the Race Relations Council on coverage of Maori issues in eight Wellington area provincial dailies. They described a lack of attention to Maori events and organisations, commenting that the “lack of information allows racial myths to flourish”.

A 1982 study by Robyn Leeming at Massey University found inadequate broadcast news coverage of urban Maori interests, excessive reliance on stereotypes of Maori and a highlighting of “negative things about the Maori community”, particularly in news reports. The Auckland Committee on Racism and Discrimination (ACORD) described a similar dearth of Maori and Polynesian content on television and National Radio in 1983.

The Journalist Training Board published Michael King’s *Kawe Korero – A guide to reporting Maori activities* in 1985, relied on ever since by generations of journalists making their first foray into Maori environments.

In 1989 and 1993, social scientists like Robert Miles and Paul Spoonley described how the

“..[the media] offer us particular definitions and interpretations of the world and they leave out a vast number of alternative ones.”

Stuart Hall, 1983

“ In the Maori world the speaker speaks. Understanding is the business of the listener. ”

Ruth Ross, cited in Michael King, 1985

word “race” with its modern political meanings entered our vocabularies. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries it was widely accepted that there were different “races” and that a person’s race or biological inheritance shaped their personal and social behaviour. Subsequent scientific work has discredited these ideas.

In 1989, Tim McCreanor clarified major themes in Pakeha talk about Te Tiriti and relations with Maori in his chapter in *Honouring the Treaty: An Introduction for Pakeha*. He analysed 221 submissions by individual Pakeha about relations with Maori, after the Haka Party incident at the University of Auckland in 1979. We have outlined these themes because they provide a context and point of comparison for current media constructions of relations between Maori and non-Maori and Treaty issues.

The submitters used sets of common themes to assign blame for the perceived breakdown of what they considered to be the excellent relations between Maori and non-Maori. These themes assumed and naturalised Pakeha domination and isolated Maori-Pakeha relations from our colonial history, social structures and the distribution of power.

Four themes allowed writers to portray Maori negatively. The “Maori culture” theme described Maori culture as primitive and inadequate for modern life, lacking in conceptual and practical knowledge, and dependent on a limited language. The “Maori violence” theme presumed that Maori were more likely than Pakeha to be violent. The “Maori inheritance” theme employed a stockbreeding approach to racial bloodlines that completely denied the importance of self-identification and Maori concepts of whakapapa.

Many submitters used a fourth theme that McCreanor called “Good Maori/Bad Maori”; Maori who were seen as ‘fitting in’ to settler society were good, while Maori who resisted, sought restitution or demanded recognition were bad. The theme worked most flexibly when the writer did not specify who or how many were “bad Maori”; they could then dismiss protesters as a minority and estranged from their people.

Related to those portrayals was the “Stirrers” theme, which was used to depict anyone challenging the status quo, whether Maori or non-Maori, as troublemakers who mislead others for their own ends. Such representations distract attention from the substance of the protest by highlighting elements of (supposed) disruption and aggression.

Central to many of the submissions was the notion that New Zealanders are “One People” and should all be treated the same. That was the foundation of two further themes: “Privilege”, in

which Maori were portrayed as having rights or benefits denied most others in a way that is unfair and racist; and “Rights” in which it was claimed we all are, or should be, entitled to do what we want provided we are not infringing the rights of others.

In 1990, Nairn and McCreanor described two further themes: the “Ignorance” theme enabled writers to assert that a Pakeha action that offended Maori was not deliberate but due to ignorance; while the “Sensitivity” theme portrayed Maori responses to such actions as unreasonable and unduly sensitive.

The themes identified in this research create a “standard story” of Maori-Pakeha relations, a commonplace understanding that denies or ignores the colonial process that has determined our social order. It is difficult to see how any of these themes can do anything but undermine Maori interests and strengthen Pakeha control of social institutions.

Also in 1990, Hirsch and Spoonley’s landmark book, *Between the Lines*, provided acute observation and descriptions of media biases against Maori. For instance, on media coverage of Maori land claims Ranginui Walker said:

“There is little interest in why the case has been brought or the roots of the injustice lying behind the claim. Emphasis is placed on the present conflict, which inevitably puts the responsibility for raising the issue on the complainant. The injured party thus becomes the cause of the problem ... in any contest between Maori and Pakeha over land, resources or cultural space, media coverage functions, unwittingly or otherwise, to maintain Pakeha dominance.”

McGregor and Comrie’s 1995 report, *Balance and Fairness in Broadcasting News*, described a content analysis of 915 radio and television news stories between 1985 and 1994. They found a paucity of Maori stories, dominated by “bad news” for and about Maori on television, with an overwhelming reliance on Pakeha sources on all programmes apart from *Mana News*.

They also found increases in unsupported assertions and stories about controversy and conflict across all news topics. Over the period, total speaking time for sources dropped in television news, which also exhibited a generalised blurring of boundaries between fact and opinion.

John Saunders concluded in 1996 that issues affecting Maori were under-reported and misreported by journalists in mainstream media and that most journalists were ill-equipped to

“ We have an official language, but only a couple of mainstream reporters who speak the language. How can you cover a hui when much of it is in Maori? ”

Derek Fox, in Saunders, 1996

report Maori news.

Sue Abel's 1997 book *Shaping the News: Waitangi Day on Television* described four themes that were ranked hierarchically in the 1990 coverage. TV news treated the dominant "one people" theme as "common sense" while the "Maori-centred" point of view was scarcely heard and described as "separatist".

The coverage also positioned Maori as either "wild" or "tame", masking the breadth of Maori support for protests about Treaty grievances. News items focussed on protest tactics rather than the underlying injustices.

In 2000, Banerjee and Osuri found that massacres of Australian Aboriginal people were ignored by newspaper coverage which consistently referred to the Port Arthur shootings as the worst massacre in Australian history. Lambertus found in 2003 that the omission of historical context about Canadian Aboriginal land grievances meant the media consistently depicted them as disruptive and aggressive.

In 2002, Judy McGregor and Margie Comrie published *What's News?*, a follow up to *Whose News?*, which they edited in 1992 on the media in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The earlier book contains a chapter by Derek Fox and the 2002 book one by Ranginui Walker that critique news coverage of Maori issues. They conclude that the marginalisation of Maori people and values from mainstream media results in the status quo, where as Walker puts it, "Maori news is bad news".

The Broadcasting Standards Authority analysed a *Holmes* programme about registration of a wahi tapu on the Bay of Plenty mountain Kopukairoa in 2003. It upheld the Ngati Pukenga complaint, finding that the coverage was unbalanced, inaccurate and unfair. The BSA said the programme "framed the item to evoke negative reactions among viewers" by focusing on Pakeha landowners who believed property rights had been taken away from them due to Maori spiritual beliefs.

In 2004 a group of Waikato University researchers led by Darrin Hodgetts showed that media coverage of the 2003 *Decade of Disparity* report supported views that blamed individual Maori and Maori health services for Maori health status. The same coverage challenged structural explanations for health disparities and was also dismissive of Maori models of health.

Rankine and McCreanor, also in 2004, showed that media coverage of a stomach cancer gene discovery by a Maori-Pakeha research

partnership credited the Pakeha genetics team with the breakthrough. That coverage depicted the whanau, who had initiated the project and managed the screening, mostly as diseased and passive objects of Pakeha help.

Comrie and Fountaine concluded in 2004 that journalists routinely use "Caucasian" sources who are in government or who represent an NGO. They also concluded that TVNZ "performs better than TV3 in the amount of news time given over to more serious subject matter".

However, to measure the channels' performances is misleading as there is a "lack of serious alternatives for viewers seeking robust news content". Despite the Charter, TVNZ continued to be under pressure to return a dividend to the Government and the researchers found there has been "little sign of improvement" in news that contained "serious subject matter".

“ From the nineteenth century to the present day, the Fourth Estate has played a consistent role in the way it selects, constructs and publishes news about Maori. This one-sided discourse has resulted in Maori seceding from the mainstream media to construct their own positive stories of success and cultural revival. ”

Ranginui Walker, 2002

HOW WE GATHERED OUR MEDIA ITEMS

In 1993, USA communication researchers Riffe, Aust and Lacy recommended that media researchers use a constructed week; seven individual days chosen randomly from different weeks. This method copes with the systematic variations in the number of news stories across the days of the week as well as a randomly chosen calendar week, and is less vulnerable to week by week fluctuations in story numbers. Lacy and others reviewed newspaper sampling in 2001 and recommended that when studying a period of less than five years, researchers should use two constructed weeks from each year to generate an adequate representation of stories.

Comrie and Fontaine's study of TVNZ news in 2003 used this method. We departed from this recommendation because we wanted to analyse how stories developed over consecutive days. Despite this minor variation, we consider the items gathered in our project to be reliably representative of stories about Maori-Pakeha relations in local, regional and national newspapers; also in news programmes from TV One, TV3 and Prime in 2004, regardless of variations in the number of relevant items from week to week. Time and resource constraints made it impossible for us to analyse radio news as well.

To avoid selection bias, international best practice guidelines require item dates to be specified before the media items are published or broadcast. We gathered stories from newspapers and television news and current affairs programmes, using two randomly chosen weeks specified more than six weeks earlier.

One was a consecutive week: 23 to 29 August 2004. The other was a constructed week, drawn from the months of September and October, 2004. The days were Monday 20 September, Tuesday 12 October, Wednesday 20 October, Thursday 7 October, Friday 10 September, Saturday 25 September and Sunday 3 October.

We contracted Chong Press Bureau Ltd, which offers a complete print media clipping service, to provide copies of all newspaper items that included the following key words and phrases:

- ▷ Treaty of Waitangi/Te Tiriti o Waitangi
- ▷ Maori-Pakeha relations
- ▷ Disparities between Maori and non-Maori/mainstream
- ▷ Sovereignty

- ▷ Land rights
- ▷ Foreshore and seabed
- ▷ Waitangi Tribunal
- ▷ Maori development,
- ▷ Constitutional change
- ▷ Iwi/hapu/whanau
- ▷ Maori health.

We decided to sample only television news and current affairs programmes in English, because we wanted to study the dominant media practices in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Copies of broadcast television news and current affairs items were provided by the Chapman Archive at the Political Studies Department of the University of Auckland for the same days and using the same key words.

Percentages have been rounded to the nearest whole number except in relation to sources.

Newspaper items

The keyword search yielded a total of 353 relevant newspaper items, 81 from the consecutive week and 272 from the constructed week. The two weeks were expected to provide different numbers of relevant items but this unexpected imbalance resulted from our misunderstanding of clipping service procedures. The bureau clipped items *received* during the week 23 to 29 August, while we had intended to obtain all items *produced* during that week.

Unfortunately, we lacked the resources to pay for the clipping to be redone retrospectively. However, we systematically compared consecutive and constructed week items and we believe the omitted items did not bias our collection and would not have altered the pattern of our findings.

The 353 items included 304 news articles, 21 columns, ten editorials, five invited articles, six reviews, and seven feature articles from 58 different local, regional, and national newspapers.

The *New Zealand Herald* (31 items), the *Gisborne Herald* (26) and the *Otago Daily Times* (24) ran the most stories identified by the keywords. Around ten percent of the total (36 items) appeared on the front page; the majority appeared on news pages 2 to 5 (53%, 187 items) or 6 to 10 (16%, 56). The biggest group of items were 11 to 20 sentences long (142 stories) and the next biggest were less than 11 sentences (81).

“ There is a proverb ‘he kanohi kitea’, meaning a face seen is appreciated and understood. In the Maori world it is rarely sufficient to make initial contact by telephone. ”
Michael King, 1985

Sixty-two percent of the items (220) were produced by the newspapers' own staff, a further 125 originated with NZPA and other papers. Newspapers did not state the origin of a further 17 articles that were very similar to other NZPA stories.

Maori stories sample

We found that some of the items that contained the keywords were peripheral to the Treaty and Maori-Pakeha relations. Two team members sorted the newspaper items into stories about Maori-Pakeha relations and others. We believe these issues are equally relevant to Pakeha New Zealanders; however, for this report we are calling them Maori stories. Decisions about any borderline stories were made by the group. Four members of the team sorted the television stories. Articles were defined as Maori stories if they focused on –

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

A total of 260 items were defined as Maori stories, 59 from the consecutive week and 201 from the constructed week.

Items were not defined as Maori stories if –

- ▷ Statistics about Maori were a minor part of an article about a health, social or education issue
- ▷ Maori political representation was a small part of an article about politics
- ▷ A Maori issue was used merely as a comparison for another topic
- ▷ Maori ownership or claim to a resource under discussion was mentioned only in passing.

Ninety-three items were excluded from the sources and other content analysis on this basis.

Maori stories came from 47 different publications. The bulk of articles (177) appeared in regional newspapers, 58 in seven publications that described themselves as national, and 25 were in local papers. Only 37 items appeared in non-daily publications.

The Maori stories included 230 news articles,

11 columns, five invited articles, four reviews, five editorials and five feature articles. Twenty-five of the news articles were front page stories.

Of the remainder, the bulk (150) appeared on news pages two to five, 42 on news pages six to ten, 25 in later news pages and 18 in other sections. Most of the stories (210) were under a quarter of a page; 38 were between a quarter and a half, and 12 took up more than half a page.

Sixty percent of the Maori stories (155) were generated by the newspaper that printed them; 87 were from NZPA or another paper; and 18 either did not state a source or were unclear. Most of the last group were very similar to other NZPA stories.

We analysed the themes and use of te reo Maori across all the newspaper items. The analysis of television news use of Maori was done only for the 20 Maori news stories. Our final analysis of newspaper sources, conflict, “good” and “bad” news and images was done only for the Maori stories sample.

Television items

A total of 29 relevant television items were obtained using the keyword search, 11 from the consecutive week and 18 from the constructed week. This low number is consistent with Comrie and Fountaine's finding that Maori items are relatively rare in television news.

Twenty-one items were news stories, three came from current affairs or feature programmes such as *Sunday* and *Frontseat* (2), and five from the interview-based programmes *Eye to Eye* (3) and *Marae* (2). With limited resources, we decided to focus on the 21 news items because they were comparable with the newspaper items. One of the items did not fit the Maori stories criteria and was not analysed, leaving 20 television items for analysis.

Eleven items were screened on TV One, eight on TV3 and one on Prime. Sixteen were broadcast during primetime (6 to 9.30pm). The average length of news stories was 109 seconds, under two minutes. They ranged from 16 seconds (the TV3 news piece on Ani Waaka's resignation from Maori Television) to 346 seconds (the TV3 news item on the Destiny Church march). Five contained footage only of the presenter in the studio.

“The media and the government's.. assimilative policies have both played a part in marginalising Kai Tahu's story. They have engaged in generations of stereotyping and minimalising of a people that have never really been understood.”

Hana O'Regan, 2001

HOW WE CATEGORISED OUR ITEMS

Topics

Once we had all our items, we decided that they did not fit into pre-set topics identified in other research. We worked collectively, sorting the newspaper and television items by subject to arrive at a set of 14 topics. All items were assigned to one topic only.

Table 1: Topics in the total items

Topics	Newspapers	TV news
Arts	14	
Business	23	9
Education	31	
Financial probity	6	5
Fisheries	15	
Foreshore and seabed	23	1
Health	46	
Land	34	
Maori-Pakeha relations	31	
Political representation	64	2
Religion	6	4
Sport	1	
Statistics	9	
Treaty	50	
Total	353	21

Newspaper topics

▷ Political representation was the most common topic among our newspaper items (see Table 1), including Maori representation in parliament, political parties and processes; local bodies; iwi organisations; and events such as the Hui Taumata. The most common story (23 items) was the controversy about John Tamihere’s time at the Waipareira Trust.

▷ The next biggest newspaper category was the Treaty, which included Treaty settlements; the Waitangi Tribunal; issues between claimant groups; political party treaty policies; and education meetings about the Treaty. The most common story in this group was the lakes settlement with Te Arawa.

▷ The third largest topic was health, which included articles about poverty; meningococcal

vaccinations; a how-to hangi booklet; health promotion activities; heart disease; smoking; obesity; stomach bugs; the cost of healthcare and Primary Health Organisations (PHO). The most common story was the release of a Government report about poverty.

▷ Land was next; this topic included articles about bones and artefacts; resource consent issues and sales of land involving Maori; and Maori land trusts.

▷ Maori and Pakeha relations included discussions of powhiri and other Maori practices; scientific debate about the arrival of Maori; research partnerships; historical items; and vandalism of Maori sites. Trevor Mallard’s comments about powhiri was the most common story.

▷ Also with 31 items, the education category included kaupapa Maori education; the “singalong” polytechnic course; Maori at university; tertiary scholarships; literacy; and community courses.

▷ Foreshore and seabed items included the Bill hearings; court appeals; the hikoi; political party policies; and local foreshore issues.

▷ Business included the controversy about airspace over Lake Taupo; iwi and Maori small businesses; and Maori Television.

▷ Fisheries included the distribution of fisheries assets and the Aquaculture Reform Bill.

▷ The arts included items about cultural festivals; books, Maori visual arts and music, television shows and ta moko.

▷ Statistics largely included Maori in figures on housing, social indicators and injuries.

▷ Financial probity included articles on TVNZ corporate credit card spending and Community Employment Group grants.

▷ Religion included items about the Destiny Church, the Maori Battalion, a gospel choir and a funeral director.

▷ There was only one sport item.

Television topics

The most common category was business, followed by financial probity, religion (all about the Destiny Church march), political representation, and the foreshore and seabed.

“There were injustices, and the Treaty process is an attempt to acknowledge that, and to make a gesture at recompense. But it is only that. It can be no more than that.”

Don Brash, 2004

“Most of the race privilege now distorting our democracy depends on the fuzzy ‘partnership’ - which was invented by a few judges, from a Treaty document that has no hint of partnership in it.”

Stephen Franks, 2004

WE CARRIED OUT thematic analysis and analysed use of te reo Maori across all the 353 newspaper items. Our content analyses of newspaper sources, conflict, “good” and “bad” news and images were done only for the 260 Maori stories sample.

We performed textual readings, counts of te reo Maori and use of sources for the 20 Maori television news stories.

NEWSPAPER ANALYSIS

Newspaper content analysis process

Cited or paraphrased sources in the Maori stories sample were indicated by the use of words such as “said” and “told”. Any sentence including at least one word from a source in quotation marks was counted as a quotation. Every sentence of editorials, columns and invited articles was counted as a quotation by the author unless another source was explicitly quoted.

Article titles were entered on an Excel spreadsheet, with the name of the newspaper and topic, the description of the sources used in the item, the number, gender and ethnicity of cited and paraphrased sources, and the numbers and content of any images used.

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 of stories. Where this was unknown, it was coded as “not stated”.

One team member identified and coded whether an item included only Pakeha sources, only Maori sources, or a mix; the ordinal position of the sentence in which each source was first cited; and whether the item included controversy. Following on from McGregor and Comrie’s broadcasting study and Ranginui Walker’s chapter in *What’s News?*, stories were also coded as “bad” news, including “bad” news for or about Maori; “good” news or “neutral”. While many news items emphasise conflict or negative issues, we wanted to provide a

benchmark of the balance of “good” and “bad” news in Maori stories.

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 Maori or Pakeha (eg squabbling)
- ▷ A source made negative generalisations about Maori that went unchallenged by the reporter or were supported by headlines or images (eg that Maori practices undermine equality)
- ▷ The story contained negative statements about Maori and Maori comments were absent or inadequate
- ▷ The story focused on a negative issue such as possible fraud
- ▷ Sources insulted each other
- ▷ The story framed Maori as a threat
- ▷ The story was framed using themes or phrases identified by research as supporting negative constructions of Maori.

“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. Some stories contained a mix of “good” and “bad” news. For example, one about a PhD on Maori smoking was positive about the author but negative about the proportion of Maori smokers. It was coded as “bad” news, while a shorter version of the same story that focused only on the author was coded as “good” news.

To analyse newspaper use of te reo Maori, one team member identified every Maori word for which there is an alternative in English in all the items. For example, Rotorua was not counted, but Maungawhau (Mt Eden) was. Pipi was not counted but kai moana was. Names of iwi and other Maori organisations, Maori events, course and job titles, flora and fauna, and many place names were not counted. We did not count uses of the word Maori.

However, iwi names were counted if they were provided as part of an iwi affiliation not connected

“ Virtually all who now call themselves Maori are more Pakeha in their ethnicity.. any dispassionate review of the Treaty will conclude that it didn't guarantee a full-blooded Maori, let alone someone more Pakeha than Maori 164 years later, a right to preferential treatment over others. ”

Michael Bassett, 2004

to the topic of the story. Variations in spelling were noted.

The total number of different words and their repetitions were then counted in the qualitative computer research programme N6. Words were coded according to where they appeared in the item (for example, headline, intro/first paragraph, or body of the item) and whether they were accompanied by a translation.

Newspaper thematic analysis process

One team member scanned the articles and sorted them into Word documents. Headlines, introductions, captions, summaries and drop quotes were identified; the sentence count and page numbers were included with a description and count of any pictures. These documents were imported into QSR's qualitative research programme N6.

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 and Edley in 2001.

One researcher repeatedly reread all the newspaper items by topic to write a "first cut" description of the construction and content of themes. The whole research team then worked together to refine and strengthen the analyses of the emerging patterns. The team also selected particular topics and coverage to analyse for in-depth case studies, which were each written by one team member.

TELEVISION ANALYSIS

Twenty of the 21 news items fitted the criteria for Maori stories. Four of the researchers worked on the television analysis, each taking responsibility for several items. Each item was transcribed and segmented by one team member to identify changes of shot, speaker, on-screen visuals or ambient sound. Researchers also watched news items repeatedly to assess the interplay between visual images, ambient sound and the narrated story.

Using the same criteria as the newspaper analysis, we assessed the use of te reo Maori. One team member collated and categorised sources for each story, distinguishing between those who were referred to and those appearing in the edited segments after the presenter's introduction.

From the transcript of the narrative for each item, we identified the crux as it was presented by the newsreader and examined how that core meaning was elaborated, usually by a reporter, through the visuals, background sound and the use of pictured and reported sources.

In focusing on the spoken elements of the text we were guided by researchers such as Butler and Nelson, who have shown that television relies more on the spoken narrative than the visuals in competing for attention in busy homes. According to those authors, a viewer's attention may be captured by a story's images but their understanding of the item will be shaped by the edited relationships between words and pictures.

Corner says television news constructs compelling eyewitness experiences for viewers; Abel says the nature of visuals may determine whether or not an item is screened at all. Atkinson argued in 1994 that an authoritative presence onscreen or pictorial opportunities were more important for TVNZ news than the potential to find or develop new stories or angles. In the light of the importance of visuals and the small number of television items, we decided to focus on detailed case studies that included 13 of the 20 items.

LIMITS OF OUR METHOD AND ANALYSIS

We acknowledge the exploratory nature of this pilot project. We learned much in the doing and refined our methodology to meet the demands of the items we collected and the unforeseen possibilities that emerged.

Inevitably there are things that we will do better in the next year of the research, such as collection instructions for our media monitoring contractors and the depth of visuals analysis in TV items. Our process, in particular the peer review, included an intensive assessment of ways in which we could improve our methodology.

However, we are satisfied that our analysis, combined with rigorous peer review by ten journalists, researchers and educators, can be relied upon as a valid critique of television news and newspaper constructions of Maori stories in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

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

▷ The number of Maori stories compared to other types of television news and newspaper

stories during our sampling period

- ▷ Maori stories as a proportion of the total number of television news and newspaper stories during our sampling period
- ▷ Maori stories in television current affairs programmes
- ▷ Radio, magazines, internet and other unsampled media news
- ▷ Changes in any features of our analysis over time
- ▷ How stories and themes identified in our

TE REO MAORI

In newspapers

Our keywords meant that we selected articles about Maori issues or because they contained particular Maori words. They were therefore more likely to contain words in te reo Maori than articles in general. A little more than half of the 353 items included at least one word of te reo Maori for which there was an English alternative.

A total of 151 different words, phrases, sentences and proper names, including place names and iwi affiliations, were used multiple times, totalling more than 825 instances. We counted 89 words that were translated at least once, leaving 62 different words and phrases untranslated.

Iwi (188), powhiri (80) and, Pakeha (51) were the most frequent words, followed by marae, hangi, hui, hikoi, waiata, tangata whenua, and kapa haka. Some words commonly used in New Zealand English, such as whanau, kuia, powhiri, tamariki, kaumatua, kura, hapu, taonga, runanga and korowai, were each translated at least once.

Seven complete sentences in te reo Maori were used, one in a headline. The headline “Ko Hikurangi te maunga, ko Waiapu te awa, ko Ngati Porou te iwi” was used untranslated by the *Gisborne Herald* above an article about a Ngati Porou festival, which also included a further sentence in Maori. Two untranslated sentences appeared in one *Bay of Plenty Times* Kapai’s Corner column.

A further sentence, also untranslated, was the final line in an invited *Press* article by the Chief Judge of the Waitangi Tribunal. A *Nelson Mail* supplement used a whakatauki and translation provided by a Maori business, Communis, and a tutor of te reo Maori used the language with a translation in the *Wairoa Star* to invite

items, for example Maori economic management and financial probity, compare with similar stories about non-Maori.

The number of television news items we collected was too small for any statistical analysis. Given that this is a pilot project and that the television sample was small, we view our television figures as indicative only. We also view figures about any particular newspaper or television channel in the same light.

kaumatua to an open day.

The Treaty was referred to by its Maori name once. Three stories gave the iwi affiliations of people mentioned. There were some newly-coined combinations, such as pinga (a transliteration of pinger, money), cyberwaka and “Nati Idol”, which reflected the interaction of the two languages. We noted two uses of South Island forms; runaka and Kai Tahu.

To determine each newspaper’s use of Maori, we had to identify what proportion of stories containing te reo Maori were provided from external sources. The *New Zealand Herald* had the most stories (19) containing at least a word of te reo Maori for which an English alternative was available. All but two originated with *Herald* staff. These articles used a total of 20 different words and phrases and translated five of them. Two of those stories used te reo Maori in headlines and six in the first paragraph.

The *Gisborne Herald* had 16 stories that were richer in te reo Maori, using 36 words and phrases and translating only four. This newspaper also had a high proportion of original stories (13) about Maori issues, and Maori words appeared in six headlines and nine first paragraphs.

The *Daily Post* in Rotorua (13 stories), the *Dominion Post* (11) and the *Otago Daily Times* (10) used similar numbers of Maori words (13 to 18) for which English alternatives were available. The *Waikato Times* (11 stories), the *Wanganui Chronicle* (10), the *Press* (9) and the *Manawatu Standard* (8) used slightly fewer Maori words (8 to 12).

All the *Dominion Post*’s stories containing te reo Maori were written by journalists working on the paper, and these stories were often the source of NZPA stories used by other papers. Other regional papers generally used few words in te reo Maori and fewer than half were in stories originating with the paper.

The *Westport News*, the *Southland Times*,

FINDINGS

“Woolly thinking politicians are taking “principles” that have never been defined from a “living” document that changes according to the political needs of the time!”

Winston Peters, 2003

“Our demands were so mediocre: ‘Five minutes of Maori on television’, but you would have thought we were asking for the moon.”

Ripeka Evans on Nga Tamatoa and Te Reo Maori protests, 1993

the *Timaru Herald*, the *Horowhenua Kapiti Chronicle*, the *Nelson Mail* and the *Taranaki Daily News* had from five to seven stories, with five to eight words of te reo Maori each.

The *Bay of Plenty Times* was an exception; its six stories used a total of 32 Maori words, 22 of which were used untranslated in one piece by a Maori columnist. The *Horowhenua Kapiti Chronicle* was the only other paper whose stories using Maori words were all written by local reporters.

The *Press* and the *Bay of Plenty Times* had more of their own stories using te reo Maori than NZPA stories; the *Waikato Times* and the *Southland Times* used half each, while the rest of the papers relied on NZPA for a majority of stories that included Maori words.

The dailies which made the least use of te reo Maori were the *Dannevirke Evening News* (three stories), and *Hawkes Bay Today* (2); Greymouth’s *West Coast Times*, the *Wairarapa Times-Age*, the *Ashburton Guardian* and the *Greymouth Evening Star*, all with one.

The *Northern Advocate*, serving an area with a high Maori population, included te reo Maori in three stories, featuring five Maori words for which there were English alternatives.

Spelling and use of te reo Maori was inconsistent. Some spellings, such as wahi tapu and waahi tapu, reflected styles for spoken emphasis taught at different universities. One word, rūnanga, appeared with a macron, a common way of indicating a long vowel in written Maori.

Pakeha was used uncapitalised seven times. The words pa, runaka, taonga, tangata whenua, marae, roopu and kaitiaki were capitalised in the middle of sentences in some articles. Kapa haka was spelt as one word and two.

There were some simple errors. In five stories distributed through NZPA, the original misspelling of “waiata” instead of waiata went untouched by sub-editors; runanga was spelt once as “runga”, which means top; kaiwhakahaere as “kaiwhakaere”, Ngati as Ngatai, and Waipareira as “Waipiera” in a headline; an article about a Maori maths (tikanga pangarau) dictionary spelt it once as “Panagarau”. Journalists occasionally combined Maori with English forms to make inept combinations such as “whanau’s”, or (in four papers) “powhiris”.

In television news

We used the same criteria in counting words of te reo Maori for the 20 television items as for the newspaper ones. Fourteen items contained no Maori phrases or words. Of the six items that did include te reo Maori, seven Maori words were

used 16 times: hapu (four), hikoi (four), haka (three), iwi (two), whanau, wero and marae. We did not assess presenters’ pronunciation of Maori, but plan to track changes in this over time.

SOURCES

Newspaper sources

One researcher carried out this analysis on the Maori stories sample. A total of 719 sources were used in the 260 items, an average of 2.7 sources per item. The number of sources used ranged from none to 11.

Table 2: Number of newspaper sources

Number of sources	Number of stories	Percentage of stories
0	12	4.6
1	96	36.9
2	42	16.1
3	31	11.9
4	30	11.5
5	14	5.4
6	16	6.1
7	8	3.1
8 - 11	11	4.2
	260	99.8

Twelve news stories gave no sources for their information. Two of these appeared in the *Waikato Times* and one in the Christchurch *Press*, and the remainder in smaller regional, suburban or rural papers.

As expected, most columns and invited articles and all editorials gave no sources for their assertions. Four other articles quoted or cited anonymous sources; they included Maori television or Labour “insiders”, Maori fisheries negotiators and an Auckland school principal.

Sixteen stories noted that a total of 29 people had been approached for comment but had declined or been unavailable. Twenty-seven of those were Maori, 21 men and six women. All were stories about resources or business and all but one were contentious and coded as “bad news” stories.

Six of those were Lake Taupo airspace stories that originated with an item in which one Pakeha and three Maori sources had declined to comment. Two of the Maori people who had declined appeared in several versions of the

story. Five stories were about the Rotorua lakes Treaty settlement; the same two Maori sources were reported as declining to comment in all five, with an additional Maori source declining in the original story.

Ethnicity and gender of newspaper sources

People who identified as Pakeha were the biggest group of sources by ethnicity for the Maori stories, totalling 45% (321). Thirty-seven percent (270) of the sources cited were Maori. Ethnicity could not be identified for 15% (107) of sources.

This last group was made up of organisations such as political parties and government agencies; publications; unnamed spokespeople for named organisations, such as a university; writers of editorial and columns, and other sources whose ethnicity was not identified. Seventy stories used sources whose ethnicity was not identified. People who identified as both Maori and Pakeha (16) made up two percent of total sources, and five people of Pacific and other ethnicities made up one percent.

Eight of the 16 columns and invited articles in our Maori stories sample were by Maori, three by Pakeha and one by a Pacific writer. The ethnicity of writers for four of the columns and the five editorials was not identified.

Reporters quoted or cited three times as many men (64%) as women (21%) but the proportion varied by ethnicity. Stories cited more than four times as many Pakeha male sources (263, 37%) as Pakeha women (58, 8%) and double the number of Maori male sources (183, 25%) to Maori female sources (87, 12%).

Pakeha men were used as sources in 136 stories, and Pakeha women in 47. National leader Don Brash was the most common source, featuring in 27 stories. Prime Minister Helen Clark was the most often cited Pakeha female source, appearing in 15 stories. Maori men were used as sources in 124 stories and Maori women in 67.

New Zealand First leader Winston Peters was the most quoted Maori male source, appearing in 18 stories and commenting on powhiri, John Tamihere, and limits on Treaty claims. Sir Howard Morrison was the next most common Maori male source, in 11 stories. Maori Party co-leader Tariana Turia was the most cited Maori woman, writing two columns and cited in another 12 stories.

In 23 of the stories, sources were paraphrased only, while 34 only quoted sources and did not paraphrase.

Thirty-six percent of stories (94) used both Maori and Pakeha sources, including five stories that quoted a single source who identified as both Maori and Pakeha. Twenty-nine percent of stories (76) used Maori sources only, drawing on people from a range of different organisations and contexts. The highest proportions of stories using Maori sources only were from items categorised as health (83%), arts (75%) and fisheries (54%).

Twenty-three percent of stories (61) used only Pakeha sources, mostly Parliament or occasionally local body politicians debating Maori issues. Sixty percent of stories that used Maori sources only were coded as “good news”; 52% of stories that used Pakeha sources only were coded as “bad news”. Five of the 26 Maori-Pakeha relations items used only Pakeha sources. None of the items in the Maori-Pakeha relations topic used Maori sources only.

Order of newspaper sources

Pakeha men were quoted or cited earliest on average in stories, at around the fourth sentence. Maori women and men were first quoted on average at around the seventh sentence. Sources whose ethnicity was unidentified were first cited on average after the ninth sentence. Pakeha women were first cited on average after 12 sentences.

Television sources

This ethnicity and gender analysis was done on the 20 Maori news stories. Five featured the studio presenter only with no edited item to follow. Counting the individual sources for each item, 47 sources appeared in 60 clips from studio or on location interviews in the 15 edited stories. Thirteen sources were derived from on-location speech clips at an event; the other 47 clips were from on-location or studio interviews with a reporter.

Some sources appeared more than once in the same item and several individuals appeared as sources in more than one item. Across the 15 edited stories, a total of 36 people appeared as sources. The average number of sources in the 15 stories appearing in studio or on-location interview clips was 3.1.

Source clips ranged from 3 to 20 seconds. The average length of source interview clips was 8.3 seconds, with little difference between the averages for the two main channels.

There were a total of 26 reporters and presenters for the television items. The majority (14) were Pakeha (six men and eight women), the ethnicity of eight was unidentified, and four were Maori (all women).

“Television goes right into the homes and hearts of Maoridom in a way no other delivery system does.. Its effect on us must therefore be looked at in some detail and with great care.”

Richard Benton, 1985

“The greatest neglect by mainstream broadcasting over the years has been the lack of coverage given to the role Maori women have played.. in almost all programmes which have been successful.”

Ripeka Evans, 1993

“ To accede to Maori demands for autonomy would indeed be proof that the goal of ‘one people’ has not been achieved.. Maori protest, therefore, has been regarded as a challenge to the nation’s special identity. ”
 Claudia Orange, 1987

“ ..New Zealand’s intergroup problems [are seen as] natural racial differences, whereas .. the real causes of current conflicts lie in the economic and political organisation of New Zealand society. ”
 Margaret Wetherell and Jonathan Potter, 1992

Ethnicity and gender of television sources

Of the sources in the 60 clips whose ethnicity we were able to identify, half were Maori (24, 14 men and 10 women) and half Pakeha (23, 18 men and 5 women). There was one interview with an Asian woman and 12 sources (six men and six women) whose ethnicity we could not establish. Sound clips of Maori women were longer on average (9 seconds), followed by Maori men and Pakeha women (8 seconds), and Pakeha men (6 seconds). There was a slight difference between average clip length for women and men.

The source clips from on-location or studio interviews included slightly more clips of Pakeha (19, 14 men and 5 women) than Maori (16, 11 men and five women). One Asian woman was interviewed and we were unable to establish the ethnicity of five male and six female interviewees. In this small sample of set-up interviews male sources (29) outnumbered women (18).

There were differences in the gender and ethnicity of interviewed sources between TV One and TV3 but, given the smallness of the sample, we regard those differences as merely suggestive

Of the 15 edited stories, six featured only non-Maori sources, five used only Maori sources and four used both. The two channels had similar numbers of stories in each of these three categories

Across the 20 news stories a further 17 source persons were referred to, paraphrased, or cited without being shown on screen. More than half of these were identified as Maori (three men and six women), five of the remainder were Pakeha (three men, two women) and we were unable to specify the ethnicity of the last three.

The items also drew on a range of institutional sources and documents that included “government”, MPs and their staff, iwi and iwi organisations, statutory bodies, a church, reports, a letter, and two Bills before Parliament.

Two such documents were represented visually: John Tamihere’s letter to the auditors of the Waipareira Trust and a One News Colmar Brunton poll. More commonly an institutional source was named: Ports of Auckland, Tuwharetoa Trust Board, Destiny Church, Waipareira Trust, or media organisations and a spokesperson, usually unnamed, was paraphrased or cited.

In two items the name of the iwi, Ngati Tuwharetoa and Tainui, were used when the journalist was referring to the trust board. The Bills, “a legal opinion” (Lake Taupo airspace story) and “an audit” (Te Uri o Hau story) were merely referred to in creating the context for the

respective stories.

IMAGES

Newspaper images

The Maori stories ran with a total of 129 images. Sixty percent of the stories did not have a picture. Twenty-eight percent (74) had one image, 13 articles had two images and five had three or more. Three of the last were large feature stories and two were original news stories. One, in the *New Zealand Herald*, broke the Lake Taupo airspace story; the other, in the *Dominion Post*, was an original story about Trevor Mallard’s comments on school powhiri.

In six images individuals could not be identified, either because of the number present or the smallness of the images. These images showed the first foreshore and seabed hikoi, a school powhiri, a group of kindergarten children, a kapa haka group, a conservation course and a church group. When those images were excluded, the pictures included 43 of Pakeha men, 36 of Maori men, 22 of Maori women, 18 of objects and nine of Pakeha women.

The two people most commonly appearing in photographs - both in 10 - were National leader Don Brash (mostly in stories about the Rotorua lakes Treaty settlement) and Education Minister Trevor Mallard (in stories about his comments on powhiri). John Tamihere, with four images, was the most commonly portrayed Maori man. Finance Minister Michael Cullen and MP Clayton Cosgrove were each depicted three times.

There were two photographs each of ACT leader Rodney Hide, MP Michael Bassett and Te Arawa spokesman Howard Morrison. Only three Maori women’s photographs were included more than once - Tariana Turia, Te Arikiniui Te Atairangi Kahu and Gisborne principal Lisa Maniapoto - each on two occasions.

Fifteen percent (18) of the images were of objects; some illustrated articles about the Navy, Aoraki, tourism, and artefacts. Three illustrated articles about air rights above Lake Taupo showed paragliding, and a carved Maori gateway with the lake in the background.

Television images

Nine items made frequent use of Maori visual imagery such as haka, the warrior stance, marae or men in piupiu. Three items used this imagery sparsely, and eight did not use it at all. This imagery is explored in our case studies.

THEMES IN THE COVERAGE

Newspaper themes

In this analysis we looked at all the media items to see how they treated the themes identified in the introduction, and to identify new themes. Writers of 24 items used terms “race-based”, “race war” and “race debate”, and sources used them in 18 other stories, in ways which drew on and reproduced the “Privilege” and “Maori inheritance” themes.

Writers used the terms in quote marks only five times; they were used five times in headlines (four about powhiri), and 12 times in the first paragraph. One editorial and an article mentioned Maori tribal or race “privilege” and two Maori sources raised this theme in the context of uninformed debate; other examples are explored in the case studies.

Eight stories included the “One people” theme; for example when a local body candidate answered only: “We are all Kiwis, New Zealanders of Aotearoa” to a newspaper poll on representation of Maori. Other stories which included the “Stirrers”, “Maori violence” and “Good Maori/Bad Maori” themes are also explored in the case studies.

We identified three new themes.

Maori control of resources

Many of our items dealt with issues of Maori economic resources. Items grouped into Treaty, land, fisheries, business and seabed and foreshore topics accounted for more than 40% of the total. Thirty-five of the items in these categories express a new theme, which we call “Maori resources”.

This theme enables speakers to be strongly critical of moves (especially when based on Te Tiriti) that potentially could return significant resources to Maori control. Sources using this theme implied that Maori have gained enough resources, and been reimbursed generously by the Government in Treaty settlements and contemporary legislation.

This pattern is likely to have emerged in response to claims settlements, and is marshalled against the danger that economic self-determination for Maori will threaten Pakeha control of the social order. Examples of this theme are explored in case studies 4 and 7.

Maori and money

Thirty-six items included voices that raised strong criticism of Maori use of money,

which we identified as a new theme and called “Financial probity”. The bulk of these were about management of Waipareira Trust finances or hapu assets. In this theme Maori were depicted as having unfair access to diverse funding sources and support for projects that did not deserve it. Items expressing this theme also constructed Maori as corrupt or economically incompetent. This theme was expressed in reports about Community Employment Group (CEG) funding, and a waiata-based polytechnic Maori language “singalong” course.

Maori success stories

While reporting of supposed Maori failure and underachievement was common, an emergent theme which we called “Maori success” was apparent in 21 articles, mainly coded as arts, business and education.

Particular forms of Maori economic development were given very positive coverage in seven percent of the items. Reporting about Maori in tourism frequently gave positive descriptions of businesses led by Maori which incorporated Maori culture into tourist activities. Maori products and business ideas were described as innovative and successful, and Maori entrepreneurship was commended.

Marketing a product as “indigenous” and “authentic” Maori culture was encouraged as a business strategy leading to success, especially in overseas markets. Maori were portrayed at the cutting edge of arts marketing in one *New Zealand Herald* article (10 September) where Maori artists are said to have “new ways of showing or presenting the world”.

There are a small number of positive articles on Maori education, particularly Maori university postgraduates and research partnerships, a new Maori maths dictionary, conservation and te reo courses and activities.

“GOOD” AND “BAD” NEWS

In newspaper items

We were unable to compare rates of “good” and “bad” news with other news categories because we looked at Maori news items only. Items coded as “bad” news made up 42% (111) of our Maori sample; 31% (80) were coded “good” news items and 26% (69) coded as “neutral”. There was a large overlap with items coded as including conflict; all but seven of the 71 stories that were about or included conflict were coded as “bad” news.

Topics that included the highest proportion of

“ ..the European record in the last century and a half has shown a determination to dominate. In many respects New Zealand, in spite of the Treaty, has been merely a variation in the pattern of colonial domination of indigenous races. The gap between Maori and European expectations of the treaty remains unbridged.”

Claudia Orange, 1987

“good” news items were arts (91%), religion (66%) and health (58%). Topics with the highest proportion of “bad” news items were Maori-Pakeha relations (77%), Treaty (69%) and foreshore and seabed (50%). There were only three stories in the financial probity topic but all were coded as “bad” news. The topics with the highest proportion of “neutral” items were land (57%), political representation (47%) and foreshore and seabed (37%).

Eleven of the columns, invited articles and editorials were categorised as “good” news, four as neutral and seven as “bad” news.

Items generated by the paper in which they were published usually included a lower proportion of “bad” news stories (33%) than those from NZPA and other outside sources (56%). Overall, newspapers’ own Maori stories included five times the proportion of “good” news (45%) compared to those from outside sources (9%).

In television news

Using the same criteria, 15 television stories were labelled as “bad” news (nine on TV One, five on TV3 news and one on Prime news). Five were neutral (two on TV One and three on 3 News); none were coded as “good” news. Six of the nine business items were coded as “bad” news.

CONFLICT

In newspapers

Sixty percent of the Maori stories (155) were about a conflict or disagreement. Excluding sport (with only one story) the topics that most often included conflict were Treaty (83%), fisheries (81%) and Maori-Pakeha relations (77%). Categories with the smallest proportions of items that included conflict were arts (8%), health (25%) and education (28%).

Stories generated by the paper in which they were published were almost half as likely to be about or refer to conflict (46%) compared to stories from NZPA and other outside sources (80%).

To explore the written imagery used to describe conflict, two team members identified 111 print items in which at least two individuals or groups disagreed *and* where the reporter used verbs and nouns to describe the difference of opinion or the behaviour of those who disagreed, rather than merely quoting the different parties.

Seventy-two items were about conflict between Maori and non-Maori individuals or groups; this included conflict among MPs, between MPs and other parties such as those making submissions to select committees, between parties about land or other resources.

Nineteen items described conflict between non-Maori; for example, disagreements among scientists, or conflicts between MPs, local body councillors, conservation groups, or within schools. Twenty items, often intensive and detailed, focused on conflict between Maori, over issues such as representation in Treaty claims, unresolved disagreements from the land wars and enterprise management.

Much of the coverage coded for conflict drew upon images of military struggles. These predominated in items about disagreement between Maori and non-Maori, mostly in descriptions of debates between MPs and select committee hearings on the Foreshore and Seabed Bill.

The military language included: “machine-gunning”, “clash”, “battle”, “war”, “hijacked”, “turned his fire on”. Images of more personal combat were also common in items reporting disagreements between Maori and non-Maori: “attack”, “threat”, “hatchet job”, “hit”, “enemy”, “come out swinging” and “fight”.

The words used to describe disagreements among non-Maori or among Maori were generally less violent, despite a few boxing images. Mostly the language emphasised differences of opinion – “criticism”, “challenged”, “dismissed”, “opposed”, “rejected”.

Four disparaging terms for disagreement were used. “Cat-fighting” was a paraphrase and “bickering” and “squabbles” were used in quotes from Pakeha and Maori sources. Two reporters used disparaging terms to describe disagreements among Maori. The resignation of the chair of the Tainui iwi executive, Tuku Morgan, was said to be due to “wrangling”. Te Arawa debates about representation on a Treaty claim negotiation team were described as “squabbles”. Each story appeared in two papers.

Conflict in television

Eleven of the items featured Maori comment in conflict with comment from non-Maori sources. In most of these stories the issue was defined by non-Maori, and Maori sources were limited to reacting within that frame. An example is coverage of the Auckland hearings of the Foreshore and Seabed Bill select committee. The focus was the event; the reporter characterised Maori as disruptive, by highlighting protesters’ actions and the possibility of civil war if the Bill was passed. Seven of the nine business items featured such constructions of conflict.

“ ..people who
20 years ago didn’t
consider themselves
Maori are now
very Maori.
And the more
settlements there are
the more grieved Maori
there
will be.”
Jim Peron, 2004

SILENCES

We identified what we believe to be gaps and silences on particular topics. Tino rangatiratanga, which Kawharu defines as “full and unqualified exercise of Maori chieftainship”, guaranteed in Te Tiriti o Waitangi, was used twice. The terms “biculturalism” or “bicultural” were used in four stories, twice by Maori sources. These two stories were repeated through NZPA, making a total of 17 mentions. Only three items used the word “colonisation”, and the adjective “colonial” appeared in a further three.

For example, an *Otago Daily Times* article (25 September) reporting on the work of two ta moko artists acknowledged the impact of colonisation on Maori populations:

“In places such as Ruatoki.. where communities had been less affected by colonisation, it was more common for people to have customary facial moko.”

There were 132 references to the Treaty in our newspaper items, and one to te Tiriti o Waitangi. Almost all the items assumed that readers knew what the Treaty said and how Treaty settlements were made. Among this wealth of references, only three items included any detail about what the Treaty actually says.

A Maori group quoted a Treaty clause in one sentence, MP Michael Bassett mentioned a couple of possible breaches in a long article, and Waitangi Tribunal chair Joe Williams in his response mentioned a Treaty right.

STATISTICAL COMPARISONS

In newspaper items in the health category, articles on smoking, heart disease and obesity dominated and reporting typically took a victim-focussed approach. Maori rates of risky behaviours were presented rather than an attempt being made to place those behaviours in relation to the social determinants of health.

A cluster of newspaper stories about health and other disparities mentioned Maori only in passing and those items were excluded from the Maori sample. However, we believed one aspect of these stories deserved closer study. Many of these stories compare Maori health or social statistics with Pakeha figures, providing little contextual information to assist in the interpretation of the data. Examples include:

“Maori children appear to be at increased risk of injury deaths as motor vehicle passengers.”

“Older Maori and Pacific people are more likely to be renting than older Pakeha.”

“Maori lag behind other ethnic groups – in 2002, 39% of Maori school leavers and 54% of Pacific students had Sixth Form certificate or higher compared with 68% of European students.”

“..there is a longer ‘tail’.. of underachievers and non-achievers. A disproportionate chunk of this ‘tail’ is Maori or Polynesian.”

“..high rates of heart disease among Maori.”

“Rates of vaccination for Maori children lag behind..”

“[Smoking] experimentation among young Maori was higher.”

“..some population groups, such as Maori and Polynesian people, have a high prevalence of the risk factors.”

“Premature death and disease in the Maori population remains at unacceptable high levels.”

In the only such article where Maori were less affected by a health condition than Pakeha, the writer made it clear that this was an exception: “Unlike many other diseases, it is more common in Europeans”. Maori figures were often grouped with statistics for Pacific populations. Although some health and social status data may be similar for these populations, such grouping works to position Maori as one of a number of ethnic groups and undermine their tangata whenua status.

CONSECUTIVE WEEK STORY DEVELOPMENT

The consecutive week sample allowed us to track the development of news stories and explore the cumulative impact of coverage as stories unfolded over time. As we did not receive a complete collection of the consecutive week articles, this summary of the Foreshore and Seabed Bill hearing coverage, which broke during the week of 21 to 28 August, can only be indicative.

Seven items from four papers covered the Select Committee’s Auckland hearings of submissions on the Bill. On 21 August, the *Otago Daily Times* and the *Gisborne Herald* published ACT criticisms of the Select Committee process, especially its decision to hear only about ten percent of proffered oral submissions.

On 25 August the *New Zealand Herald*, *Dominion Post* and *Christchurch Press* reported on worries about Select Committee security in the face of rumours of violent protest, although interestingly, authoritative sources staunchly denied that violence was likely.

“When people are in survival mode, you can’t do health promotion effectively. They need a job or a house or food, or their kids are sick.. You can’t say .. ‘Would you please stop smoking - it’s bad for you’..”

Paparangi Reid, 1994

“Those most likely to be offended are the old and the influential. They .. believe that just as there are limits to good taste and proper behaviour in the Pakeha world, so those corresponding limits should be learned and respected by Pakeha in the Maori context.”

Michael King, 1985

On 26 August the same papers headlined claims that Professor Margaret Mutu had told the Select Committee that the legislation if enacted would result in civil war in her Ngati Kahu district. While committee member Dr Wayne Mapp said that such comments were inflammatory and amounted to treason, the Ngati Kahu submission avoided the implication that any conflict would arise from the Ngati Kahu side, saying instead that Crown confiscation was the problem. The final story in the *Waikato Times*, also on 26 August, deflated the tension with a steadfast no comment from Tainui leader Kingi Porima in response to questions about Professor Mutu's submissions.

The headlines tracked the rise and fall of the story. The 21 August items lead with “Act critical of Bill hearings” and “Foreshore legislations being ‘rammed through’ says Act MP”, non-partisan but signalling through the disquiet of the far right an issue of concern.

By 25 August the wording is more direct and active: “MPs to get identity cards for foreshore hearing amid security fears”; “Members put on security alert”. On 26 August, this momentum bursts into “‘Bloodshed’ if seabed bill passed” and “Maori academic predicts civil war” and dies with the *Waikato Times* headline “Silence on ‘war’ claim”.

The cumulative effect of these headlines and articles was to create a dramatic sense of threat. That threat bore little relation to the reality of a tense but orderly process where Maori watched and argued against what they saw as a major stripping of their rights. While the latter perspective received some coverage in these items, it was largely submerged by the deployment of the old themes about “Good Maori/Bad Maori”, “Stirrers” and “Maori violence”.

ASPECTS OF BALANCE

In news items, Maori were very rarely given the opportunity to comment on Maori-Pakeha relations without dissenting non-Maori voices. There were no stories using only Maori sources in this topic, three where Maori and Pakeha sources were saying similar things, five using only Pakeha sources and 15 featuring Maori and Pakeha sources in disagreement, for example about powhiri.

Some Pakeha commentators expressing strong opinions on the state of Maori-Pakeha relations. We found two stories of a type that Michael King recommended against in *Kawe Korero* - written to be funny about topics which many Maori would find tapu or serious. The *New Zealand Herald* (25 September) allocated space in Greg Dixon's Weekend column to “self-confessed nationalist Bruce Sheppard”, who was quoted encouraging every New Zealander to claim Maori ancestry on the electoral roll to sabotage “Maori privilege”. When asked whether he actually had any “Maori blood”, Sheppard was quoted stating: “The only Maori blood I'm likely to have anywhere near my family was on the sword of my great-grandfather who ran one or two of them through in the Maori Wars.”

In a *Sunday Star-Times* column (3 October) headlined “Traditions of tomfoolery deserve to die a fast death”, Frank Haden commented on the public use of land that was a traditional Maori burial ground. He suggested that Maori ancestors “might be delighted to be dug up and made to feel useful as part of a bypass. I know I would be, if I were a buried skeleton. It would make a change from boredom at the bottom of the swamp.”

No Maori voices that insulted Pakeha ideology, people or culture were identified in any article.

WE CHOSE items for detailed analysis because they illustrate ways in which newspapers and television news reproduce existing Pakeha themes about relations with Maori that we identified in our introduction, as well as new themes.

TELEVISION CASE STUDIES

Case study 1: Civil Union Bill March

23 August: One News; Tonight, 3 News, Prime News

TV One news programmes (*One News*, *Tonight*), *3 News* and *Prime News* covered two Wellington marches to Parliament, one supporting and one opposing the Civil Union Bill, on 23 August. The coverage largely focussed on the opposing Destiny Church march rather than the Bill itself, although *Prime News* gave more airtime to the Bill than the other two channels. Because *Prime*'s coverage of the marches contained no live footage, this case study focuses on the interaction between the narratives and dramatic visuals on TV One and *3 News* during that week.

Although the narratives on the two channels did not explicitly identify Destiny Church members as Maori, this was done by visuals that repeatedly selected displays of Maori culture. Images were dominated by Destiny Church men, and repeated shots of the haka, taiaha, pukana and men in piupiu leading the march. Those visual symbols had been organised by Destiny Church but, in editing the stories, the channels emphasised images of Maori culture that linked to the "Maori violence" theme.

From the outset both news items highlighted the large number of anti-Bill protesters and identified the haka as a key visual element of the march. The narrative, and repeated visuals of Destiny Church members depicting outward displays of Maori culture, reinforced the potential for challenge and conflict, as did the use of continuous live sound, predominantly the haka, chanting and singing. Camera pans across the protesters, and shots of the marchers advancing towards the camera, and thus the viewer, filled the frame and dominated the screen, adding to the dramatic visual impact.

TV One and *3 News* linked the earlier Foreshore and Seabed hikoi with the Destiny Church

march. TV One's link was structured around the Prime Minister's previous reference to the hikoi participants as "haters and wreckers" and her comment that Destiny Church marchers were entitled to their opinions.

The accompanying visuals of the hikoi included shots of the Tino Rangatiratanga flag, police, and Tama Iti casting hupe (mucus) to the ground. This act is often described as "spitting" and is generally associated with offensive behaviour, although that is not necessarily how Maori interpret it. The chosen visuals presented a strong image of Maori as "protesters" or "activists".

Later that week *3 News* also reported similarities between the two events, identifying that "they [Destiny and hikoi participants] were all from various tribes, iwi and whanau and they all had a universal thought about a piece of legislation." The marches were described as being "slightly different" because "this [Destiny] is a church, or a cult".

3 News, in its coverage of a multi-ethnic rally the following day that "spoke out about hate crimes like the recent desecration of Jewish graves", repeated visuals of Destiny Church members that reinforced the male Maori warrior image. Although *3 News* had previously linked the hikoi and the Destiny Church march, the new story included a clear distinction:

"It's [anti-hate crimes rally] also in stark contrast with yesterday's [Destiny] rally."

Holmes at 7pm on TV One used similar visuals of Destiny Church members, leading in to an interview with Brian Tamaki and Georgina Beyer. In contrast, *Marae* on 29 August did not use any visuals from the march in its coverage of the Civil Union Bill.

The majority of television news items used repeated visuals that were clearly identifiable as Maori, reinforcing the Maori warrior stereotype and in this context the implied threat of violence and disruption reinforced by visual and audio techniques.

“Those who regard ancient documents as irrelevant today should reflect on the large number of New Zealanders who still cite Magna Carta to reinforce alleged arguments about rights.”

Simon Upton, 2003

“ [The Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975] initiated the era of exploitation and plunder wherein European and other non-Maori ethnicities.. became, increasingly, second class citizens, obliged to pay massive reparations for, mostly, imagined and manufactured grievances or ‘customary rights’ interpretations, based solely upon ‘race’.”

Ross Baker, 2005

Case study 2: Ani Waaka’s resignation

27 August: One News; 3 News; Tonight; Marae

One News began with the sentence:

“There’s more drama at Maori Television Service following the sudden announcement that its third chief executive in less than two and a half years is quitting.”

The opening graphics included a haka and a longshot of a koru drawn in beach sand being washed away by a wave. Those images and the words “more drama”, “sudden” and “quitting” constructed Waaka’s resignation as part of ongoing instability in Maori television.

References to previous changes in CEO reinforced that framing and introduced the idea of continuing leadership problems. This item was cut short due to technical problems.

The *Tonight* story used unsourced “rumours” to support its case:

“Her unexpected resignation comes amid rumours of a fallout between management and some board members.”

Those rumours remained unsubstantiated but their inclusion promoted the impression that Waaka’s was leaving due to disharmony within the channel, in contrast to the explanation of family and personal reasons that she offered. Waaka’s explanations were consequently positioned to allow a sceptical reading.

That treatment contrasted with the *Marae* item where it was stated that Waaka’s appointment as Maori Television CEO was always intended to be interim. *Marae* also mentioned differences between board members, but said they were about the station’s content of te reo Maori.

Tonight did not include part of Waaka’s on camera interview that was used on *One News* and *Marae*, where she disputed *Tonight*’s construction of disharmony:

“People have said all kinds of uninformed things about Maori Television, so who knows what people might say. What I can say is that Maori television is going very, very well.”

The item concluded by highlighting past trouble, emphasising with visuals the departure of Waaka’s predecessor, Derek Fox, and in the final sentence the departure of Canadian “fraudster” John Davy. That juxtaposition undermined Waaka’s statement and, in linking her resignation to her predecessors, framed her as another questionable leader. In contrast, the *3 News* item was brief (16 seconds) and, although it alluded to the changes in CEO, presented Waaka’s “personal

reasons” for her resignation unchallenged.

With the possible exception of the *Marae* coverage, which we did not analyse in detail, the underlying themes of these stories were unstable leadership and ongoing organisational conflict at Maori Television.

Case study 3: Te Uri o Hau

25 September: One News, Tini Molyneux

This item reported on a controversy within a hapu over the deployment of Treaty settlement money by a management committee that included Sir Graham Latimer. Wayne Smith, a hapu member, had challenged the trust’s direction, which led to the engagement of lawyer Mai Chen to resolve the dispute.

The opening visual showed piles of hundred dollar notes against a Maori motif. This piece belongs to the theme of “Financial probity”, presenting images of corporate, non-Maori competence on a background of Maori space and social practices.

Kaipara hapu Te Uri o Hau were presented as feuding over money or resources, or protesting their innocence, or attempting to blame lawyers for any misdemeanours. The only agency they were allowed was in having “called in” a new legal expert, Mai Chen, to resolve their situation, with the implication that they were not capable of doing that themselves.

The allocation of verbal content reinforced the subordinate role of Maori. Chen had almost twice as much speaking time on camera as the two Maori sources combined. Only two Maori got to speak on camera, and their voices were seeking information or clarification from lawyers. Trustee Russell Kemp’s main broadcast contribution came across as defensive and simplistic:

“There’s nothing to hide. Like I said - we started with nothing, now we have something.”

Dissenting trustee Wayne Smith’s views were given by the reporter and the anonymous hapu member’s blaming of the lawyers seemed similarly peripheral. Mai Chen was the key actor in the piece, as the journalist says in voice-over:

“Mai Chen was determined to get results when she strode onto the marae at Otamatea today”.

Her arrival was not portrayed as involving any formal Maori welcome. Several shots showed her mixing comfortably with the people of the marae, reinforcing the impression that she had established her expertise at all levels and there

was little dissent to her authority. Her quote: “...one season has finished and another season has started” suggested a simple changing of the guard. Proper, that is non-Maori, process for economic development was being brought in, to replace flawed Maori process that Chen named as “tribal development”.

Mai Chen stated that the incumbent trust authorities were competent at the latter but implied that they were not up to commercial projects. She directed them to “stick to their knitting”, the metaphor trivialising and marginalising Maori approaches to development and differentiating it from the real business of economics.

The hapu was represented as incompetent, and demonstrably supplicant to an external expert. A sub-plot about the ability of Treaty settlements to work for beneficiaries, when in this case it was claimed it had not, completed the negative representation of this hapu.

NEWSPAPER CASE STUDIES

Case study 4: Fisheries

25 August: *The Independent*: “Maori strike gold in marine farms, by Tim Donoghue, front page lead, carried onto page 2. Picture of a fishing boat captioned “Retrospective government generosity”.

This fisheries article was published in a weekly national newspaper with a circulation of 10,000 and deals with the allocation of resources to Maori through the Aquaculture Reform Bill.

The headline and first three paragraphs established the idea that Maori had got lucky and “emerged as the big winners” through the passage of the Bill. The use of metaphors from lotteries and gold mining portrayed legislative processes as chancy and random, and implied equal odds for all participants.

The marine farm allocations for Maori were presented as unreasonable and disproportionate. This claim is substantiated through the information that Maori will receive 20% of both retrospective and future marine farms licenses.

The fact that “they already control about 60% of the nation’s 1,200 marine farms” raised tensions which peaked in the claim that “Maori interest [...] will effectively be handed the equivalent sea space for 240 new marine farms – for nothing”. This strongly suggested that an injustice was being perpetrated against public, that is non-Maori, rights, although the article

stated near the end that the Bill’s purpose was to give effect to the Crown’s obligations to iwi.

The fifth paragraph started: “Already there is a rift in Maoridom” constructing Maori as pulling in different directions over control of fisheries and therefore inappropriate proprietors for this valuable national resource.

The author then paraphrased “some Maori negotiators” who would have settled for less and were surprised about the allocations. They reportedly believed the government’s “generosity” (also mentioned in the caption) was the result of “mounting pressure on the government” which was at the same time legislating away Maori rights in the Foreshore and Seabed Bill.

The author then constructed Maori as a threat to resources owned by non-Maori, when he stated that the proposed Bill “at least gives marine farmers the certainty they can run their business without the threat of Maori claims”. The first positive aspect of the changes presented by the article was that Maori will have no further right of redress. The item had already said that Maori make up the majority of marine farmers and was thus clearly advocating and writing for minority, non-Maori interests.

The last part of the article gave more detailed and contextualised information on allocation process and the Bill’s impact on other legislation. The language used was factual and the author avoided further comment. This more neutral approach was reserved for page two after page one had systematically painted Maori as unjustly lucky at the expense of other groups.

Case Study 5: Powhiri

25 September: 16 newspaper stories

Education Minister Trevor Mallard’s criticisms of school powhiri from a speech to new State primary school principals led to 17 stories in 16 newspapers. A group of six print stories reported Mallard’s speech - original articles in the *Press* and the *Dominion Post* were repeated through NZPA in four provincial newspapers.

These stories also cited six other Parliamentary sources; John Tamihere, Metiria Turei, Gerry Brownlee, Winston Peters (in four items), Tariana Turia (four items) and Bill English (three items).

Another group of 11 stories summarised Mallard’s criticisms and presented responses. The *New Zealand Herald* and a second *Dominion Post* article were original, and a *Gisborne Herald* article included some original material with the NZPA story. One city and seven provincial newspapers repeated versions of the NZPA story.

“Maori people hold to the tradition that the karanga is sacred and makes a very special contribution to the marae.. Without the karanga there can be no powhiri.”

Hiwi and Pat Tauroa, 1986

“ Women weren’t doing exactly what the men did, therefore what they were doing didn’t count, in its own right.. Karanga, waiata, tangi, whaikorero [all count as ‘speaking’]. Protagonists in this debate have recognised only whaikorero as ‘speaking’.”

Kathie Irwin on powhiri, 1992

Responses were cited from seven primary and secondary school principals: Lisa Maniapoto (in eight items), John Naera (seven), Henare Manawatu (seven), Brent Lewis, Robin Staples, Keriana Tawhiwhirangi and an anonymous principal. Responses were also cited from Emeritus Professor Ranginui Walker (nine items), Maori council member Titewhai Harawira, Tariana Turia (eight), Dover Samuels (eight), Parekura Horomia and a 16-year-old student.

Male sources dominated the responses, despite the focus on the role of women in powhiri. Of a total of 19 sources cited 67 times, only five were Maori women. Thirteen were men, seven of whom were Maori, and one source spoke anonymously. Six of the men responding were cited more than once compared to two of the women.

The stories reported Mallard as saying girls were relegated to a supporting role in school powhiri, criticising powhiri that went on for too long and the exclusion of some principals from classes in te reo. His comments about powhiri focused only on the oratory and not on any other part of the ceremony.

Mallard said that Maori traditions should not operate at the expense of the “traditions of New Zealand and its commitment to equality for all”. This implied that Maori traditions undermine equality for girls, while Pakeha traditions support it. Neither of the two reporters who interviewed Mr Mallard outside the conference questioned these assumptions.

Instead, reporters’ summaries of Mallard’s comments supported and strengthened his argument, describing powhiri as “time-wasting and sexist” (*New Zealand Herald*); discriminating against girls (*Dominion Post*); and Maori culture as dominant at some State schools (*Press*).

Mallard’s notion that schools can have either Maori culture or equality but not both was echoed in 10 stories, with extremely dismissive first sentences such as: “Ensuring equality of all students is more important than sticking to Maori traditions.”

Nine stories included alternative descriptions of powhiri. Two Maori principals were cited eight times saying that women were the first voices heard in the karanga, and that “it can’t happen without them”. Ranginui Walker’s description of powhiri as the “closing of the distance and the removal of tapu” so groups could mingle was available in the last sentences of eight stories.

One Maori principal quoted only by the *Gisborne Herald* described women’s as the first and last powhiri voices, being in the powerful position of being able to start the final song if they thought

male orators had nothing left to say.

Although the debate was about customs, 10 stories including four headlines described it as an issue of race relations, when race carries connotations of biology and skin colour rather than differences in cultural practice.

Case Study 6: Maori and property

26 August: *New Zealand Herald*, page 3, 34 sentences: “‘Bloodshed’ if seabed bill passed”; *Press*, page 3: “Maori academic predicts civil war”

25 September: *Bay of Plenty Times*, page 6, 32 sentences: *Kapai’s Corner* column by Tommy Wilson, “Listening to candidates part of the fun”

12 October: *New Zealand Herald*, page 18, 41 sentences: half-page feature article by Renee Kiriona, “Spirituality or special treatment?”

12 October: *Taupo Times*, page 3, 8 sentences: “Tuwharetoa clarifies position”

There were 42 newspaper items discussing Maori property ownership, more than 10% of the total. Almost all (39) focused on the issues of airspace over Lake Taupo and the Crown settlement with Te Arawa (see below). These items used only Western, capitalist concepts such as the division between public property and private, where the owner is sovereign. Maori concepts about land were included in only five items, two by Maori writers.

Two Maori submitters to a Foreshore and Seabed Bill hearing said that Maori rights to land were passed down from the gods. Professor Margaret Mutu was paraphrased as saying that the manawhenua status of her iwi “encompassed the concepts of ownership, regulation, management, control and a spiritual dimension best but inadequately described in English as ‘dominion’”.

Te Arawa voices were present in only two of 30 articles on their settlement and they did not speak of land as possession or property in the European sense. Rather they emphasised the concept of kaitiakitanga. Marsden defined kaitiakitanga by saying that “the resources of the earth did not belong to man but rather man belonged to earth”. This indicates the incompatibility of Maori understandings of land with European concepts of property ownership.

The *New Zealand Herald* feature explored kaitiakitanga in an interview with Te Arawa Trust Board chair Anaru Rangiheuea, who linked ownership to the Treaty of Waitangi.

Highlighting “taniwha”, “kaitiaki (guardians)” and “wairua (ghosts)”, Rangihueua talked about the spiritual connection of Te Arawa with the lakes. Finally he stated that “our relationship with the lakes goes back several hundred years. We’re married to the lakes and I long for the day when we are reunited with them.” Getting legal claim is presented as a means to secure Te Arawa’s ongoing ancestral relationship with the lakes and enact their role as kaitiaki. Rangihueua does not discuss exploiting these resources.

Tommy Wilson in his *Bay of Plenty Times* column explored Maori concepts of ownership in a fictional satirical anecdote. A non-Maori politician visits a Bay of Plenty marae campaigning for the tangata whenua vote by promising environmental action. When he assures them “a good feed of flounder whenever your whanau is hungry”, the audience breaks into thundering approval.

A kaumatua, however, challenges the politician’s ability to act as kaitiaki by pointing to the damage done to the Te Arawa lakes. Kaitiakitanga, aimed at sustainability and preservation of natural resources, especially food, for future generations, is again presented as a central Maori concern.

The *Taupo Times* article, with a circulation of less than 16,000, is the only one out of 10 stories on the Lake Taupo airspace issue to quote Tuwharetoa iwi authorities. It is also the only article to state that for the iwi to exercise its property right is merely to act as the Crown, local councils and private property owners commonly do. The article describes the “historical actions” of Tuwharetoa “as Kaitiaki (stewards)” of Lake Taupo.

Case study 7: The lakes settlements

Rotorua lakes

24 items: 12 and 20 October

Six articles reported Don Brash’s criticism of the Crown settlement with Te Arawa following the Waitangi Tribunal report on the iwi claim. Based on the same text from the *Dominion Post* (12 October), they depicted Brash’s speech as a political move and discussed National Party politics on the Seabed and Foreshore Bill.

Three articles reported Helen Clark’s counter to Brash’s speech, in which she assured the public that the settlement was fair and that they would not be negatively affected. She was quoted as acknowledging that Te Arawa played a vital role in the Rotorua tourism industry.

Seven items summarised Sir Howard Morrison’s response to Brash from a television programme the night before and also cited Clark. Don Brash’s quote that Maori control of the Rotorua Lakes “opens the way to all kinds of blackmail and extortion” was repeated in 10 newspapers. This was not questioned by the reporter, and no source commented on it.

None of these articles questioned politicians’ statements that settlements with iwi needed to be “tight”. This repeated emphasis implied that Maori would take advantage of any “loose” wording. Articles also shared the assumption that “the public” was synonymous with non-Maori New Zealanders, a pairing that recurred in foreshore and seabed items.

Four articles drew on another front page lead from the *Daily Post*, which explored the reactions of Rotorua politicians to Brash’s comments. These items included reactions critical of Brash, welcoming the settlement and celebrating the good relationship between Te Arawa and Rotorua, although no Te Arawa representatives were quoted.

Two articles in the *New Zealand Herald* (12 October) reported favourably on the settlement with Te Arawa. Renee Kiriona used reactions from tangata whenua to introduce her two articles; one page three item was headlined “National stance brings tears to Maori eyes”.

The sub-editor’s headline of her half-page feature article: “Spirituality or special treatment?” introduced the associations of unfair advantage from the “Privilege” theme outlined above. This article was the only one published on that day to quote Te Arawa Trust Board chair Anaru Rangihueua and was written from a Maori perspective.

The board’s refusal to comment publicly was explained by the chair’s statement that the issue is “not up for debate unless you are a descendant of Te Arawa or in Government”. His descriptions of the history of the dispute and the spiritual relationship between the iwi and the lakes helped the reader to empathise with the struggle of Te Arawa by providing context about the Treaty breaches.

The headline was backed up by quotes from a member of the Rotorua Lakes Protection Society who described the settlement offer as “special treatment” for the iwi.

A *Daily Post* opinion piece (12 October) questioned the ability of Te Arawa to manage the lakes appropriately, under the headline: “Health is the real lake issue”. The writer emphasised the issue of public access to the lakes and complained about the silence from the Te Arawa Trust Board.

“ I will not agree to the mana of a strange people being placed over this land.. I will consent to neither your acts nor your goods. As for these blankets, burn them.”

Te Heuheu Tukino, 1840
[From *Maori is my name*
edited by John Caselberg,
p 50]

“ It goes back to the Treaty all the time. You’ve got a big house, plenty of room, and you want a flatmate.. But 153 years later, we’ve got the kennel outside, they’ve got the house and they’re charging us rent. And they forgot they had a lease agreement with us. ”
Paparangi Reid, 1994

She dismissed the issue of ownership and claimed that Rotorua residents agree with the headline.

A further three articles on 20 October reported that as part of the Te Arawa settlement, the original Maori names for the Rotorua lake region would be accepted as official alternatives to the names given by Pakeha. The Rotorua *Daily Post* article was headlined “Alterations to Rotorua Lake names welcomed”. The reporter called them the “new” Maori names and wrote from a Pakeha perspective: “Most of us know it as Lake Rotorua. But to many local Maori it is Te Rotorua nui a Kahumatamomoe.”

The article included nine sentences from a Te Arawa Trust Board member explaining what it meant for tangata whenua to have the history of the areas acknowledged through the acceptance of the original names. The third article challenged Pakeha to embrace the Maori names and asked why we should not salute our history through names of significance like other nations.

The articles use a total of 11 photographs; six are mugshots of Brash, one of Clark and one of Morrison. Another of Morrison is a larger smiling publicity shot. The front page *Daily Post* reactions story includes a quarter-page picture of a sunlit Brash in closeup, with the lake out of focus behind him.

The slightly smaller picture of Anaru Rangiheuea has the same elements but conveys quite a different atmosphere. He is hunched in the bottom right corner, harshly lit against a backdrop of the lake. The impression is one of imbalance and unease.

Lake Taupo airspace

7 October: Eight newspaper and five television news items

These items reported on upcoming negotiations between Ngati Tuwharetoa, represented by the Tuwharetoa Trust Board, and the Crown, represented by the Department of Conservation. The writers of leads and headlines (see Table 3w) shaped the stories in ways that portrayed Maori or “the tribe” as threatening New Zealanders’ ability to enjoy recreational activities centred on Lake Taupo.

A reader who quickly scanned the headlines and lead sentences could reasonably conclude that some Maori people had demanded payment for use of the air over Lake Taupo. The *Gisborne Herald* published comments from National leader Don Brash, who spoke as if he believed that Ngati Tuwharetoa had indeed made this demand.

He interpreted the alleged demand as evidence of a “treaty industry” and the “thin edge of the wedge”, “PC nonsense” which he saw as leading

to a “dangerous divisive drift”. Only three newspapers (*Greymouth Evening Star*, *Gisborne Herald* and the *Nelson Mail*), and none of the television news items focused on the upcoming negotiations as the main angle, although their headlines still asserted that the tribe intended to charge for the use of airspace.

The story originated with the *New Zealand Herald*; other reports with identical lead sentences sourced the story to NZPA, and quoted the *Herald* as the source of the claim. With no source or evidence, the original article asserted that Ngati Tuwharetoa “believe” or “say” they are entitled, and presumably because they can, now want to “charge for use of airspace above Lake Taupo”.

No source within Ngati Tuwharetoa was mentioned, although the article reported that two members of the iwi declined to comment. Newspaper reports all mentioned that the Tuwharetoa Trust Board had been seeking clarification of property rights created by the 1992 settlement with the Crown and *One News* asserted that the legal opinion that confirmed ownership of the lakebed had suggested “that, should the Trust Board wish to, it could charge commercial operators to use the airspace”.

Headlines and leads about charging for airspace used generic labels that implicated Maori people as a whole. In headlines “tribe” (unspecified) was used four times and Maori twice. Six lead sentences began “Maori want to charge...” and *3 News* began, “A bid by Maori to charge”.

The media audience could interpret the lack of any Ngati Tuwharetoa source as meaning that the iwi was being very open about their plans. For example, when *Midday* reported “The Tuwharetoa Trust Board says it is in discussion with the regional council” and *One News*, having discussed the possibility, reported that the iwi “say they have no plans to charge anyone flying above its tribal estate”.

Alternatively, the audience could interpret the absence of an attributed source to mean that the iwi was hiding something; for example, when *3 News* reported that the board spokesperson “would not appear on camera” and “His only comment was that the matter had been blown out of proportion”; akin to statements often heard from errant Ministers or CEOs.

Newspaper stories, following the *New Zealand Herald*’s lead, detailed the upcoming negotiations, relying entirely on Government (Crown) sources. References to or comments from a Pakeha member of the Taupo Regional Council, Shamus Howard, provided detail about the operation of the 1992 settlement. That included a breakdown of the fees (\$1.6M for

fishing licences, \$0.4M for jetties and other structures) divided fifty-fifty between Ngati Tuwharetoa and the Crown.

Television coverage on *Prime News*, *One News*, *3 News* and *Tonight* used the reported reactions of politicians to substantiate the programmes' claims that the iwi was close to imposing such a fee. MPs' statements that charges were unacceptable presumed that such charges were imminent. The longer programmes, *One News* and *3 News*, included vox pop comments that challenged the notion of an airspace property right, and sceptical comments by commercial operators about the possible charge.

However, the operators were mostly confident that, if the Tuwharetoa Trust Board was taking that step, operators would be part of the negotiations.

The original *New Zealand Herald* article ran three pictures with its coverage; the *Waikato Times* and *Gisborne Herald* ran one each. One *Herald* picture was of the view of the lake through the carved archway on the lakefront.

The other four pictures were of recreational activities – bungy jumping, paragliding and hole-in-one golf - that the headlines and captions implied were under threat. The *Waikato Times* caption read: "Paragliding is one of the activities tourists should pay for, says Ngati Tuwharetoa".

No writer included any information about the legal status of property rights to airspace. Since that was a crux of the story, the reporters did their audience a disservice by failing to provide such information. As published, the reports denigrated Ngati Tuwharetoa and Maori more generally.

Table 3: Headlines and lead sentences of Lake Taupo airspace stories

Newspapers	Headline	First paragraph
<i>Bay of Plenty Times</i> (p 4)	Tribe wants cash for use of airspace	Maori want to charge for use of airspace above Lake Taupo..
<i>Greymouth Evening Star</i> (p 3)	Tribe wants payment for air rights	The Government is to enter negotiations with central North Island tribe Tuwharetoa over property rights..
<i>Gisborne Herald</i> (p 6)	Tribe wants to charge fee for Lake Taupo airspace	The Government is to enter negotiations with central North Island tribe Tuwharetoa over property rights..
<i>Daily Post</i> (p 1)	Maori to charge for Taupo airspace?	Maori want to charge for use of airspace above Lake Taupo..
<i>Hawkes Bay Today</i> (p 1)	Maori want fee for Lake Taupo airspace	Maori want to charge for use of airspace above Lake Taupo..
<i>Nelson Mail</i> (p 2)	Airspace fees bid	The Government is to enter negotiations with central North Island tribe Tuwharetoa over property rights...
<i>New Zealand Herald</i> (p 1)	Tribe: Pay us for air rights	Maori want to charge for use of airspace above Lake Taupo in a move that would cover floatplane landings, bungy jumping and bridges over rivers.
<i>Waikato Times</i> (p 3)	'How much is the air up there?'	Maori want charges levied for use of air space..
Television	Channel	Lead sentence
<i>Middy</i>	TV One	Taupo tribe, Ngati Tuwharetoa, have revealed they are now looking to charge for use of airspace above Lake Taupo.
<i>Prime News</i>	Prime	Maori want to charge for use of airspace above Lake Taupo in a move that would cover floatplane landings, bungy jumping and bridges over rivers.
<i>3 News</i>	TV 3	A bid by Maori to charge for air rights over Lake Taupo has led to a quick political reaction..
<i>One News</i>	TV One	Suggestions a central North Island tribe could charge for airspace over Lake Taupo are being downplayed tonight by the tribe itself.
<i>Tonight</i>	TV One	A central North Island tribe which claims it may legally be allowed to charge for airspace over Lake Taupo says it will be some time before that actually happens.

“ I represent the tribes stretching from Taupo down to Wanganui. During most of the war we remained neutral, but at times aided the government.. yet, together with other tribes we are suffering wrongs from the New Zealand government, and I support the petition now presented. ”

Major Topia Turoa, 1884, in England to petition Queen Victoria

TE REO MAORI

The Maori Language Act 1987 made te reo Maori an official language. It also enabled any witness, lawyer or party to speak Maori in courts, commissions of inquiry and tribunals, and established Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Maori, the Maori Language Commission.

Current Government Maori language objectives include increasing the number of Maori speakers, building proficiency in all language domains and enhancing its development for contemporary use. The plan is to increase the range of settings in which te reo Maori is used and foster interest and commitment to the language in the whole population.

There remains much to be done. MacAlister's recent studies of the general population's use of Maori, published in the *New Zealand Journal of English*, show levels running at about six words per thousand in speech and text and eight per thousand in newspapers. However, this is overwhelmingly made up of proper nouns, which were excluded from our analysis when there was no English alternative.

Maori Language Week occurred as we were finalising this report and, as *3 News* showed during that time, television news could make significantly greater use of Maori. For those seven days, newsreaders and reporters all employed Maori greetings and made much greater use of te reo Maori in place of English alternatives, while still, in our view, producing stories that were easy for people who did not speak Maori to understand.

A further positive aspect of the *3 News* bulletins that week were brief aids to speaking te reo Maori built around reporter Mereana Hond's bilingual skills. The Friday broadcast at the end of the week introduced viewers to a Pakeha family where all the children had attended kura kaupapa Maori and the family speaks Maori over dinner. This was an example of how television can inform, entertain and educate effectively.

However, this easy use of Maori words was not the general rule. More than half the 20 television news items analysed lacked any at all and only seven words without English alternatives were used in the rest. Given our selection of items on topics that lend themselves to words in te reo Maori, this shows poor support for one of our two official languages over the other 51 weeks of the year.

Newspapers were similarly parsimonious. Almost

half the newspaper items included no Maori words that could be avoided; it is probable that the rest of these papers also contained very little.

Michael King's *Kawe Korero* recommended 20 years ago that journalists avoid some of the sloppy use of te reo Maori that we found in our sample. This includes capitals in the middle of sentences for common Maori words and lower case for "Pakeha", which we believe would be unlikely to get past subeditors in English. Readers would complain about the use of sheeps; it's time we stopped seeing powhiris.

While iwi was the most common untranslated Maori word, the writers of 34 items preferred to use "tribe". Although "tribe" is often used by Maori who see it as a neutral term, it can have different associations in an English language context. In the "Maori culture" theme mentioned in the introduction, the word is an integral part of Pakeha depictions of Maori culture as primitive, limited and irrelevant to the modern world.

According to the *Oxford Reference Dictionary*, tribe carries an implication that Maori are a primitive people. Tribe has more concrete, land-based and threatening connotations, whereas iwi is also identity-based. With this in mind, we would encourage journalists to use "iwi".

A *Dominion Post* editorial in Maori in the 1970s showed that newspapers have been prepared to make much more use of the language than we found in our items.

They could publish regular items about te reo Maori; for example, Maori whakatauki and related English proverbs; explanations about the meanings, relationships and derivations of topical and interesting Maori words; or items helping readers learn Maori, including the words of waiata set to well-known tunes. We noticed none of these, and believe these kinds of items would find an audience among word and music-lovers.

MAORI PERSPECTIVES

Some English words such as guardians and sovereignty translate only part of the complex meanings of terms such as kaitiakitanga, rangatiratanga and mana. When the media uses te reo Maori terms like these, it acknowledges the existence of these Maori ways of seeing the world. The items we studied seldom did this. Only five of the 353 newspaper articles, two by Maori writers, mention or explore these Maori concepts as they apply to ownership of resources.

When Maori who used these concepts talked

“How can I possibly have had a fair go if my mother tongue has been ripped out of my throat?”

Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, 1994

about ownership, it was as a legal means to secure kaitiakitanga and ongoing ancestral connection. These stories contrast with the monochrome viewpoint of the vast bulk of stories.

Media discussion about powhiri was also framed by Pakeha complaints; Maori sources who responded had to summarise the complex Maori concepts involved in a few sentences or seconds.

SOURCES

McGregor and Comrie found that Maori sources made up almost 13% of those used in their 10-year broadcasting sample. Our research found that, *in stories that are about Maori*, newspapers used 37%, almost three times as many Maori sources, and television news used half, although our television sample was small.

Pakeha men, on average, were given greater prominence than Maori sources in newspaper stories. We believe that this reflects at least two causes – the small proportion of Maori-initiated stories in our sample and the preponderance of Pakeha male MPs in Parliament who are so often used as sources

Almost half the Maori television news items that featured sources used non-Maori sources only. The inclusion of only two Maori sources in the nine business items implied that Maori were unable to make meaningful contributions.

It is extremely unlikely that any broadcaster would be allowed to present a similar number of items about “mainstream New Zealand” that had no Pakeha sources. Yet this under-representation of Maori goes unquestioned. It is the norm to have only Pakeha talking in almost one in five stories about a Maori issue.

For some of our Maori stories sample, iwi representatives could not comment because they were bound by Treaty negotiation agreements not to say anything publicly about proposed settlements.

While this is an explanation for the lack of balance, we believe this situation was exploited by many journalists in our items because they could indicate they had tried for balancing comment and failed. However, none of those stories mentioned that Maori spokespeople were unable to comment because of the terms of the negotiation.

For other Maori stories, working journalists may point to a reluctance or a refusal by Maori to speak to reporters at all. Derek Fox in 1992 and more recent commentators see two reasons for this – the difficulty for transient journalists

in building trusted relationships with iwi, and Maori experience of past negative coverage. When this is the case, a responsible journalist has to think outside the square to get an understanding of the issue and to balance such stories.

Some journalists may also point to technical problems, such as the unavailability of a film crew when a source has agreed to go on camera. While in a particular instance there may be technical, institutional or personal constraints that produce items without appropriate Maori comment, the pattern across all the items is too clear to be explained in this way.

It is disturbing that Maori women were cited half as often as Maori men and one-third as often as Pakeha men in Maori stories. Even in a debate about the role of Maori women, journalists cited almost four times the number of men and quoted men more often.

Our newspaper sample included only a marginally higher proportion of female sources (21%) than McGregor and Comrie found in their broadcasting items ten years ago (18%). Almost four out of ten sources in our small television sample were women, including dissenting voices such as the Harawira whanau and Margaret Mutu.

Our newspaper items relied heavily on well-known Maori voices, supporting Whaanga’s conclusions from radio in 1990 that journalists rely on high profile Maori who are known to non-Maori audiences, as opposed to Maori who are well-known largely in Maori communities.

As well as MPs and celebrities like Sir Howard Morrison, the Harawira whanau were sourced in two television items with no background, so journalists obviously believed the television audience would know who they were. Three Harawira whanau members were also cited in ten newspaper items. We plan in future research to analyse the range of sources used in Maori stories in more detail.

THEMES

Existing themes

Our items included prominent television and newspaper stories that drew upon and reproduced persistent negative themes about Maori from everyday Pakeha talk, first described 16 years ago. The most commonly reproduced themes were “Privilege” and “Maori inheritance”. They were evoked by phrases such as “race debate”, which hark back to discredited ideas that the qualities of different “races” arose from their different biology. These terms give an implicitly biological framing to political disagreements, differences in cultural practice or the allocation of resources.

“**..the Treaty has become a pretext for preferential treatment for Maori across the board.. in the draft free trade agreement with Singapore.. proposals for separate Maori seats on local bodies.. the allocation of Health Funding Authority (i.e. taxpayer) money to witch doctors..**”

Lindsay Perigo, 1990

“**..there were two partners to the Treaty of Waitangi and only one partner directly benefited.. Until the Maori side of the partnership benefits to the same extent, we’re dealing from an asymmetrical, unjust and completely disadvantaged position.**”

Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, 1994

“**The call for Maori control over Maori image is one which challenges the existing power dynamics and which asserts a need for structural change within image industries.**”

Leonie Pihama, 1996

None of the items where these terms were used were about discrimination on the basis of skin colour.

When writers left these concepts unchallenged, or used them in headlines, leads or analysis, they supported these themes and abandoned neutrality. When these terms are used to frame media coverage of Treaty issues, there is little room for alternative understandings.

When the Treaty was signed, it was a contract between two sovereign nations. In Maori eyes, this contract remains the basis of the relationship between tangata whenua and non-Maori cultures. However, we did not find the term “Treaty-based” in any of our media items. While terms such as “race relations” are still in common use, we strongly encourage journalists to avoid terms such as “race debate”, and instead use phrases such as “Treaty debate” or “culture clash”.

Emerging themes

Maori resources

The Taupo airspace items as a group drew heavily on the “Maori resources” theme to present an unsubstantiated and decidedly unbalanced story that positioned the iwi as threatening New Zealanders’ access to activities on and around the lake. The absence of iwi comment allowed opposing sources to make extravagant claims about Crown Law Office advice that may affect future business decisions.

The story is also written in a way that implicates Maori as a whole, an important aspect of the Pakeha themes that undermine Maori, as identified in the introduction. Were the story about a large corporation, written in a way which implicates all large corporations, those failings would be seen immediately as unacceptable. This construction of Maori control as a threat was a core part of the 2003 Ngati Pukenga complaint to the Broadcasting Standards Authority.

These stories about threat contrast with a few items that referred matter-of-factly to Maori control of resources returned in Treaty settlements. One item was neutral about the right of Ngai Tahu to consultation about management of Aoraki/Mt Cook National Park; one reported the “ecstatic” reaction of some Kapiti-area iwi at the passing of the Maori Fisheries Act; and three others were positive about name changes around the Rotorua lakes.

Financial probity

The “Financial probity” theme was expressed mainly in stories about supposed mismanagement of urban Maori, hapu and iwi assets, not about Maori in small business. They portray large Maori

organisations as poor managers, implying either corruption or financial incompetence.

Maori success

The “Maori success” theme included stories presenting Maori artists, business people and tertiary students and staff as successful, progressive and innovative. The businesses were largely individual or small businesses, rather than iwi or urban Maori initiatives. One of the television news items about a strike showed some overseas visitors being presented with a wero. This was a positive representation of Maori practices as an inclusive and non-threatening part of a New Zealand cultural identity.

We acknowledge and applaud these positive depictions. At the same time, we want to make it clear that we don’t expect and wouldn’t wish Maori news items to be an incessant parade of positivity. Not that there is much danger of this.

“GOOD” AND “BAD” NEWS

Our analysis classified 46% of the newspaper and all but one of the television Maori stories as “bad news”. We recognise that “bad news” stories about conflict, disagreements and official mudslinging are a significant and legitimate part of all news coverage. However, Ranginui Walker and others point to “bad news” as a higher proportion of Maori news stories. Our analysis provides a baseline for future comparisons of Maori stories.

McGregor and Comrie coded over half the television stories in their item as “bad news”, a third “good news” and a smaller number neutral. As they did not state their criteria, we cannot compare these value judgements. Ten years on, however, the comparison with our small, almost all “bad news” television sample does not bode well.

CONFLICT

Descriptions of conflicts between Maori in the items were often intensive and detailed, portraying Maori as factional. These items, in combination with items expressing the “Financial probity” theme repetitively framed Maori as unworthy recipients of Treaty settlements, unable to manage their own affairs effectively and honourably. This worked to undermine the value of returning power and resources to Maori.

Articles about conflict between Maori rarely provided the reader with background

information on any Government role in setting the terms for conflict, or any iwi history or politics. Depictions of Maori as divided are congruent with the “Good Maori/Bad Maori” theme outlined in our introduction. We found very few depictions of support and co-operation within and between Maori organisations.

The coverage of the Foreshore and Seabed Bill, which many Maori argued was another land grab by the Crown, focused not on the merits of this argument but on the potential for disruption. Fiske said in 1987: “The state of equilibrium is not itself newsworthy, and is never described except implicitly in its opposition to the state of disequilibrium, which, typically, is described in detail.”

In the Foreshore and Seabed Bill stories, scuffles at the hearing and predictions of civil war were constructed as disrupting the equilibrium of peaceful committee hearings. Iwi with significant coastal land which they have been managing for centuries might define the equilibrium differently.

In the Lake Taupo story, the concept of Ngati Tuwharetoa charging for the use of its rightful property is constructed as disrupting equilibrium. Such an action on the part of any large corporation would usually be portrayed as good business practice. The decision about what is identified as disequilibrium is an ideological one and resides with those who hold power.

SILENCES

Sir Hugh Kawharu defines tino rangatiratanga, from article II of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, as the “full and unqualified exercise of Maori chieftainship”. When Maori step outside their accepted cultural role of welcoming visitors and singing waiata and assert their tino rangatiratanga, it threatens existing power structures.

One of the silences in our items was about Pakeha colonisation of Aotearoa; analyses or acknowledgement of colonisation as a process that disrupted Maori culture, health, education, legislation and social fabric are virtually absent. Despite more than 100 references to the Treaty in our items, there were only a handful which mentioned what it says. Very few items that mentioned the Treaty had any detail of systematic breaches by the Crown and later the New Zealand government, and tangata whenua rights to redress. More space was given to items that implied or quoted sources who said that Maori have gained enough resources already and been reimbursed generously by the Government in Treaty settlements.

A 2004 poll found that New Zealanders over-estimated their knowledge about the Treaty. UMR’s Treaty of Waitangi Awareness Research found that over half of respondents believed they had a good knowledge of the Treaty and settlement processes, yet less than half could name the Waitangi Tribunal, only a third could give the date the Treaty was signed and less than a third could name Hobson as the Crown’s chief negotiator.

Studies of the attitudes of New Zealanders to the Treaty suggest misunderstanding and mistrust of its place in our society. The UMR research project Human Rights and the Treaty of Waitangi found that most respondents struggled to relate the Treaty to a human rights frame and that they were jaded with its prominence in public affairs. In 2004, Hammerton and Fowler reported the same general findings, adding that there was little understanding of how the Treaty related to everyday life.

The public’s understanding and the patterns of coverage in our items form a very tight loop. The media includes very little context but frequently frames Treaty settlements as threats. The public knows little and is tired of it all.

We are not advocating that journalists throw words such as “colonisation” into articles at every opportunity. Without the space or time to make those mentions meaningful, this would soon create the same kind of “deafness” that can greet mentions of the Treaty. People turn off because they don’t know enough about the issue to understand the point being made.

However, it seems clear that journalists should not assume an understanding of Treaty clauses and history among their audiences. We believe that the constricted and superficial description of Treaty issues in our sample, when consumed repeatedly by media audiences, has a political impact in that it supports existing power relations.

Stories we would have liked to see

We acknowledge that many possible Maori stories may not arise during a two-week sampling period. There were several positive stories about tertiary education in our sample but few stories about kura kaupapa Maori successes, for example. The media covered a major Government-initiated hui but very few other hui called by Maori were reported. There were no items related to the ferment of urban Maori creativity expressed in climbing sales for Maori music, arts and performance.

Of course, anyone can construct a list like this. There are always more stories out there than pages or time to fit them, and some of these stories could have appeared the week following our sample.

“ ‘Maori have the longest contract with the Crown in this country’s history. Make sure you get put into your contract, not performance indicators for you, but performance indicators for them, the Crown.’ Everyone thought it was very funny but it’s deadly serious because the government can move the goalposts. ”

Paparangi Reid, to the Public Health Association, 1994

“ **Maori and Pakeha are both indigenous people to New Zealand now. I regard myself as an indigenous New Zealander - I come from Wainuiomata.** ”

Trevor Mallard, 2004

“ **...the government said it would ensure that Maori have the opportunity to enjoy at least the same level of health as non-Maori. It wasn't a Crown guarantee. They only guaranteed we'd have the opportunity to have equity. They moved those goalposts again!** ”

Paparangi Reid, 1994

These gaps may become more or less obvious as our research is repeated over time. However, as well as focusing on what is reported, we need a way to identify stories which are newsworthy for Maori but do not make it into mainstream news media.

STATISTICS

We found passing references to Maori in articles on social and health issues, which implicitly assumed a level playing field. In these stories, Maori were repeatedly described as lagging behind Pakeha on most social indicators, with little or no context about why that may be so. This had a cumulative stigmatising effect and reinforced explanations that blame Maori for poverty and poor health.

We acknowledge that journalists who are asked to summarise large reports in under 100 words or a few minutes for these kinds of stories face major difficulties in outlining the greater needs of some Maori without adding to this negative picture.

Some of the source publications being described in our items took pains to report Maori data in context. They either compared current and historical Maori data to show trends, emphasised contextual variables such as location and socio-economic status, or explored the roles of colonisation and marginalisation in creating and maintaining disparities. Examples that took this approach included –

- ▷ The 2003 MSD *Social Report*
- ▷ The Ministry of Health's 2003 report *Decades of Disparity*
- ▷ The Centre for Housing Research Aotearoa New Zealand's *Accommodation Options for Older People*, released in 2004
- ▷ The Public Health Advisory Committee's 2004 report *The Health of People and Communities*.

These publications all reported Maori data separately. Some provided comparisons with Pakeha figures while others left the reader to make comparisons between groups.

A 2004 analysis of media coverage of *Decades of Disparity* by Hodgetts and others shows that most of the news releases from report contributors stressed the need to understand the data within a Maori frame rather than the default setting of implicit comparison with Pakeha.

Hodgetts' team found a tension in initial coverage, which included 12 of our items, between competing structural and lifestyle explanations for health disparities. Later commentary, not within our sampling period, blamed lifestyle choices and the ineffectiveness of Maori health services.

Hodgetts found that Maori sources using structural explanations were matched by opposing sources, while non-Maori sources blaming lack of personal responsibility stood alone. Evidence that Maori exercised more than Pakeha and ate less fast food was ignored, as were Maori models of health.

Public health services are moving towards comparing current Maori health data with earlier figures as well as with Pakeha figures. We would encourage journalists to use these comparisons between Maori data when they are available, rather than continue to choose comparisons with Pakeha figures, so that their stories don't perpetuate this stigmatisation.

ASPECTS OF BALANCE

As well as the emphasis on negative themes identified above, we found other elements in our media items which we consider contribute to an imbalance across the sample.

Many Maori see any changes in Treaty processes as requiring negotiation between the two parties to the contract. However, when an MP from one political party talked about setting a time limit for Treaty claims, the media went only to leaders of other major political parties for comment and included no iwi spokespeople in these stories. This is an example of the media ignoring one Treaty partner's views on the contract.

Journalists in our sample published opposing comment when two MPs made serious denigratory comments about Maori or Maori cultural practices. However, the comments did not deal with this denigration and journalists did not question the MPs about it. If Maori sources said that Pakeha processes undermined equality for girls or that Pakeha control of a resource would open the way for blackmail, we believe it would be unlikely to stand unchallenged in this way.

Much of the coverage in our items reports from within a Pakeha cultural paradigm. It is a considerable escalation, however, to give space to deliberately provocative opinion cast in terms calculated to offend. Without critical commentary, such material can strengthen existing prejudices and cause pain in ways that undermine respect and reconciliation.

STANDARDS

Independent media guidelines usually require the attribution of all sources; for example, Jim Tully's 1989 *Guidelines for Reporting Race Relations* stated: "Don't publish unverified rumour."

Yet two of the major stories in our sample used unverified assertions and rumours as key elements. The *New Zealand Herald's* Lake Taupo story was based on an unverified assertion that Ngati Tuwharetoa intended to charge for air rights, and the *Tonight* item used unsourced “rumours” in opposition to Ani Waaka’s statement that she was resigning from MTV for personal reasons.

It is interesting that the similar unverified and sensationalised story that McGregor and Comrie found in their survey also focused on Pakeha response to a Maori land claim and carried no Maori comment.

Given the scope for interpretation of the various principles and guidelines, where wording is profoundly value-laden, it is unlikely that any complaint about systematic negative media depictions of Maori would be upheld. There is little in the way of penalties or levers for change available through this avenue.

We believe that the New Zealand Press Council’s Principle 1, about “accuracy, fairness and balance” could be invoked in relation to our research results. In addition Principle 8, advising publications to avoid gratuitous emphasis on race, is also relevant. However, we prefer to work with journalists about these issues rather than make complaints.

The Charter requirement that TVNZ provide in-depth coverage of news promoting many-sided debate was not evidenced in the TVNZ news items analysed. This is especially disturbing given that the majority of items analysed were screened during prime time. However, we acknowledge that we did not analyse television current affairs programmes broadcast during our sampling period. We plan to do this with our next sample.

TRAINING

Many of the items in our sample point to a need for ongoing in-service training for journalists, and more rigorous discussion among journalists, and between the media and its audiences about coverage of Maori issues. Many journalists may have little understanding of te reo Maori or of appropriate behaviour on the marae, which makes it difficult to operate in Maori contexts.

Many Maori issues have long, complicated histories which are not common knowledge. Adequate and balanced coverage requires journalists to learn these protocols and read about the background to these stories to convey this context.

We look forward to the revision of *Kawe Korero*, and support enhanced in-service

training by groups such as the Journalism Training Organisation on reporting Maori news, statistics, use of te reo Maori, and other issues raised in this report.

Given the greater number of Maori concepts and terms used by Maori journalists, another major issue is the need for more Maori journalists in mainstream media. Little progress seems to have been made in recruiting, training and retaining adequate numbers of Maori journalists in mainstream media organisations.

INDICATORS

Our research has suggested possible indicators that could be used to assess the extent to which coverage of a particular story departed from the ideals of balance and fairness to promote negative depictions of Maori. We plan to develop such indicators into research-based workable systems that can quickly and reliably assess the balance and fairness of specific examples of Maori news coverage. To enable possible indicators derived from one set of stories to be tested on another, we will need to collect at least three media samples.

Six elements might be developed as indicators: use of te reo Maori; use of sources; use of key terms from themes that undermine Maori; responsiveness to issues in Maori communities; “bad” news; and the relation between the body of the story and headlines, teasers or other proxies for content that are used to attract audiences.

Te reo Maori indicators could include the use of words expressing core Maori concepts in stories where Maori perspectives differ from Pakeha ones, a preference for English words and phrases where accessible Maori alternatives exist, and the general level of use of te reo Maori.

The dominance of Pakeha men in images and as sources and their primacy in the items suggest that it might be possible to develop a sources indicator. This would include the use of inadequate or no Maori sources and an analysis of images.

Some stories from our sample used terms like “special treatment” to apply to Maori who receive settlements after Treaty breaches. Another similar term is “race-based” applied to resources resulting from Article 3 of the Treaty, which guarantees Maori equal rights of citizenship. These and similar terms, when supported by the construction of stories, could be developed into indicators.

The gross discrepancies between the headlines and leads for the Lake Taupo airspace items and the actual reports encourage us to explore ways to develop such misleading features into another indicator.

“Pakeha perceptions of Maori will not change unless there is a radical change in the culture of the mainstream media.”

Ranginui Walker, 2002

CONCLUSIONS

We believe that tracking Maori stories during our sampling periods through Maori news systems and community networks could be used to develop an indicator of responsiveness to issues in Maori communities.

Finally, it is clear that rates of “bad news” items in our samples over time will track some aspects of the way in which reporting of Maori issues is managed.

We look forward to collaborating with journalists, editors, news producers and journalism educators on the development of these indicators and other issues raised in this report.

“**It is consistent with the principles of the Treaty that the language and matters of Maori interest should have a secure place in broadcasting.**”

Mason Durie, 1998

GLOSSARY

Awa: River

Haka: Physical demonstration of a challenge accompanied by chanting

Hangi: Earth oven and the food inside it

Hapu: Sub-tribe

Hikoi: Walk, march

Hui: Meeting

Hupe: Discharge of mucus from the nose to the earth

Iwi: A nation of people with a shared identify and genealogy; tribe

Kai moana: Sea food

Kaitiaki: Guardian, minder

Kaitiakitanga: Guardianship

Kapa haka: Specialists in poi and hand dance; Maori cultural performance group

Kaiwhakahaere: Organiser, worker

Karanga: Call of welcome

Kaupapa: Topic, rule, plan

Kaumatua: Male or female elder, a repository of knowledge

Korowai: Cloak

Koru: Fern frond symbol

Kuia: Elderly woman, often used to mean female elder, a repository of knowledge

Kura: School

Mana: Power, influence

Manawhenua: Customary authority over an area

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

Maunga: Mountain

Moko: Tattoo

Pa: Fortified village, fortification

Pakeha: White people, European

Pipi: Cockle

Piupiu: Flax skirt

Powhiri: Maori process of welcoming

Pukana: Wide-eyed stare

Rangatira: Chief

Rangatiratanga: Chieftainship

Ropu/Roopu: Group

Runaka/Runanga: Council, assembly

Taiaha: Long club

Tamariki: Child, children

Tangata whenua: Indigenous people of the land i.e. Maori

Taniwha: Water monster

Taonga: Treasured item

Tauīwi: Non-Maori

Te reo Maori: Maori language

Te Tiriti o Waitangi: The Maori text of the Treaty, recognised in international law.

Tikanga: Custom, rule

Whakapapa: Genealogy

Whakatauki: Maori proverb, prophecy

Whanau: Family that extends beyond the concept of the nuclear or biological family.

Waiata: Song

Wairua: Spirituality

Wahi/Waahi tapu: Restricted or sacred place or site

Wero: Challenge

“ The epic seagoing journeys of our tipuna are amongst the most dramatic in the repertoire of all human achievement. These tipuna had all the building blocks of a powerful future: confidence in themselves, their way of life, their dream and their right to fulfil it. ”
Irihapeti Ramsden, 1994

REFERENCES

“Maori are..
the foot soldiers
of biculturalism,
the ones at the coal face,
and if we can do it,
feel good about
who and what we are
in both worlds,
then this
country can.”
Ella Henry, 1994

Abel, S. (1997). *Shaping the News; Waitangi Day on Television*. Auckland University Press.

ACORD. (1975). *Submissions to the Working Party to advise the Minister of Education on second language learning in New Zealand education*. Auckland: ACORD

ACORD. (1983). *Before the Broadcasting Tribunal*. Auckland: ACORD

Ajwani, S., Blakely, T., Robson, B., Tobias, M. and Bonne, M. (2003). *Decades of Disparity: Ethnic Mortality Trends in New Zealand 1980-1999*. Wellington: Ministry of Health and University of Otago.

Baker, R. (2005). *The truth about the Treaty of Waitangi: The plundering of New Zealand since 1975*. <http://www.celticnz.co.nz/The%20Treaty%20of%20Waitangi.htm>

Banerjee, S.B. & Osuri, G. (2000). Silences of the media: Whiting out Aboriginality in making news and making history. *Media, Culture & Society*, 22:263-284.

Bassett, M. (16/3/2004). Treaty Inquiries. Column. *Dominion Post, Press*. <http://www.michaelbassett.co.nz/articleview.php?id=54>

Belich, J. (1986). *The New Zealand wars and the Victorian interpretation of racial conflict*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.

Benton, R. (1985). *The role of television and the survival of the Maori language*. Statement to the Waitangi Tribunal in support of the claim of Nga Kaiwhakapumau i te reo.

Brash, D. (2004). *Speech to the Orewa Rotary Club*. <http://www.onenzfoundation.co.nz/DonBrashSpeech.htm>

Butler, J. (1994). *Television: Critical methods and applications*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Caselberg, J. (1975). *Maori is my name - Historical Maori writings in translation*. Dunedin: John McIndoe.

Comrie, M. & Fountaine, S. (July 2004). *Who is making the news?* Paper presented to the ANZCA conference, Christchurch.

Comrie, M. & McGregor, J. (1992). *Whose News?* Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.

Corner, J. (1995). *Television form and public address*. London: Edward Arnold.

Davey, J., de Joux, V., Nana, G. and Arcus, M. (2004). *Accommodation options for older people in Aotearoa New Zealand*. Wellington: CHRANZ.

Durie, M. (1998). *Te Mana, Te Kawanatanga, The politics of Maori self-determination*. Auckland: Oxford University Press.

Edley, N. (2001). Analysing masculinity: interpretative repertoires, ideological dilemmas and subject positions. In Wetherell, M., Taylor, S. & Yates, S.J., (eds). *Discourse as data: a guide for analysis*. London: Sage Publications.

Evans, R. (1993). The negation of powerlessness: Maori feminism, a perspective. *Hecate*, 20:2, 53-65.

Farnsworth, J. & Hutchinson, I. (eds 2002). *New Zealand Television, A Reader*. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.

Fiske, J. (1987). *Television Culture*. London: Methuen.

Fox, D. (1992). The Maori Perspective of the News, in McGregor, J. & Comrie, M. (eds.) *Whose News?* Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.

Franks, S. (2004) "Is Mr Peters sincere on the Treaty?" Press release. <http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/PA0409/S00587.htm>

Goode, L. & Zuberi, N. (eds 2004). *Media Studies in Aotearoa/New Zealand*. New Zealand: Pearson Press

Hall, S. (1983). *Ideology in the Modern World*, Paper no. 65. Bundoora, Australia: La Trobe University.

Hamerton, H., & Fowler, V. (2004). *How are we doing with human rights in New Zealand?* New Zealand Action Plan for Human Rights survey: Report prepared for the Human Rights Commission. Unpublished.

Henry, E. Wahine Pakiri. In Brown, A. (ed). *Mana Wahine: Women who show the way*. Auckland: Reed Books.

Hodgetts, D., Masters, B. & Roberston, N. (2004). Media coverage of 'Decades of Disparity' in ethnic mortality in Aotearoa. *Journal of Community Applied Social Psychology*, 14: 1-18.

Irwin, K. (1992). Towards theories of Maori feminism, in Du Plessis, R. (ed). *Feminist Voices - Women's Studies Texts for Aotearoa/New Zealand*. Auckland: Oxford University Press.

Kawharu, H. (1984). *Report on the Kaituna River Claim (Wai 4)*. <http://www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/reports/nicentr/kaituna/wai004.pdf> Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal.

King, M. (1985). *Kawe Korero - A Guide to Reporting Maori Activities*. Wellington: NZ Journalists Training Board.

Lacy, S., Riffe, D., Stoddard, S., Martin & Chang K-K. (2001). Item size for newspaper content analysis in multi-year studies. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 78: 836-845.

Lambertus, S. (2003). News discourse of Aboriginal resistance in Canada. In L. Thiesmeyer (ed.) *Discourse and silencing: Representation and the language of displacement*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 233-272.

Lealand, G. (2002). Regulation - What Regulation? in Farnsworth, J. & Hutchinson I. (eds). *Cultural Diversity and Local Content in New Zealand Television, A Reader*. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.

Leeming, R.J. (1982). *Broadcasting concerns of urban Maori*. Palmerston North: Massey University for the Broadcasting Corporation of New Zealand

MacAlister, J. (2001) Introducing a New Zealand newspaper corpus. *NZ English Journal*, 15.

Mallard, T. (28/7/2004). *We are all New Zealanders now*. Speech to the Stout Research Centre for NZ Studies, Wellington. <http://www.beehive.govt.nz/ViewDocument.aspx?DocumentID=20451>

Maniapoto-Jackson, M. He Whakaoriori, In Brown, A. (ed). *Mana Wahine: Women who show the way*. Auckland: Reed Books.

Marsden, M. (2003). *The Woven Universe, Selected Writing of Rev. Maori Marsden*. Edited by Te Ahukaramu Charles Royal: The Estate of Rev. Maori Marsden.

McCreanor, T. (1989). Talking about race. In Yensen, H., Hague, K. & McCreanor, T. (eds). *Honouring the Treaty*. Auckland: Penguin.

McGregor, J. & Comrie, M. (1995). *Balance and Fairness in Broadcasting News (1985-1994)*. Palmerston North: Massey University.

McGregor, J. & Comrie, M. (eds. 2002) *What's*

- news?: *reclaiming journalism in New Zealand*. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.
- Miles, R.** (1989). *Racism*. London: Routledge
- MSD.** (2003). *The Social Report*. Wellington: MSD.
- Nairn, R. & McCreanor, T.** (1990). Sensitivity and insensitivity: an imbalance in Pakeha accounts of Maori-Pakeha relations. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 9/4: 293-308.
- Nairn, R. & McCreanor, T.** (1991). Race talk and commonsense. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 10, 4: 245-262.
- Nelson, R.** (1997). *TV drama in transition: forms, values and cultural change*. Houndmills, Hampshire: Macmillan.
- Nikander, P.** (1995). The Turn to the Text: The Critical Potential of Discursive Social Psychology. *Nordiske Udkast*, 2: 3-15.
- NZ On Air.** (2004). *NZ On Air Statement of Intent 2004-05*. <http://www.google.co.nz/search?hl=en&q=tvnz+statement+of+intent+2004&btnG=Google+Search&meta=>
- One New Zealand Foundation.** (2005). Website introduction. <http://www.onenzfoundation.co.nz/>
- Orange, C.** (1987). *The Treaty of Waitangi*. Wellington: Allen and Unwin.
- O'Regan, H.** (2001). *Ko Tahu, Ko Au: Kai Tahu Tribal Identity*. Christchurch: Horomaka Publishing.
- O'Regan, T.** (1990). The Media and the Waitangi Tribunal: The Ngai Tahu experience. In Spoonley, P. & Hirsh, W. (eds). *Between the Lines: Racism and the New Zealand Media*. Auckland: Heinemann Reed.
- Perigo, L.** (19/9/1990). *The Politically Incorrect Show*. <http://www.freeradical.co.nz/content/pishow/pi000919.php>
- Peron, J.** (3/3/2004). *Helen is losing her balls*. Institute for Liberal Values. http://www.liberalvalues.org.nz/index.php?action=view_journal&journal_id=33
- Peters, W.** (2003). *Address to a public meeting in Dunedin*. http://www.nzfirst.org.nz/content/display_item.php?t=1&i=1096
- PHAC.** (2004). *The Health of People and Communities*. Wellington: PHAC.
- Pihama, L.** (1996). *Re-presenting Maori: Broadcasting and knowledge selection*. Presented to NZARE annual conference, Nelson.
- Pilger, J.** (2001). The Crusaders. *New Internationalist*, 133: 14-15.
- Rosenberg, B.** (2003) *Who owns New Zealand's media: Can we afford to let them own our news?* Talk at Auckland University of Technology, <http://www.converge.org.nz/watchdog/03/07.htm>
- Ramsden, I.** (1994). He Poroporoaki. In Brown, A. (ed). *Mana Wahine: Women who show the way*. Auckland: Reed Books.
- Rankine, J. & McCreanor, T.** (2004). Colonial coverage: Media reporting of a bicultural health research partnership. *Journalism*, 5:5-29.
- Reid, P.** (1994). Hauora. In Brown, A. (ed). *Mana Wahine: Women who show the way*. Auckland: Reed Books.
- Riffe, D., Aust, C.F. & Lacy, S.R.** (1993). The effectiveness of random, consecutive day and constructed week sampling in newspaper content analysis. *Journalism Quarterly*, 70: 133-139.
- Ryan, P.M.** (1983). *The Revised Dictionary of Modern Maori*. New Zealand: Heinemann Publishers.
- Saunders, J.** (1996). Skin deep: The news media's failure to cover Maori politics. In McGregor, J. (ed.) *Dangerous Democracy? New media politics in New Zealand*. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.
- Smith, P.** (1996). *Revolution in the Air!* Auckland: Longman Press.
- Spoonley, P. & Hirsh, W.** (eds. 1990). *Between the Lines: Racism and the New Zealand media*. Auckland: Heinemann Reed.
- Spoonley, P.** (1993). *Racism & Ethnicity*. 2nd edn. Auckland: Oxford University Press.
- Tauroa, H. & P.** (1986). *Te Marae: A guide to customs and protocol*. Auckland: Reed Methuen.
- Te Awakotuku, N.** (1994). He Ngangahu. In Brown, A. (ed). *Mana Wahine: Women who show the way*. Auckland: Reed.
- Tucker, J.** (2001). The news story. In J. Tucker (ed.) *Intro: A beginner's guide to professional news journalism*. Wellington: New Zealand Journalists Training Organisation, 87-141.
- Tuffin, K., Praat, A. & Fewin, K.** (2004). Analysing a Silent Discourse: Sovereignty and Tino Rangatiratanga in Aotearoa. *NZ Journal of Psychology*, 22:2.
- Tully, J.** (1989). Guidelines for reporting race relations. *New Zealand Journalism Review*, 2.
- TVNZ.** (2003). *TVNZ Charter*. http://corporate.tvnz.co.nz/tvzn_detail/0,2406,111535-244-257,00.html
- UMR Research.** (2002). *Human rights and the Treaty of Waitangi: A qualitative and quantitative study*. Auckland: Human Rights Commission.
- UMR.** (2004). *Treaty of Waitangi Awareness Research: A Qualitative and Quantitative Study*. <http://www.ssc.govt.nz/treaty-awareness-research>
- Upton, S.** (2003). *Nation building in distant seas*. Speech to the Knowledge Wave conference, Auckland. http://www.arcadia.co.nz/treaty/nation_building.htm
- Walker, R.** (1990). The role of the press in defining Pakeha perceptions of the Maori. In Spoonley, P. & Hirsh, W. (eds). *Between the Lines: Racism and the New Zealand media*. Auckland: Heinemann Reed, 38-46.
- Walker, R.** (1990). *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou, Struggle Without End*. New Zealand: Penguin.
- Walker, R.** (2002). Maori news is bad news. In McGregor, J. & Comrie, M. (eds.) *What's news?: reclaiming journalism in New Zealand*. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.
- Wellington Race Relations Action Group.** (1973). *Coverage of Maori issues in eight Wellington area provincial dailies*. Wellington: WRRAG.
- Wetherell, M.** (1998). Positioning and Interpretative Repertoires: Conversation Analysis and Post-Structuralism in Dialogue. *Discourse and Society*, 9, 3: 87-412.
- Wetherell, M. & Potter, J.** (1988). Discourse Analysis and the Identification of Interpretative Repertoires. In C. Anataki (ed.), *Analysing everyday explanation: A casebook of methods*. London: Sage, 168-83.
- Wetherell, M. and Potter, J.** (1992). *Mapping the language of racism: Discourse and the legitimization of exploitation*. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Whaanga, P.** (1990). Radio: Capable of carrying a bicultural message? In Spoonley, P. & Hirsh, W. (eds). *Between the Lines: Racism and the New Zealand Media*. Auckland: Heinemann Reed, 59-68.
- Williams, H.W.** (1985). *A Dictionary of the Maori Language*. Wellington: Government Printing Office.
- Winter, P.** (1994). TVNZ News: Populist news-values and popular representation. In Ballard, P. (ed). *Power and responsibility: Broadcasters striking a balance*. Wellington: BSA.

“ For me the Treaty is still a sacred and living contract, and until the law comes under the Treaty and doesn't just mention it when it feels like it, then the law is irrelevant from a Maori point of view. ”

Moana Maniapoto-Jackson, 1994



Kupu Taea: Angela Moewaka Barnes, left, Raymond Nairn, Mandi Gregory, Frank Pega, Tim McCreanor and Jenny Rankine.

Angela Moewaka Barnes (Ngapuhi)

Angela has practical experience in film and video production. She completed her MA in film, television and media studies at the University of Auckland in 2004. Her thesis analysed Maori documentaries screened on mainstream television during prime time. She is enrolled in a PhD focusing on Maori short and feature films.

Mandi Gregory

Mandy has gained expertise in qualitative research, especially discourse analysis, at Te Ropu Whariki, a Massey University social research group.

Dr Tim McCreanor

Tim carried out a major analysis of submissions to the Human Rights Commission on the 1979 Haka Party, which identified enduring Pakeha patterns of ideas about relations with Maori. He is involved in research projects on the health of Maori men and alcohol marketing to young people, and is supervising several PhD projects. He is based at Te Ropu Whariki, Massey University, and is also an honorary Research Fellow at the University of Auckland Department of Psychology.

Dr Raymond Nairn

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.

Frank Pega

Frank gained expertise in qualitative research, especially discourse analysis, through tertiary study and work as a researcher for Auckland and Massey Universities. He investigated rural non-Maori GP discourses on Maori health in his honours dissertation and has since worked on a number of studies in mental, public and indigenous health. He is a public health policy analyst for Waikato DHB.

Jenny Rankine

Jenny is a freelance researcher, editor, writer and graphic designer with more than 20 years' experience in print media and public relations.