



The Portrayal of Māori and
Te Ao Māori in Broadcasting:
the foreshore and seabed issue

New Zealand
Broadcasting Standards Authority

The Portrayal of Māori and *Te Ao Māori*
in Broadcasting:
the foreshore and seabed issue

by
the Media Research Team
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Kupu Whakataki

Tēnei te Mana Whanonga Kaipāho te tuku atu nei i tēnei pukapuka whai take, *The Portrayal of Māori and te Ao Māori*, ki ana kaipānui.

Ko tētahi o ngā tino mahi o te Mana Whanonga i raro i te Ture Whakapaoho 1989, he kawē i ana mahi rangahau, he whakaputa kitenga hoki ki te ao e pā ana ki ngā paearu e tika ana i te mahi whakapaoho. I te tau 2003 ka tono atu te Mana Whanonga ki ngā whare wānanga me ngā kuratini kia hora kaupapa rangahau motuhake i ngā whakaaturanga a te hunga pāpāho i te iwi Māori ki te ao. I whakahau te Mana Whanonga me mātua aro te kaupapa rangahau ki:

...ngā āhuatanga kei roto i ngā Whakaritenga mō te Whanonga Pāpāho mō te reo irirangi me te pouaka whakaata. Arā, me āta hāngai ngā kaupapa rangahau ki ngā paearu whakapaoho e pā ana ki te tūtika, te tika me te pono o ngā kōrero. E tika ana kia mohio te tangata ko ngā Whakaritenga mō te Whanonga Pāpāho e mana ana i raro i te wairua o te New Zealand Bill of Rights Act 1990 – ko te wātea ki te whakaputa whakaaro tētahi kaupapa nui i reira. (BSA Inoi kia Whakatakoto Kaupapa: 2003)

E rima ngā whakatakatoranga i tae mai, ā, i kōwhiria e Te Mana Whanonga Kaipāho te Media Research Team o Te Kawa a Māui, i te Whare Wānanga o te Upoko o Te Ika a Māui. E hāngai ana ēnei whaingā mārama tonu o te kura ki ngā hiahia o te Mana Whanonga Kaipāho mō te mahi nei, ā, i whakaae te rōpū kia whakaurua tētahi wāhi ine i te nui ki roto, hei whakawhānui i tā rātou rangahau ine i te kounga anake. Ko te kaupapa i kōwhiria kia arotakea ko ngā mahi kawē kōrero mō te urupare ā-ture a te Kāwanatanga ki te whakatau a te Koti Pīra, i mea ai ia tērā pea he mana whenua tō te iwi Māori ki te takutai moana me te papamoana.

Ahakoā nā te Mana Whanonga te rangahau i utu, i motuhake tonu te kawē a Te Kawa a Māui i ngā mahi, ā, nā ngā mema o te rōpū mahi anake ngā whakaaro whakatau. Ehara i te mea me hāngai tonu ō rātou whakaaro mō ngā kaupapa whakapaoho i tirohia ki ō te Mana Whanonga Kaipāho. He tino whāriki whai take, whakamīharo hoki ngā wetekanga me ngā kitenga i puta ake nei i o te rōpū, mā ērā tāngata e hiahia ana ki te whakarite, ki te titiro hoki ki ngā rerekētanga o tēnei rangahau, i tētahi ā mua nei, ki te āta wānanga rānei i te rangahau mō tētahi atu kaupapa.

Me kī, ko te rōpū rangahau nei tētahi rōpū whāiti kaupapa motuhake, he rōpū i whakawhāititia hei hopu i ngā kitenga a ōna tāngata i ngā wāhanga e ngākau-nuitia ana e rātou. Ko ngā tirohanga me te mātauranga i ahu mai i ngā urupare o ngā kairangahau ki ngā whakapāohotanga, ka noho hei mōhiotanga mō tētahi kāhui mahi wetewete whānui kē atu mō te whakaaringa o ngā āhuetanga o te iwi Māori e te hunga pāpāho. Kei te mihi ki tā rātou mahi, ki ā rātou wetekanga, me kī, hei tātaritanga whai take tēnei mō ngā pitopito kōrero me ngā whakapaohotanga o te wā, i ara ake ai ngā taukumekume i waenganui i te iwi.

Mehemea kāore Te Reo Irirangi o Aotearoa, te Reo Tātaki o Aotearoa me CanWest TVWorks i whakaae kia noho ko rātou te hunga ka āta tirohia, kia tuku hoki rātou i ngā rīpene ki te rōpū rangahau, kua kore tēnei rangahau e tū. E tika ana kia mihia tō rātou whakaaro nui, i whakawātea rātou i a rātou anō kia arotakea rātou i raro i tētahi tirohanga tūmatanui ki te pai o ngā mahi. Ko te mākohakoha me te ngākau āwhina o tētahi kaipaho ki ngā rangahau pēnei tētahi wāhi nui o te whakapono o te Mana Whanonga Kaipaho ki a rātou, e tika ai te kī, kei te whai rātou i ngā mahi pāpāho tūtika, i ngā mahi pāpāho tika, pono hoki ngā kōrero hei kai mā te iwi.

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Joanne Morris
Heamana, Te Mana Whanonga Kaipāho
Tīhema 2005

Foreword

The Broadcasting Standards Authority commends *The Portrayal of Māori and te Ao Māori* to its readers.

One of the functions of the Authority under the Broadcasting Act 1989 is to conduct research and publish findings on matters relating to standards in broadcasting. In 2003 the Authority sought proposals from tertiary institutions for an independent analysis of broadcast media portrayals of Māori. The Authority emphasised that the study would need to be:

...firmly couched in the context of the existing codes of broadcasting practice for radio and television. In particular, research proposals need to address the broadcasting standards relating to balance, fairness and accuracy. It is important to note that the codes of broadcasting operate in the legal environment of the New Zealand Bill of Rights Act 1990 – the freedom of expression in particular. (BSA Request for Proposal: 2003)

From the five proposals received, the BSA commissioned The Media Research Team of Te Kawa a Māui (the School of Māori Studies) of Victoria University of Wellington. The School's clear objectives were in line with the BSA's focus and the team also offered to include a small quantitative component in what otherwise would have been purely qualitative research. The topic that stood out for assessment was the reporting of the Government's legislative response to the Court of Appeal's decision leaving open the possibility of Māori ownership of the foreshore and seabed.

While the research was BSA-funded, Te Kawa a Māui undertook it independently and the conclusions are those of the research team members. Their responses to the broadcast material reviewed do not necessarily reflect the views of the BSA. That said, the detailed analysis and observations made by the team form an impressive basis for those who wish to compare and contrast this 'snapshot' with a future one, or study it for other purposes.

In a sense, the researchers comprised a focus group, assembled to capture the members' views on matters central to their area of special interest. The perspectives and knowledge which shaped the researchers' responses to the broadcast material studied can now inform a wider body of analytical work on media

portrayal of Māori. Their analysis should be respected as a legitimate critique of broadcast news and current affairs on an issue that sparked intense public debate.

The study could not have been undertaken without the goodwill and cooperation of Radio NZ, Television New Zealand and CanWest TVWorks, who agreed to be subjects of the research and supplied tapes to the research team. Their willingness for their programmes to be scrutinised by what is, in essence, a public review of performance is to be applauded. Broadcasters' openness and contribution to research like this serves to strengthen the trust the BSA places in them to provide citizens with a fair, balanced and accurate media.

I would like to acknowledge former BSA chair Peter Cartwright, and members Rodney Bryant and Judy McGregor, who had the foresight to plan and commission this important study. I also thank current members Tapu Misa, Diane Musgrave and Paul France, as well as our chief executive Jane Wrightson, and research and communications advisor Kate Ward, for their roles in the intelligent stewardship of the research project.

Joanne Morris
Chair, Broadcasting Standards Authority
December 2005

Whakarāpopototanga Matua

He Whakamārama

I te mutunga o te tau 2003 i tono atu te Mana Whanonga Kaipaho (BSA) ki ngā whare wānanga me ngā kuratini kia hora kaupapa rangahau motuhake i ngā whakaaturanga a te hunga pāpāho i te iwi Māori me te ao Māori ki te ao whānui. Nā tētahi rōpū i raro i Te Kawa a Māui, i te Whare Wānanga o te Upoko o Te Ika a Māui i kawē ngā rangahau ine i te nui, ine hoki i te kounga o ngā kai i whakapaohotia, i tātaritia e rātou ngā pāhotanga e pā ana ki te takutai me te papamoana, o te wā mai i Hune ki Hepetema 2003.

I tirohia e te rōpū ngā āhuatanga pāpāho o te tūtika, te tika me te pono o ngā kōrero me te whakaaturanga a te hunga pāpāho i te iwi Māori me te ao Māori ki te ao whānui.

Tirohanga ki ngā Pukapuka

E mea ana ngā pukapuka o nāianeī ehara i te mahi ngāwari te whakahaere tahi i ngā ritenga kawē kōrero, me ōna tikanga mahi, i raro i te whakaaro Māori. Ko ngā kaikawē kōrero me ngā etita tētahi mate; ko ngā tūranga me te tokoiti o ngā kaimahi pāpāho Māori tētahi māharahara. Me mātua whakangungu, me akoako hoki ngā kaimahi kawē kōrero ehara i te Māori mō te iwi Māori me te ao Māori. He rite tonu te tuhi, te whakahē hoki i roto i ngā pukapuka whare wānanga mē ngā pukapuka mā te iwi whānui, i ngā whakaaturanga hē me ngā tauira hē mō te iwi Māori. Ahakoa ngā whanaketanga tino pai i roto i ngā pāpāho Māori, kua tae te wā kia whakarerekētia ēnei āhuatanga i roto i ngā mahi auraki. I roto i ngā mahi pāpāho he mea tino nui te āta whakahuahua tika i ngā kupu me ngā ingoa Māori.

He kōrero tāpiri

Kia tika ai te whakahaere i ngā matapakitanga me ngā rangahau, kei roto hoki i taua pūrongo: he tauira (Ngā Whare e rua - he kaupapa e rua ōna whare) ka taea te whakamahi hei kahupapa rangahau i ngā āhuatanga rangahau i Aotearoa, me tētahi matapakitanga o ngā tikanga rangahau me te tātari i ngā kai o roto.

Ngā Whakapāohotanga

E toru ngā wehenga pāohotanga pitopito kōrero, kaupapa kōrero o te wā, i tātaritia: ngā pānui pouaka whakaata auraki (2 hāora, 2 meneti); nā te Māori mā te pouaka Whakaata Māori (3 hāora, 24 meneti); te reo irirangi ā-motu tūmatanui (5 hāora, 10 meneti; 10 hāora huia katoatia, 36 meneti i whakapāohotia.

Ngā Paearu Whakapāoho

Ngā kitenga e pā ana ki ngā paearu whakapāoho.

- Te tūtika: ahakoa kāore i eke ngā āhutatanga o te tūtika i ngā whakaaturanga katoa, i roto i te roanga atu o te wā, i taea anō e ngā kaiwhakapāoho.
- Te pono: I pono anō te tino nuinga o ngā pānui. Kāore i tika te tuhituhi o ētahi o ngā ingoa Māori i puta i te pouaka whakaata.
- Te Tika: Ko te whakaaro, he tika te nuinga o ngā pānui.

Ētahi atu kitenga

- Tikanga Māori: i roto i ngā pāhotanga auraki he iti noa ngā kōrero mō ngā tikanga, ā, i pai anō te whakamārama o te nuinga o ērā. He nui noa atu ngā kōrero mō ngā tikanga i ngā whakapāohotanga a te Māori mā ngā kaiwhakarongo Māori.
- Te Reo: he tino pai te whakahuahua i ngā kupu Māori me ngā ingoa i ngā pāohotanga auraki. He huatau tonu te whakamahi me te whakahua i te reo i roto i ngā whakapāohotanga a te Māori mā ngā kaiwhakarongo Māori.
- Te wairua: he hōhonu tonu, he wairua whakamārama tō te tino nuinga o ngā whakapāohotanga.

Ngā Kupu Whakamutunga

I tutuki te nuinga o ngā paearu whakapāoho, engari i ara ake i ēnei rangahautanga te whakaaro kāore kē ngā paearu o ēnei rā e hāngai ana ki ngā āhutatanga Māori, ki ngā māharahara me ngā mahi e ngākau-nuitia ana e te iwi Māori anō hoki.

Executive Summary

Background

In late 2003, the Broadcasting Standards Authority (BSA) commissioned research into the portrayal of Māori and *te ao Māori* in broadcasting. A team led by Te Kawa a Māui, the School of Māori Studies, at Victoria University of Wellington did a quantitative and qualitative content analysis, analysing broadcasting coverage of the foreshore and seabed issue in the period June to September 2003. The team considered both the broadcasting standards of balance, accuracy and fairness, and the portrayal of Māori and *te ao Māori*.

Literature review

Existing literature suggests that embedded news values and conventions sit uneasily with a Māori worldview. Journalists and editors are seen as key players; the positions and low number of Māori media workers are a concern. Non-Māori news workers need education and training about Māori and *te ao Māori*. Negative portrayals and stereotyping of Māori are documented and condemned in both the academic and the popular literature. Despite the welcome development of Māori media, changes are needed in the mainstream. In broadcasting the correct pronunciation of Māori words and names is especially important.

Additional material

To facilitate future discussion and research, the report includes: a model (*Ngā whare e rua* – the two-house model) which can be used as a framework for understanding aspects of broadcasting in New Zealand; and a discussion of the research method: content analysis.

The broadcasts

For this project three groups of broadcast news and current affairs programmes were analysed: mainstream television (2 hours, 2 minutes); by Māori for Māori television (3 hours, 24 minutes); and national public radio (5 hours, 10 minutes); a total of 10 hours, 36 minutes of broadcast items.

Broadcasting standards

Findings in relation to the broadcasting standards.

- Balance: while balance was not always achieved in individual news stories, broadcasters generally attained balance over a period of time.
- Accuracy: the programmes were almost all accurate. Some misspellings of Māori names appeared on television.
- Fairness: the programmes were considered fair.

Other findings

- Tikanga Māori: in the mainstream broadcasts there were few references to *tikanga* and they were generally well-explained. *Tikanga* was much more significant in the by Māori for Māori broadcasts.
- Language: the pronunciation of Māori words and names in mainstream broadcasts was generally very good. The use and pronunciation of *te reo* in by Māori for Māori programmes was fluent and generally excellent.
- Tone: almost all of the broadcasts were serious and informative in tone.

Conclusions

The broadcasting standards were generally met, but this research project raises the view that the standards as currently framed do not adequately reflect Māori realities, concerns and interests.

1 Introduction

1.1 Background to the research

In late 2003, the Broadcasting Standards Authority (BSA) called for tenders for research into the portrayal of Māori and *te ao Māori* in broadcasting through a content analysis, giving the following research questions as a guide to the project:

- Did the radio and television content analysed achieve balance?
- Was the content analysed accurate, impartial and objective?
- Did the content analysed deal with the parties fairly?
- Which significant points of view were represented or not represented?
- How were Māori and *te ao Māori* portrayed?

A proposal suggesting a mixed-method, case study approach, submitted by Te Kawa a Māui, the School of Māori Studies, at Victoria University of Wellington, was selected. Te Kawa a Māui elected to do a case study on broadcasting coverage of the foreshore and seabed issue in the period June to September 2003. The multi-disciplinary research team based at Victoria University of Wellington included bilingual Māori researchers and Pākehā researchers, with qualifications and experience in media analysis and Māori studies.

1.2 Research Team and Objectives

1.2.1 Research team

A multi-disciplinary research team was drawn from the fields of media studies, Māori studies, law, history, social policy, social research and anthropology. An Advisory Group was convened to provide expert guidance and peer review of the research processes. The members of the team and advisory group are listed in Appendix 1. All of the researchers that worked on each of the three sets of data were Māori and each brought different mixes of skill sets and backgrounds to the research. Two non-Māori people worked on the literature review. There was a mixture of both Pākehā and Māori people on the Advisory Committee. Both researchers and advisory group members commented on the final drafts of the report.

1.2.2 Research aims, objectives and questions

The team's aim was to evaluate the way Māori and *te ao Māori* are portrayed in broadcasting, in relation to the foreshore and seabed issue, and in accordance with

the standards set by the Broadcasting Act 1989, as well as from a Māori worldview (Walker 2004).

1.2.3 Objectives

- To evaluate whether balance was achieved by the programmes.
- To evaluate whether the programmes were accurate, impartial and objective.
- To evaluate whether the parties involved were dealt with fairly.
- To identify which significant points of view were or were not presented.
- To identify the manner in which Māori and *te ao Māori* were portrayed.
- To analyse and report data in accordance with the standards of balance, fairness, accuracy and from a Māori worldview.

1.2.4 Research Questions

The research questions focussed on the following initial themes. These were expanded, building on the literature review and further scoping in consultation with the BSA.

Balance: What aspects of the issue did each speaker address?
Were speakers given comparable amounts of time to speak?
Were arguments presented from different sides of the debate?
Were speakers introduced and commented on in comparable ways?

Accuracy: Was the material presented accurate, impartial and objective?
Were the images accurate?
Were there gaps in the material presented? Was more information required? What additional information could have been used?

Fairness: Were the parties dealt with fairly?

Māori: What language was used to describe the Māori interviewees?
Which Māori were chosen?
How were Māori views presented?
How were Māori and *te ao Māori* represented in stills and moving images?
How were the headlines representing Māori presented?
How was technology used to represent Māori in comparison with non-Māori eg camera angles?

The scope of these questions was constrained by the relatively narrow ambit of the broadcasting standards and the intentions of the research. Questions about balance, fairness, accuracy and related concepts could not be addressed at their broader levels because the focus of the research was to be on the definitions of the standards.

1.3 The foreshore and seabed issue

The foreshore and seabed was selected as a topic because of the immense public interest it aroused from both Māori and Pākehā New Zealanders. On 19 June 2003, the Court of Appeal brought down a judgement that said Māori could go to the Māori Land Court and have their claims to customary rights of the seabed and foreshore heard (*Attorney-General v Ngāti Apa [2003] 3 NZLR 643 [CA]*). Within two days the Prime Minister indicated that the Government would legislate to prevent this from occurring (Espiner, 21 June 2003). From that moment on the debate from all sides was fierce and emotionally charged.

1.4 A Māori Worldview

The notion of Māori worldview is very difficult to generalise about. Arguably, amongst Māori, there have always been multiple tribal worldviews, especially in pre-European times. Today, Māori worldviews are the product of the various original worldviews, overlaid by a variety of post-European colonial experiences, Christianity, literacy, the impact of new technologies and economy, the Treaty of Waitangi, the 'Māori renaissance' and not least, the influence of the media.

In recent times there has been a realisation in Māori communities that a Māori worldview, along with many other aspects of Māori culture, is something that must be preserved and promoted. This has largely arisen since the 1970s when Māori political activism reacted very strongly against the Government's assimilation policies. Activists promoted the retention and development of a distinct Māori culture within New Zealand that should remain different from mainstream Pākehā culture. Now widespread, this ideology draws deeply on the idea of maintaining as much as possible of traditional Māori values and developing a new and distinct Māori world from them. A new generation of Māori has consequently appeared that resents any perceived threat or antagonism to Māori values, as this is seen as a direct threat to the survival and development of Māori culture itself. Many of these negative perceptions are transmitted to Māori via the media and, arguably, are even created by some sections of the media itself.

In this context the foreshore and seabed issue was always going to be highly charged from a Māori perspective. Quite apart from the fact that Māori property rights, including foreshore and seabed, are explicitly protected in Article Two of the Treaty, land and sea are also deeply embedded and inextricably associated with *whakapapa*, *mana whenua*, *Rangatiratanga*, cosmogony and Māori customary law and resource management issues. These are precisely the issues that have been the focus of Māori cultural preservation and maintenance. The Government announcement to legislate over the foreshore and seabed was seen by many Māori as not just an attack on Māori property rights, but also as an attempt to further erode Māori culture itself. Media reporting around this issue would therefore be in sharp relief for Māori communities.

The nature and dimensions of a Māori/tribal worldview have been explored and described by Marsden (1981), Tawhai (1990), Pere (1982), Soutar (2000), and Walker (2004) amongst others. What they describe is a traditional worldview that is integrated, inter-dependent, layered, multidimensional, paradoxical and holistic. Reedy (2001:52) calls it Te Tāhuhu o te Ao Māori. Deeply rooted in religious belief the genesis begins with Te Kore, through Te Po and Te Ao Mārama to Io the Supreme Being which then manifests into Ranginui (sky), Papatūānuku (earth); their children are the various Gods and from them the humankind develops. The linking factor is *whakapapa*. The *whakapapa* of Te Tāhuhu has been passed on through various oral traditions including *karakia* and also in *whakapapa* books in which ancestors recorded their knowledge and discussions with *kaumātua* or elders.

The assumptions of this worldview are that *ngā hononga* or linkages and identity, ancestral influence, assert a positive position. Within this there is acceptance of diversity and difference. As stated above, the linking factor between the different elements of Te Tāhuhu is *whakapapa* that can be used metaphorically and literally. As Jackson (2001:68) describes it, 'it is the fundamental grounding of who we are, it is the eyes through which we see and when we know who we are that in turn shapes how we see'. *Whakapapa* is also about relationships and therefore 'how we relate to each other, how we should work with each other, argue with each other and live with each other' (Jackson 2001:68). This relationship includes the land, sea, foreshore and seabed. The link to the environment is inextricable. The influence of tribal ancestors, their stories, their knowledge, their wisdom was traditionally passed down orally. Many meeting-houses are named after ancestors and so the houses become the embodiment of that ancestor, a living thing and

not just some archaic notion. Māori assert a positive position related to their tribal ancestors. When going on to a *marae* the caller does not call to 'Māori' but instead names the ancestor they are descended from. It is the western paradigm which labels people Māori and non-Māori. A worldview is informed by a person's socialisation, whether this is urban or rural.

The way in which a tribal worldview is applied is dependent on the situation and the context. In his PhD thesis, Soutar (2000) tried to collect as many versions of a particular story as possible and present them. However, if he had to make a decision on the validity of a particular version, he chose that of Te Aitanga a Matoroa, a *hapū* of Ngāti Porou. While this leaves him open to the criticism of subjectivity, and despite his efforts to view the information differently, he could not separate himself from Te Aitanga a Matoroa. A Māori person may have *whakapapa* affiliations to more than one *iwi* or tribe and several *hapū*. The expectations and obligations from each of those groups may, and often do, differ.

The importance of articulating a worldview is that it positions the researchers in a particular place and underpins the analysis which has been used. This approach is rarely used in research.

1.4.1 Ngā whare e rua: a two-house model

This model, described below, provides a means of appreciating the challenges facing by Māori for Māori broadcasting. It is a model of two worldviews that exist within New Zealand society and the media.

The TV One programmes *Marae* and *Te Karere* are contained within the mainstream house below. Both programmes attempt to portray values, language and issues related to the Māori house on the left. Within the mainstream house they occupy a 'room', but the 'house' is not Māori. They are still a minority within the whole industry and have to conform to the policies and practices of the mainstream house. They are probably fortunate that they are there at all, given that many ethnic minorities do not have a presence in the mainstream house.

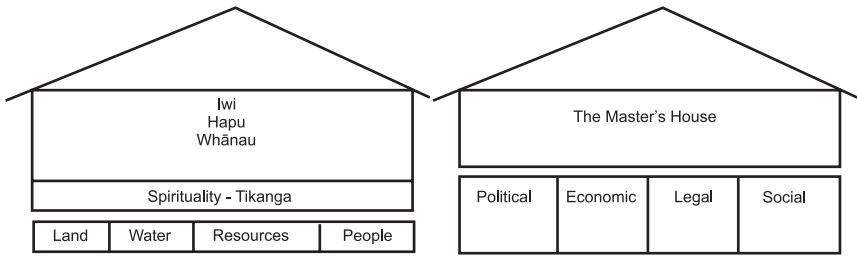


Figure 1-1 *Ngā whare e rua*: a two-house model
 Source: M. Jackson and A. Poananga, 2001

1.5 Methodology

1.5.1 Literature search and review

Research team members held some literature, including unpublished work, prior to the project, particularly on media research methods and the image of Māori in the media. For the project, the researchers made an online search of the New Zealand National Bibliographic database and Index New Zealand using 'Māori' and 'media' as essential terms; we looked at news media in general, not just broadcasting. Other searches were carried out using an internet search engine. The BSA contributed some items. Two researchers sorted the hundreds of references produced. Academic materials as well as items from magazines and newspapers were identified. Three of the researchers then read and made notes on each item in preparation for the review.

1.5.2 Case study approach

A case study method was chosen to allow an in-depth analysis of television and radio programmes and broadcasters. The foreshore and seabed debate was selected for two reasons. First, the issue was highlighted for an identifiable period and it was comparatively easy to identify when this commenced following the publication of the judgement of the Court of Appeal on 19 June 2003. Second, there was intense interest from television, radio, Māori, the public and Government. In order to consult Māori 11 *hui* were convened around the country by the Government. The final *hui* was at Ngā Whare Waatea Marae, Auckland, on 26 September 2003. This study therefore covered the period from 19 June to 26 September 2003.

1.5.3 Limitations of the research

The research was limited by a number of factors:

- The availability of broadcast material. These risks were noted in the Research Proposal. National Radio supplied compact discs of the whole of *Morning Report* and other programmes and the researchers identified which items were within the scope of the project. The television stations, however, supplied items on videotape which they had already identified as foreshore and seabed items. This may have resulted in some broadcasts being inadvertently omitted.
- Data from commercial radio was not available as commercial stations only save their material for one month before it is destroyed.
- Some of the material viewed was undated.
- Other limitations are discussed below.

1.5.4 Scope and sampling

This study looked at news, current affairs, and other factual programmes broadcast from 19 June to 26 September 2003 on both public and commercial television and public radio. The broadcasters studied were the state-owned, non-commercial National Radio, state-owned, commercial TV One, and TV3, a commercial station owned by CanWest Global. During the period of interest of this study, Māori Television was not yet established. Prime TV, a privately-owned free-to-air broadcaster, did not offer New Zealand news and current affairs programming at the time.

Programmes in the sample reflect peak viewing and listening times of the day and were selected to enable an assessment of mainstream broadcasters, Māori broadcasters in English and in *te reo*, and individual Māori and non-Māori reporters.

TV One: *Breakfast* (news and commentaries), Weekdays, 7-8.00am
One News, Daily 6.00pm
Holmes, Weekdays, 7.00pm
Te Karere, Weekdays, 4.45pm
Marae, Sunday 11.00am

TV3: *3 News*, Daily 6.00pm

National Radio: *Morning Report*, Weekdays, 6.40-7.40am
Checkpoint, Weekdays, 5-6.00pm.

For news and current affairs programmes such as *Holmes* and *Checkpoint*, only those broadcasts which addressed the foreshore and seabed issue and fell within the period of interest were selected for analysis. TV3 did not address the foreshore and seabed issue in its current affairs programmes *60 Minutes* and *20/20*.

Initially a 'constructed week' approach to sampling was considered. Also called 'a "rolling" or composite week' (Hansen *et al.* 1998:103), it soon became obvious that such a sample would not yield enough data. Finally a 'purposeful sample' (Patton 2002:40) was chosen which would look closely at specific dates. The dates selected were the two weeks following the Court of Appeal judgement, and the period when *hui* were held around the country. *Hui* were held as follows:

4 September	Whangarā Marae, Whangarā
5 September	Whakaue Marae, Maketū
9 September	Omaka Marae, Blenheim

11 September	Mataiwhetu Marae, Thames
12 September	Omahu Marae, Hastings
16 September	Terenga Paraoa Marae, Whangarei (cancelled)
18 September	Rapaki Marae, Christchurch
19 September	Te Rau Aroha, Bluff
23 September	Owae Marae, Waitara
25 September	Pipitea Marae, Wellington
26 September	Ngā Whare Waatea Marae, Auckland

The period of interest of this research was 19 June-4 July 2003 and 4-26 September 2003.

1.5.5 Data recording and analysis

All of the television material was transferred from video to compact disc. Radio material was received on compact disc. Once items were checked for completeness, both television audio and radio items were transcribed or were checked against available transcripts. Themes were identified from the video and audio transcripts.

Each item was mapped. This involved documenting in detail the substance of each item. Initially the research team developed categories and questions based on the research questions and literature in separate television and radio schedules. The schedules had quantitative as well as qualitative components. The purpose of the quantitative analysis was to provide a context for and complement the analysis of the qualitative data. The number of items and their length could be counted as well as the number of times participants of different ethnicities, genders and status spoke, and how long they spoke for. We could also record the identities of the anchors, reporters and interviewees. This information was useful for identifying who spoke the most and for how long. Using tables (see appendices) it is possible to check that this portion of the analysis is consistent with the qualitative data.

Testing the schedules revealed that it would be easier to note data using a transcript in conjunction with the video or audio material. The final data collection schedules are given in Appendix 3.

Mainstream television data

Mainstream television data were provided by TVNZ and TV3. An excel spreadsheet was used to note the date of each item, its location on the CD, and the name, ethnicity and gender of the anchor, reporter and interviewees. Each item was transcribed and the transcripts checked and amended where required. The items were viewed and the start and end time of each item and the length of time for which each speaker spoke were noted. This information was noted on the transcripts and collated into separate tables for each programme. The items were then viewed again and the visual images and effects used noted on the transcripts.

By Māori for Māori television data

TVNZ Archives supplied the *Te Karere* and *Marae* television data. The researchers transcribed the items, checked for errors and made corrections where necessary. Once the checking was complete, a description of the visual images in each item was recorded on the transcripts. The names of the anchor, reporter, and Māori and Pākehā interviewees were also recorded. The length of each item and the number of times and the length of time for which each speaker spoke were then noted on the transcripts. All this information was transferred to a separate table for each programme (see Appendix 6 and Appendix 7).

These programmes were analysed from a Māori worldview, both inductively and deductively. Deductively the analysis was informed by the Broadcasting Act 1989, and the standards set out in the Free-to-Air Television Code of Broadcasting Practice regarding balance, accuracy and fairness. Inductive categories for *tikanga* and language were added in order to reflect the data and to give insights on Māori representations. The analysis was an iterative process, during which impressions were developed and questions asked of the data in relation to the relevant broadcasting standards. Data were put into tables as appropriate.

Radio data

Radio New Zealand provided whole *Morning Report* and *Checkpoint* programmes for each day in the study period. Later, Radio New Zealand advised that summary lists, or 'rundowns' of content within each of the programmes, were available. These comprised transcripts of the first paragraph of each item within specified time frames within each programme. After a file location database had been produced, the researchers transcribed the items.

The data collection schedules allowed analysis of balance, accuracy and objectivity, fairness, tone and *tikanga Māori*. The analysis involved reading the transcripts

while listening to the audio material and noting quantitative and qualitative features on both the transcripts and the data collection schedules. Once this had been completed a new Excel database summarising the quantitative characteristics was produced. The qualitative characteristics of the items were recorded from the completed data collection schedules and transcript notes.

1.5.6 Ethics

The Human Ethics Committee at Victoria University of Wellington confirmed that ethical approval was not required because there were to be no interviews with human subjects and the data for this project are in the public domain.

1.5.7 Content analysis: A discussion of the method

Content analysis is a method for 'the systematic analysis of communications content' (Hansen *et al.* 1998:91), or, in Berelson's words, 'a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication' (Hansen *et al.* 1998:94). According to Shuker (1999:316) it involves 'interpreting people's attitudes, values, and behaviour from the content' of texts. Several writers point out that content analysis is essentially a quantitative method, the purpose of which is to 'identify and count the occurrence of specified characteristics or dimensions of texts, and through this to be able to say something about the messages, images, representations of such texts and their wider social significance' (Hansen *et al.* 1998:95). However these authors suggest that drawing inferences just from the frequency of the occurrences is inadequate; the context and framework of interpreting the content are crucial for meaning.

Hansen *et al.* (1998:98) describe how content analysis works: 'Content analyses count occurrences of specified dimensions *and* they analyse the *relationships* between those dimensions'. They identify six key steps in content analysis. These are listed below, with a discussion of the measures we took in each area, and in some cases, a reflection on the method.

- *Definition of the research problem.* The problem and broad research questions were defined by the Broadcasting Standards Authority in the Request for Proposal and extended in our Research Proposal. Key definitions relate to the broadcasting standards dealing with issues of balance, accuracy, impartiality and objectivity, fairness, and presentation – or not – of views. Evidence from the literature review assisted us to anchor the questions, and knowledge of *tikanga* and *te ao Māori* informed our understanding of the research problem.

- *Selection of media and sample.* Constraints of time and resources as well as availability of raw data restricted our sample. The foreshore and seabed issue continued to be a major media story into 2004, but the time period selected covers a discrete set of stories based around the breaking of the story to the last of the Government *hui*.
- *Defining analytical categories.* This is considered the ‘conceptually most taxing aspect of any content analysis’ (Hansen *et al.* 1998; Underwood 2003). The categories identified included counts of timings etc., but also the quite broad and encompassing concepts of the broadcasting standards. An advisory team member summarised BSA decisions dealing with the areas of interest, and the research team developed concepts (cf. Stemler’s (2001) ‘*a priori*’ coding).

The process identified key presenters and sources and their attributes, because ‘the analysis of who is portrayed as saying and doing what to whom, and with what key attributes, is essential to an understanding of media roles in social representation and power relationships’ (Hansen *et al.* 1998:108). This necessarily requires the identification of individuals, and is relevant to the research on two counts. First, the project has an interest in the portrayal in general of Māori and *te ao Māori*, beyond the more narrow requirements of the broadcasting standards. The identity of the individuals who are selected by broadcasting organisations as spokespeople on issues relevant to Māori does matter to *iwi*. Second, media organisations, particularly in television, strongly emphasise the public personalities of presenters and some journalists. This can be seen in the titles of shows such as *Holmes*, and especially in the highly visible promotion in print media and billboard advertising. Thus, while the broadcaster as an organisation is responsible for the content and style of the material broadcast, the individual personalities of presenters and reporters are given prominence. Public radio gives less emphasis to personality, and National Radio presenters are generally less identified as celebrities in the popular press as are many television news and current affairs presenters.

In deciding to report the names as well as the roles of anchors and reporters in text and tables, we were mindful of the point made above by Hansen *et al.* 1998; and also that other researchers in this field have identified media staff by name (for example, Abel 1997).

- *Constructing a coding schedule.* The team worked forward from the broad concepts and operationalised these in a template that included all the aspects to be considered (see Appendix 3). For example, we identified key presenters

and sources as including anchors, reporters and interviewees, with scope to observe the gender, ethnicity and other characteristics of these. We note that this analysis in itself 'does not normally distinguish between the potentially very different messages that come from the same group of primary definers, nor does it indicate the varying degrees of "legitimacy" accorded different sources or voices by the media' (Hansen *et al.* 1998:109). Those who work behind the scenes – producers, writers, editors – are not visible to the viewer or researcher. Their contribution to the overall 'portrayal' of any group or topic in broadcast material is, of course, profound. Given their invisibility, the content analysis has to focus on what is audible and visible, and interpret this as representing the intention of the broadcaster as a whole.

Subjects, themes and issues were already given, and each coder was able to comment on the 'vocabulary or lexical choice', including pronunciation of Māori words and names, usage of *te reo* and usage of English words and phrases. The coding categories for 'value-dimensions or stance' of the coverage included tone, accuracy, objectivity/impartiality, fairness, balance and accord between, for television, images and words, and, for radio, sounds and words. Hansen *et al.* (1998:115) warn that 'evaluative categories ... generally require a considerable degree of interpretation by the coder – they ... require the coder to consider the "overall tone" of an item'. Thus it was important for our research that the coders were all Māori with strong backgrounds in *tikanga* and *te reo* to enable such judgements to be made.

- *Piloting the coding schedule and checking reliability.* We expected that having categories reflecting the research questions might reduce some of the problems that arise with coding categories being too broad or too numerous (Hansen *et al.* 1998). We tested the draft coding schedule or template on both television and radio material in a training session that included both research and advisory team members.

A weakness in our research is one which occurs frequently in content analyses. Ideally, two or more coders would separately code the same body of material from the sample and their entire work, or a sample of it, would be compared for 'intercoder reliability' (Hansen *et al.* 1998) or 'reproducibility' (Stemler 2001). Similarly, each coder's work would ideally be checked for internal consistency over time, That is, 'intra-coder reliability' (Hansen *et al.* 1998) or 'stability' (Stemler 2001). The time and resource constraints of the project meant that we were not able to undertake this assessment. Instead, a single coder was assigned to each of three

bodies of raw data and their work was then spot-checked by another team member, a Māori-speaking researcher for the Māori language data, and a Pākehā researcher for the radio data. The mainstream television data were assessed or analysed by two Māori researchers. In the case of the radio data, the Pākehā researcher reviewed four randomly chosen scripts and the coding sheets accompanying them; and raised one query with the coder, which was readily satisfied. For the by Māori for Māori television programmes, all items were viewed together by two fluent speakers of *te reo*, to reach agreement.

Intercoder reliability is assessed by taking two or more coders' work and using their categorisations 'to calculate a numerical index of the extent of agreement between or among the coders' (Lombard *et al.* 2002:590). Lombard, Snyder-Duch and Bracken (2002), Krippendorf (1980), Stemler (2001), and Hansen *et al.* (1998) all make recommendations on the process. Some include advice on which statistical tools to use and to avoid, and how reliability should be reported. In their review of assessment and reporting of intercoder reliability in content analyses, Lombard *et al.* (2002) report an earlier finding by Pasadeos, Huhman, Standley and Wilson (1995) where only 49% of 163 content analyses of mass media examined reported on reliability. Lombard *et al.*'s review of 200 studies found 69% reported on reliability, with 'little space' devoted to 'reliability procedures and results' (2002:599).

This finding holds true of content analysis research about reporting on Māori in the New Zealand mass media, and is the reason why we are discussing method at length in this report. Few items reviewed in the literature review devote more than passing reference to methods and to reliability. We recommend to the BSA that for similar research projects in future the BSA should consider specifying the level of reliability checking required in content analyses, bearing in mind its time-consuming nature.

- *Data-preparation and analysis.* The different coders used the data collection schedules and transcripts in different ways. For large projects statistical packages may be used (Hansen *et al.* 1998; Shuker 1999). In this research, the coders analysed their results iteratively. This means repeatedly going over the data; for example, with different aspects in mind, to reach a deepening level of understanding. The researchers each prepared a written report including tables.

A key conceptual problem encountered by every content analysis research project was summarised nearly 25 years ago by Krippendorf (1980:22) in his classic text, *Content analysis: an introduction to its methodology*, 'messages do not have a

single meaning ... A message may convey a multitude of contents even to a single receiver'. Curran's (1990) understanding is summarised by Underwood (2003): for decades, media effects research has shown that audiences perceive mass media meanings differently, 'that we are selective in our exposure to the media, that the meanings we take from the media are influenced by our attitudes, our experience, our peer groups, membership of sub-cultures and so on'. Identifying the meaning and significance of media contents lead some researchers, especially in the 1980s and 1990s, to eschew the more quantitative approaches to content analysis. Some turned instead to post-modern approaches including discourse analyses with a concentration on small, single texts. The literature review includes several examples of this approach. Philo and Miller (2000) criticise this trend towards an exclusive focus on the text as leading to 'a series of theoretical dead ends'.

Krippendorf's approach was to emphasise the relationship of data to their context; the environment in which communications take place is key:

...the context relative to which the data are analysed must be made explicit. ...In any content analysis, the task is to *make inferences* from data to certain aspects of their context and to justify these inferences in terms of the knowledge about the stable factors in the system of interest (1980:26-7).

We have tried to achieve this in the literature review which looks at the two systems of interest: the context and environment of the broadcast media, and, in more detail, the place and portrayal of Māori and *te ao Māori* in the media.

2 Literature review

2.1 Broadcasting media context and environment

This section reviews material relating to the environment in which the broadcast news media operated in 2003, including statutory requirements and news values. These factors form the media background against which the foreshore and seabed issue was presented, as one context of our research.

2.1.1 The news organisations and their standards

The media organisations whose programmes were studied in this project have varied roles and serve varied audiences. Television New Zealand is a Crown company and holds about 75% of the free-to-air market. TV One 'is primarily targeted at a more mature audience, with a broad range of programming' (TVNZ 2004a). TV3, on the other hand, is 'New Zealand's first private commercial broadcaster, and targets the 18-49 core demographic ... Its programming currently achieves a 25% audience share' (TV3 2004). Both channels carry advertising. National Radio is a non-commercial station, funded by New Zealand On Air and operated by Radio New Zealand Limited.

TVNZ and Radio New Zealand each have a Charter which places certain requirements on them in terms of the topic of this research. For example, TVNZ, whose Charter was formally implemented on 1 March 2003, states that it will, among other matters:

- ensure in its programmes and programme planning the participation of Māori and the presence of a significant Māori voice;
- provide independent, comprehensive, impartial, and in-depth coverage and analysis of news and current affairs in New Zealand...;
- promote understanding of the diversity of cultures making up the New Zealand population;
- feature programmes that serve the interests and informational needs of Māori audiences... (TVNZ 2003).

Radio New Zealand calls itself ‘the voice of New Zealand’ and claims to present ‘the most comprehensive and investigative news and current affairs available on the country’s airwaves’ (Radio New Zealand 2004). Radio New Zealand’s charter states that it will provide, among others:

- A range of New Zealand programmes, including information, special interest, and entertainment programmes, and programmes which reflect New Zealand’s cultural diversity, including Māori language and culture.
- A nationwide service providing programming of the highest quality to as many New Zealanders as possible, thereby engendering a sense of citizenship and national identity.
- Comprehensive, independent, impartial, and balanced national news services and current affairs, including items with a regional perspective... (Radio New Zealand 2004).

The Radio New Zealand Principles Of Operation state:

The public radio company shall, in fulfilling its Charter, exhibit a sense of social responsibility by having regard to the interests of the community in which it operates and by endeavouring to accommodate or encourage those interests when able to do so (Radio New Zealand 2004).

Mana News and *Mana Report* are produced by the Mana Group. On National Radio these programmes provide news, background, current affairs and analysis from a Māori perspective.

Broadcasters are subject to the regulatory authority of the Broadcasting Standards Authority which approves codes and standards for free-to-air television and radio. Of the published principles (radio) and standards (television), the requirements of particular interest in this project are: balance, fairness and accuracy.

The framework of this research project restricted its scope to the broadcasting standards and a focus on the portrayal of Māori and *te ao Māori* from a Māori worldview. There is a considerable literature about the concepts of fairness, balance and accuracy which has not been addressed here. One of the reviewers who critiqued this report in draft believed the approach to accuracy, balance and fairness was too constrained, and that more substantial discussion of these concepts in their wider sense was needed. We therefore note the narrower perspective on the broadcasting standards may be considered a limitation of the research.

2.1.1.1 Balance

The Broadcasting Act 1989 (s4(1)(d)) requires standards consistent with the principle 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.

This is reflected in Principle 4 of the Radio Code of Broadcasting Practice, and Standard 4 of the Free-to-Air Television Code of Broadcasting Practice, and means that important points of view on an issue should be aired. This does not necessarily require equal time, or the ability to put forward all aspects in the same programme. The BSA has sometimes found that particular programmes are not balanced on the basis that they omit or do not properly convey one side, but a broadcaster can make up for a lack of balance in one programme by providing the balance in another shortly afterward. Alternatively, the BSA has sometimes found that a later programme *cannot* supply the balance lacking from an earlier one, because the audience will not necessarily be the same, or the impact of the programme may be difficult to subsequently balance. A programme may be balanced in some respects and not in others. If the programme is clearly from a particular or personal point-of-view then balance may not be required to the same extent. See Appendix 3 for the wording of the standards in the codes of broadcasting practice.

2.1.1.2 Accuracy

The requirement for accuracy is articulated in both the Radio Code and the Free-to-Air Television Code. While Principle 6 of the Radio Code requires broadcasters 'to be truthful and accurate on points of fact', the Radio Code does not use the terms 'impartial' and 'objective'. Standard 5 of the Free-to-Air Television Code (Accuracy) states that in addition to being truthful and accurate on points of fact, broadcasters must 'be impartial and objective at all times', and the Standard 4 (Balance) guidelines also require 'impartiality' (Broadcasting Standards Authority).

The difference between the concepts of objectivity and impartiality is unclear. Naismith (1993) reports a discussion of the concepts: 'impartiality implies that material has not been shaped to a particular opinion, objectivity is seen as a complete and unrefracted capture of the world' (Naismith 1993:10). They both appear to be about not taking sides. If an interviewer has two guests discussing an issue, and takes an aggressive stance with one and a soft stance with the other,

that might breach the requirement for impartiality. An item that contains a great deal of personal opinion in a news format or informational programme may be said to lack 'objectivity' rather than 'impartiality'. Bias may be evident at the personal level, say of the journalist, or at the level of the organisation and in the total news collection and broadcast process (Naismith 1993:10).

2.1.1.3 Fairness

The requirement for fairness is reflected in Principle 5 of the Radio Code, and Standard 6 of the Free-to-Air Television Code. The requirement is to 'deal justly and fairly with any person or organisation taking part or referred to'. However, fairness appears to pervade most of the broadcasting standards and to overlap with many. It requires giving people a fair chance to respond. Taking sides or certain tactics can be unfair. Other examples of unfairness might be contriving footage, unreasonable juxtaposition of arguments or distortion of facts or events.

2.1.2 News making and news values

There is a large body of literature on the way news is constructed and the pressures under which it operates. A number of factors have been identified as shaping news development and selection.

News values is the general term for the criteria by which a journalist or editor decides what is newsworthy, and what stories or items should be included or excluded from the news. McGregor (1991:1) writes:

News values are some of the most problematic concepts of journalism. Value judgements within the news process occur at a number of stages. These include the setting of the news agenda and deciding which stories should be pursued, the choice of sources quoted, the assembly of material and the editing, the selection of which stories to publish or broadcast, and their presentation in terms of prominence, emphasis and tone. Yet nowhere are news values formally codified.

Galtung and Ruge (1973) identify 12 factors, or news values, that influence the way news is structured and makes its way into print and airwaves. If present, these factors mean a particular event is more likely than not to be covered in news bulletins. These factors are:

- frequency – how regularly the event happens
- threshold – the size of the event
- unambiguity – the straightforwardness of the event

- meaningfulness – or 'cultural proximity'
- consonance or expectedness – whether the event is something we are accustomed to or expect
- unexpectedness – whether the event is surprising
- continuity – as with a 'running story' that carries on over time
- contrast – a change from the running story for the sake of change.

Galtung and Ruge claim the eight factors above are universal, while the remainder are culture-specific to western cultures. These are:

- reference to elite nations
- reference to elite people – including celebrities
- personalisation – connected to specific individuals
- negativity – how negative the event is in its consequences.

Other writers have described similar lists of influential factors (Burns 2002; McGregor 1991; Underwood 2003). Burns (2002:51) apparently summarising and reconfiguring many of Galtung and Ruge's items, discusses seven 'basic news values': impact; timeliness; proximity; conflict; currency; novelty; and relativity.

An explicit element missing from these lists is noted by Underwood (2003) and Burns (2002): the availability of film footage for television, and non-studio recording and actuality for radio. These are likely to be significant, particularly for television, where the visual component is a key part of any news broadcast.

There is widespread acknowledgement of the influential role these factors play in shaping news. Burns writes that 'News values all come down to the professional judgement of journalists' (Burns 2002:52), and McGregor (1991) describes the way young journalists are socialised into developing a 'feel' for news values or newsworthiness. It has been important to keep news values in mind when considering the foreshore and seabed coverage on broadcast news. As Staab (1990) concluded, the concept of news factors or values can be used not so much as 'a theory to explain news selection but rather a model to describe and analyse structures and relationships in media reality' (Underwood 2003). Writers such as Hartmann and Husband (1981) have essentially used Galtung and Ruge's categories in their study of racial conflict in the media.

McGregor (1991) concludes that news values and news worthiness are subjective and are unexamined by journalists. Although there is goodwill among journalists in New Zealand towards Māori news coverage, the coverage produced is grounded in

Pākehā news values, and most journalists are Pākehā. McGregor draws on her own and others' work to show that the value systems and cultural definitions of Pākehā and Māori differ. Māori news media show significantly different news values which are grounded in a Māori value system (Tremewan Dec 1986/Jan 1987).

A further key aspect in news-making concerns the choice and use of different news sources. A dependency on major news sources, and particularly government sources, is one of the five filters that determine what becomes news identified in Herman and Chomsky's (1988) 'propaganda model' of the mass media. The challenges facing journalists in using and retaining sources may be exacerbated in a small country such as New Zealand; those challenges include developing and maintaining open lines of communication with key politicians, officials and group- or organisation-leaders. Journalism instructional materials warn against over-reliance on official sources such as the police for news and interviews, and the ethical minefields to which that over-reliance can lead; but they emphasise the importance of good sources: 'Journalists depend so much on their sources that it is often said a journalist can be no better than his or her contacts' (Ovens 1999:57). For broadcasting journalists facing tight deadlines is it important to have quick access to sources who can provide coherent comment, sound bites and appropriate visual appearance. Reliable sources who meet these criteria tend to be used frequently.

Wright remarks that for Māori reporters, or those covering Māori affairs, getting to know your sources or potential sources is 'doubly important and the aspect of *whakapapa* (genealogy) can be as important as a telephone number' (Wright 1999:264).

In this project we did not address the many interesting, wider questions of the broadcast media's overall role in social, cultural, political, educational or other spheres. The challenge posed by Postman's profound reflection on 'public discourse in the age of show business' (Postman 1985) is acknowledged. He claimed that the epistemology of television goes largely unnoticed, that:

Our culture's adjustment to the epistemology of television is by now all but complete; we have so thoroughly accepted its definitions of truth, knowledge, and reality that irrelevance seems to us to be filled with import, and incoherence seems eminently sane. And if some of our institutions seem not to fit the template of the times, why it is they, and not the template, that seem to us disordered and strange (Postman 1985:80).

Postman's 'template' has been an uncomfortable fit for many; including, the literature reviewed below might suggest, for Māori.

2.1.3 Media ownership and control

Several commentators have addressed issues of media legislation, ownership, control and practice in New Zealand since the 1980s, and some consider possible effects on Māori involvement and portrayal in news. The 1980s and 1990s were a period of considerable turmoil in the media sector and this is reflected in the concerns of commentators at that time.

Farnsworth (1988) believed deregulation and market models were unlikely to lead to the free flow of ideas and social equity, citing the US experience of the market model diminishing programme range and social equity. Farnsworth suggests the two objectives of public broadcasting in New Zealand, of public service programming and maintaining commercial income, are in conflict and sees the demands of Māori for adequate representation as evidence that broadcasting was already unable to accommodate different sectors of society. An overview of changes in public radio in the late 1980s and early 1990s is provided by Wakem (1992) who notes that changes were not the result of audience dissatisfaction, but were ideological. Rennie (1992) meanwhile, claims that Māori were the 'great loser' in the early stages of broadcasting deregulation.

Norris (2002) examines ownership of media organisations in New Zealand, the impacts of ownership changes on journalism quality and diversity of opinion, and considers the implications for democracy. State ownership and ownership by multinational private companies motivated by profit-making have implications for journalistic independence. Foreign ownership has become considerable since 1991. In print there is a virtual newspaper duopoly, radio is a mix of public and private ownership, and of the national free-to-air television channels at the time of writing, two are state-owned, two owned by Canadian transnational CanWest Global, and Prime TV is Australian-owned.

Norris believes that ownership changes have influenced the structure and content of commercial radio news; a centralised newsroom and networking have lessened local input. In television, intense competition between news and current affairs departments has brought shorter stories, less coverage of politics and economics, and more human interest and celebrity news. TVNZ now has mixed objectives in its Charter and may not be able to fulfil its charter and maintain profitability.

2.1.4 Mainstream media and Māori media

Young (1978) reported a 20,000-signature petition to Parliament, calling for a recognisable Māori presence on television. Māori later established their own media because mainstream media did not properly present Māori views, news and issues, and the political climate permitted new development (Browne 1996). There are varying views on this in the literature: most writers have welcomed by Māori for Māori media, but according to Stuart (2000b) it has regrettably lessened cross-cultural communication as both cultures become isolated within their own communication system.

In 1996, the Joint Māori/Crown Working Group on Broadcasting Policy's second report (1996) discussed the mainstreaming of Māori language and culture. Their definition was:

Mainstreaming of Māori language and culture is broadcasting:

- (i) on 'main stream' media (that is, radio networks or television channels whose audience shares are of significant size);
- (ii) generally but not invariably in prime time ... and in an adequate amount;
- (iii) for reasonable periods at any one time...; and
- (iv) which is intended to have the effect of:
 - a. raising the profile/status/*mana* of Māori language and culture and enhancing their recognition as a part of everyday life;
 - b. presenting the Māori language as one which has relevance, is significant, and is worth learning; and
 - c. providing a Māori view of the world, in its full complexity.

A Government policy report summarises input from consultation *hui* and submissions in 1997 (Ministry of Commerce 1997). The findings were: government has a responsibility to promote and protect *te reo* through television and radio; there should be a well-resourced, separate, Māori-owned and controlled television channel broadcast nationally, but there should be provision for regional involvement and Māori radio; Māori programming on mainstream media and in primetime is vital to promote and revitalise *te reo*; and public funding to develop Māori broadcasting should be distributed by a specialised agency like Te Mangai Paho. In a response to this document by national Māori organisations (National Māori Organisations and Nga Kaiwhakapumau i Te Reo 1997), the criticism was made that government was asking Māori to choose between special purpose television, Māori radio and mainstreaming, when all were necessary and the government had committed itself to develop all.

In reporting her interviews with news executives and journalists, Dunbar (2003) reflects on the relative lack of media self-scrutiny in New Zealand, and reports participants' views on media criticism and related issues. Among other matters, she examines the challenge that a bicultural New Zealand presents for media criticism. Māori and Pacific participants were uniformly negative about the mainstream media in terms of its fairness, balance and accuracy when Māori are portrayed. Dunbar claims Māori defection from the mainstream to concentrate on their own 'parallel institutions to counter the monocultural depiction of their reality in mainstream' is a sign of mainstream media's failure to speak to Māori. Spoonley (1990b), however, sees value in separate institutions. Some Māori participants in Dunbar's study were concerned that the move to separate Māori institutions was happening without any discussion or analysis in mainstream forums. Continuing key issues included the dominance of Pākehā news organisations with their monopoly over the presentation of Māori news, Pākehā journalists' lack of knowledge about Māori issues, and the fact that most journalists work for organisations that do not consider this lack of expertise a failing. A Ngai Tahu leader reported challenging a newspaper editors' conference, resulting in some positive changes for his *iwi*, including active approaches by media to the *iwi* for its views. O'Regan (1990) felt Ngai Tahu had been well served by print media in its own region.

Saunders (1996), reviewing the underreporting and misreporting of Māori political issues in mainstream news media in 1995, also finds that journalists are ill-prepared to cover Māori stories. Māori journalists in mainstream media have to fit the mainstream model and journalism training courses did not attract students with adequate Māori knowledge. News media failed to examine the historical background and Māori views in issues such as the Moutoa Gardens protest and fiscal envelope *hui*. According to O'Regan (1990), radio and television cannot handle such complex issues or those with historical and cultural dimensions.

Stuart (2000b) critically analyses Māori media against David Robie's model of developmental media and discusses issues facing Māori media professionals. Robie's model divides news media and the role they play as follows:

- First World – media is marked by the notion of 'objectivity'
- Second World – media has ideological significance
- Third World – media has a 'nation-building' role
- Fourth World – media contributes to 'self-determination'.

According to Stuart, Māori media tend to move across all four categories. Within the Second World category is the political agenda of many Māori media, concerned with *tino Rangatiratanga*, land and *te reo*; within the Third World category is reporting of Māori development projects, success stories and role models, though this serves a 'culture building' rather than 'nation-building' purpose; and within the Fourth World category is Māori media's concern with language revitalisation, cultural survival and promoting key issues, though the focus is on Māori cultural survival and rebuilding rather than the economic, social and political development of the whole country.

The key importance of broadcasting to *te reo* was emphasised in a report by the Māori Broadcasting Advisory Committee, 2000: 'The Māori Language is the cornerstone of all that is Māori. Without it we are lessened as individuals, and weakened as a nation... Our vision is for a time when the Māori Language can be seen and heard, and cherished by all New Zealanders' (Māori Broadcasting Advisory Committee, 2000:3). That report traced the development of *iwi* Māori radio stations from 1989. In 2005, there are 21 *iwi* radio stations (Te Māngai Pāho).

Rather than government interference, Māori media are subject to free-market constraints: Māori audiences are unattractive to advertisers who dislike an association with pro-Māori messages (Stuart 2000b). However government directly controls funding for Māori radio, using *te reo Māori* content as the only formal measurement by which Māori radio is assessed. Stuart looks at what differentiates Māori media from mainstream. The focus is not just on action but also on issues and ideas. A greater range of voices is heard, modelled on *hui* and widening the definition of 'newsmakers'. Māori print stories use a different structure from mainstream and may reject the objective standpoint of mainstream and use a discussive style. Some radio journalists use *whakatauaikī* (proverbial sayings) in news stories.

2.1.5 Media and national identity

Robie's 'nation-building' category described by Stuart (2000b) refers to Māori identity. In contrast Farnsworth (1990) discussed the role of broadcast media in constructing a national, New Zealand identity. Public broadcasting can produce a sense of shared participation, but there is contrast between the audience as a general community, and as a set of fragmented consumer groups; New Zealand has both. Media institutions create moral boundaries by constructing or repressing certain behaviour, social rules and meanings. Meanings are created which either bind or separate individuals. The state 'protects' the public through broadcasting

standards and rules that codify boundaries. Because the 'average listener or viewer' is unaware of them, these rules act unobtrusively to structure the social world.

Bell (1995) looks at the meaning of 'national identity and culture', and how their relationship to broadcasting is understood in the Broadcasting Act 1989. Since nationhood and national distinctiveness lack precise definition, Bell undertakes a deconstruction of the Act, analysing its language to show that certain groups are named and are treated as sociological minorities: women, children, people with disabilities, minorities. Māori language and culture are also named in the Act and by a process of elimination, Bell identifies the centre of society as occupied by those who are not named, that is, able-bodied Pākehā men. Under the Act, rather than funding specialised minority broadcasting, funding targets primetime material that reflects or promotes named marginal groups that is, 'programming *about* marginal groups, rather than programming *for* them' (Bell 1995:115). Bell observes that the output of market-driven stations is very different from that of the public service system. Commercial systems cater to a mass audience, reassure and entertain. Non-commercial systems recognise the diversity of audiences and measure success by reach not ratings. They are therefore able to develop a plural/challenging national identity and culture.

In Stuart's (2003) recent work, he discusses the construction of a national Māori identity by Māori media and suggests that this is creating a Māori nation within New Zealand. He traces changes in cultural identities since the nineteenth century when relationships between *iwi* were relationships between nations. During the twentieth century, Māori identity continued to be constructed and defined by Pākehā colonisers, including through mass media. Since the late twentieth century, with the Māori renaissance, people are trying to re-establish Māori identity, returning to *iwi*-based identities. But activist demands for all Māori suggest a sense of group identity. Stuart sees *Te Karere* news on TVNZ as symbolically significant, and Māori radio as significant in establishing a new Māori nation. Stuart cites Bourdieu on political apathy coming from 'the dispossession of the means of production of political opinions' (Stuart 2003:55). Through Māori media, Māori have created their own arenas where Māori have authorisation to speak. Stuart writes that Māori-created identity and discourse may lead to Laclau and Mouffe's 'radical plural democracy' (Stuart 2003:57) in which plurality is valued, and conflict is seen as a healthy part of democracy.

2.2 Portrayal of Māori and *te ao Māori*

2.2.1 The media context

Over the past two decades, comment by social scientists and media workers, including Māori, on representation of Māori in the media has taken for granted that the media are important for an equitable and democratic society, and to people's understanding of our world (Maharey 1990a; Spoonley 1990b; Spoonley and Hirsh 1990).

Maharey (1990a) reviews sociological theories about the media, acknowledging the media's importance, and commenting on the marginalisation of media studies as a discipline at the time of writing. He stresses that any theory of media is also a theory of society: the media must be understood within their particular social and historical context. Maharey describes traditional structural functionalists and pluralists as seeing the media as a 'window on the world' where media constructions are authentic because they reflect a range of social and political interests. He critiques various positions and then outlines the Marxist/feminist view of the media as a means of social control; controlled and shaped by dominant or ruling groups to protect their own interests. According to this view, the media thus present a distorted or biased view of the world. Maharey tends to the social control approach, seeing media as a part of the processes of dominance and subordination characterising all social life. The commercial nature of the media is often not appreciated, even by those in the industry.

The media appear to represent reality according to Maharey, and news and current affairs items use conventions that suggest truthfulness. For example, television presenters directly address the camera, wear conservative clothing and use an authoritative tone of voice, while the camera takes the audience to scenes to 'see for ourselves'. There are elaborate efforts to make news items look real, whereas they are actually carefully constructed views of chosen events. This appearance of truth makes news ideologically powerful. Elsewhere, Maharey (1990b:25) writes that media are important for race relations because they have the power to 'define reality and set the agenda of issues'.

Hartmann and Husband, discussing race-related material in the media, see the media as firmly positioned within society and its dominant values. They explain how the peculiarities of race-relations coverage occur:

The way the media define the situation is seen as resulting from the definitions prevailing in the general culture and from institutional

factors that stem from the media themselves. The media are social institutions located within the overall socio-economic structure, and they have their own characteristics which influence the form and content of their output. (Hartmann and Husband 1981:292)

Use of and trust in mass media have been assessed by Roberts and Levine (1996) who surveyed citizens' views about political bias and the reliability of New Zealand media over several general elections. Daily newspaper readership is high, but television has supplanted the print media as the major source of news and information. From 1978 to 1990 there was a decline in the perception of television as an unbiased or reliable source of information about politics, relative to radio and the press. In 1990, only 60% of those surveyed viewed news services as 'neutral'; this proportion had declined since 1987.

2.2.2 Impact of media portrayals

Why does it matter what images are portrayed in the mass media? There is disagreement in the general literature about the actual impact of the mass media on attitudes and beliefs, and if or how these might be assessed. Underwood (2003) provides a brief overview of mass media effects research and theory, identifying five traditions: the hypodermic needle or silver bullet model; the empiricist tradition which is prominent in the USA; cultural effects; uses and gratifications; and recent developments including post-modernism. Miller and Philo (2001), in bemoaning that research in media studies no longer looks for media effects, criticise 'two key theoretical assumptions' in post-modern media and cultural studies. First:

...the assumption that texts can mean whatever audiences interpret them to mean, and that they only have meaning with each new interpretation. Second, the assumption that the producer of a text can describe the world in an indefinite number of ways and that there is no recourse to an agreed reality to evaluate the description. There can be no assessment on grounds of accuracy/ truth and there can be no agreed evidence...

In his discussion for the Royal Commission on Social Policy, Farnsworth (1988) identifies the media as being important because it is 'one of the ways in which people experience and understand their world'. Literature in New Zealand which discusses the impact of media portrayals of Māori has been very clear that these portrayals do have an effect on the way issues are perceived. However, we could not identify any New Zealand research which attempts to evaluate actual impacts

on audiences such as that carried out by Philo and others at Glasgow University (Glasgow University Mass Media Unit). There, researchers worked with varied audience groups and on varied topics, for example Northern Ireland coverage, and images of mental illness. They found that audiences understand media messages clearly and have different ways of deciding whether or not to believe them, and that this takes place in a dynamic context where both the messages and the audience are changing. Another finding was that 'beliefs can be influenced by new messages from the media and also by the flow of [the recipient's] new experience ... in relation to the beliefs' (Miller and Philo 2001).

One of our recommendations is that research directly with citizens on the effects on them of coverage about Māori and *te ao Māori* would be timely. Meanwhile, research examining 'portrayals' is valuable and there is widespread agreement that the portrayals of Māori and *te ao Māori* confirm negative stereotypes, portray Māori and *te ao Māori* inaccurately, and fail in various ways to provide balanced, fair and accurate reporting. Whether the media confirm or actually create negative views is less clear.

2.2.3 Stereotyping, monocultural and negative portrayals

Because we occupy the same society and belong to roughly the same 'culture' it is assumed that there is only one perspective on events. This consensus view of society is particularly strong in modern, democratic, organised capitalist societies; and the media are among the institutions whose practices are most widely and consistently predicated upon the assumption of a 'national consensus' (Hall *et al.* 1981).

In New Zealand, the consensus view has been that of Pākehā, and a Pākehā worldview has been taken as the norm. But as Walker (2004) shows, Māori and *iwi* worldviews differ from Pākehā and from each other in fundamental ways.

Ranginui Walker's (2002) title presents a clear view: Māori news is bad news. He cites Gramsci on the double supremacy of the coloniser – domination, and intellectual and moral leadership. In the twentieth century Māori struggle for equality and participation, the ethnocentric, monocultural media supported structural inequality. Walker's examples of sensationalist media coverage range from the Haka Party incident in 1979 through Waitangi Day protests and the Māori Loans Affair, to Tariana Turia's 'holocaust' comment. Walker demonstrates that the media consistently produce a one-sided discourse about Māori through the way news about Māori is selected, constructed and presented. This led Māori to construct

their own media to present positive stories and foster cultural revival. Walker strongly contends that Pākehā perceptions will not change, however, without radical changes in mainstream media.

The stereotyping of Māori over time has been profound and has included 'unwarranted generalisations' (Ballara 1986:143). Young (1989) identifies a case in a television news bulletin where racist representations of Māori draw on previous representations, in a context where Pākehā representation is significant and normative. Wall (1997) identifies four 'stereotypical constructions' of Māori as the racialised 'other' which are prevalent in the media: Māori as comic other, eg Billy T. James; Māori as primitive natural athlete, eg Auckland Warriors; Māori as radical political activist eg in the Pakaitore (Moutoa Gardens) protest; and the quintessential Māori, in a romanticised past. In discussing the latter, Wall refers to films and academic notions.

Keenan (2000) follows newspapers' tendency to report cases of domestic violence involving Māori by emphasising predetermined ideas about Māori people and behaviour, thereby sustaining simplistic racial dichotomies. A case in point is the reporting of a child abuse case where the 'Once were warriors' headline injected a racial element, encouraging readers to make logical connections between the child's death and a work of fiction noted for its 'intensely negative portrayal of Māori' (Keenan 2000:6).

The dominance and impact of foreign content on New Zealand television is noted by Lealand (1990). He demonstrates a need for more images of New Zealand's ethnic mix, specifically in mainstream television programming, and positive images to counter the negative Māori and Pacific stereotypes in news. Māori and Pacific audiences are treated as part of a homogenous audience, and audience research is needed to identify Māori and Pacific preferences. Prime time television is the major source of mediated images of race relations.

Tremewan (Dec 1986/Jan 1987) and Morrison and Tremewan (1992) see monoculturalism and institutional racism in the media where Pākehā norms are so entrenched they are rarely scrutinised. The media are Pākehā-controlled, have Pākehā philosophies, and are centred in Pākehā culture. Conventions such as objectivity blinker Pākehā, who assume that the Pākehā debating, adversarial mode between only two viewpoints ensures objectivity. This ignores the *hui* model of discussing issues through to consensus or resolution. In the Pākehā dichotomy of hard and soft news, stories about Māori and women are often considered soft.

Another Pākehā cultural limitation is a focus on the present and the urgent that contrasts with Māori viewpoints.

Other commentators who have expressed concern about negative stereotyping include Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu (Nathan 1997); Max (1990), who sees talkback radio as perpetuating stereotypes, 'a gift for those infected with ... ineradicable racism'; and PSA (2003) where the likely impact of such stereotyping is noted: 'when the public is fed a diet of predominantly negative stories about Māori, it is hardly surprising that negative attitudes are fostered'.

Spoonley and Hirsch (1990) and Spoonley (1990b) remark that the media are prejudiced, monocultural and unwilling to be scrutinised; reinforce incorrect images of minorities; use one-word definitions such as 'activist', 'radical', 'demonstrator'; emphasise conflict and disaster; and include 'facts' too often incomplete, inaccurate or misleading. Monoculturalism is seen as reflecting the ownership and control of the media. Māori opinion is not represented, and there is value in having separate Māori media institutions. McRae (1986/87) reported on different approaches to increasing Māori involvement in broadcasting supported by two key figures, Derek Fox and Ernie Leonard.

Ten years ago, Stuart (1995) looked at journalism training in the context where media ownership is concentrated and the media depend on the free market for survival. The Journalists Training Board set up by the news media industry controlled journalism training, and trainee journalists were taught to accept the dominant values of the industry. New Zealand had followed the American style, rather than the European model that tends towards presenting both sides of a story and in a less judgemental way. Reporters did not need a strong background in Māori culture to report Māori issues fairly if they have a model that allows issues to be reported on their open merits. Mainstream media has constructed Māori as 'them' as distinct from 'us', as alien and colonised. Māori reporters often see the world from this perspective. Journalism schools, which teach Māori to report as Pākehā reporters ('brown-washing'), continue the colonising process. Māori media organisations would like training appropriate to Māori media. A parallel organisation would mean either two qualifications (mainstream and Māori) or accredited journalism schools teaching both models of the media. Stuart's (1996) view is that the divisiveness of having parallel systems 'cannot be healthy for the country'. There is a significant difference between the models as to what is 'news' and how it is presented. Schools need to be producing truly bicultural journalists, Māori and Pākehā.

Tully (1990) is in accord with many of these themes. He proposes a code of ethics for journalists reporting on race relations, in the context of the media's central role of either doing harm or good to race relations. In reporting Māori news, there are needs for historical contexts, a review of newsworthiness criteria and sensitivity in timelines and in relations with sources. The focus on crisis and conflict, extreme positions and polarised debates needs to be balanced. While absolute objectivity is unattainable, fact and interpretation must not be confused.

In 2005, the New Zealand Journalists Training Organisation (formerly the Journalists Training Board) 'is a voluntary organisation funded by newspaper, magazine, radio, and television companies. All major employers belong to it' (NZJTO). It is involved in accrediting and moderating journalism schools and setting training standards. In 2005 there are 12 training institutes. There are two Level 5 JTO unit standards relating to Māori: #10378: 'Report Treaty of Waitangi issues'; and #10379: 'Investigate how different cultural viewpoints are expressed in the media' (NZJTO).

Schuler (2003) notes the challenge for journalism educators: 'to produce a fresh breed of journalists who can relate the dominant news values in New Zealand bi-culturally'. Journalism graduates from the sole dedicated National Māori Journalism Course at Waiariki Institute of Technology are 'keen to advocate for stories which are presented with more understanding of the Māori world' while 'they remain faithful to the basic tenets of journalism ie truth, fact and accuracy.' But a survey by Lealand (2003) found very few of the 297 New Zealand journalists surveyed could speak Māori, and Lealand quotes a senior editor: 'there is a lamentable, ongoing ignorance among Pākehā journalists about things Māori and our colonial history' (Lealand, 2003).

Fox has written and commented extensively about shortcomings of the media regarding Māori, and suggests some solutions (Fox 1988, 1990a, 1990b, 1992; 'Media disrespectful in Māori coverage, says Fox' 2003). He traces, among other issues, the under-representation of Māori in broadcast programmes from 1942; the development of Māori channels and programmes and the need for credible Māori media; monoculturalism in the broadcasting institutions; mispronunciation of Māori names; media failure to give different *iwi* and other Māori perspectives or to report good news stories about Māori.

In her historical review of Pākehā prejudice, Ballara (1986) saw 'opposition to correct pronunciation of Māori place names by media announcers [as] evidence of eurocentrism'. This continues to be an ongoing issue (Fisher 2003).

Writings by other journalists and commentators, both Pākehā and Māori, express similar views to those discussed above, including Walker (1987) commenting on correct pronunciation of Māori names and radio's misreporting of Māori events; Webber (1990), who bases her point of view on Treaty of Waitangi obligations; Whaanga (1990) who comments specifically about monoculturalism and recruitment and training issues in radio; Scott (1990) discussing monoculturalism in images and advertising; Wilson (1990); Harvey (1992) discussing monoculturalism in mainly print media; Jackson (Dec 2002/Jan 2003); and Fisher (2003) who reports on TVNZ's *Kaihautu* of Māori news programmes and Māori pronunciation.

Evans (1994) outlines various phases of media coverage of Māori issues since the 1960s, identifying an increasing proportion of unsympathetic mainstream coverage in the early 1990s, offset by Māori media. She comments on the mainstream media's focus on Māori men to the detriment of Māori women as leaders.

2.2.4 Earlier research

The literature reviewed on the portrayal of Māori and *te ao Māori* includes a range of materials dealing with both broadcast and print media. We reviewed formal and scholarly work including research reports and learned comment, and other less formal writing, mostly published in magazines and newspapers. Studies of print and broadcast media from over the past two decades used various sampling and content analysis approaches. Some writers focussed on specific news events and their coverage as case studies; these are noted below. Others undertook surveys that are more general.

Discourse analysis was the technique used by Nairn and McCreanor (McCreanor 1993; Nairn and McCreanor 1990, 1991, 1997). Three of these articles are not a media analysis primarily, but are about an incident at Auckland University in 1979 known as the Haka Party. Following the event, which was covered in the news, the Human Rights Commission called for submissions about the incident and race relations. The authors analysed the 221 submissions out of 350 from Pākehā, and identified several recurring patterns in the submissions, including:

- 'sensitivity' – Pākehā are 'insensitive' to the needs and goals of Māori; and Māori are 'hypersensitive' about culture and status
- Māori are privileged rather than oppressed
- a single national identity overriding cultural affiliations
- Pākehā offend Māori from ignorance, not intent
- Māori culture is impractical in modern world.

In one article, two patterns were identified in Pākehā submissions to explain Māori – Pākehā relations. In the ‘Good Māori/Bad Māori’ pattern, ‘good’ Māori are seen as being ‘fine, gentle, dignified’ hardworking, happy people who fit into the mainstream, while ‘bad Māori’ are unreasonable, beneficiaries, demanding, violent, and the like. A second pattern, related to the ‘bad’ Māori pattern, was ‘Stirrers’. ‘Stirrers’ disturb otherwise harmonious relations and misinform gullible Māori, are left wing, racist, extremist, and responsible for worsening race relations. A further analysis of public discourse in 1988 found similar patterns. An opinion piece by Robert Jones that year was built on the two patterns of ‘Good Māori/Bad Māori’ and ‘Stirrers’.

Expanding on the ‘sensitivity’ pattern, Nairn and McCreanor (1990) suggest that Pākehā insensitivity is presented as unintended, arising from ignorance, and resolvable by information and education. Māori hypersensitivity, in contrast, is internal, emotional, personal, and unreliable. In this way, writers create explanations of racial tensions that blame individual excessive Māori sensitivity, detracting attention from cultural difference and power imbalance. In a later piece, the authors continue their interpretation and identify ten patterns, summarised as: ‘One people; Rights; Privilege; Good Māori/Bad Māori; Stirrer; Māori culture; Māori violence; Māori inheritance; Sensitivity, and Ignorance’ (Nairn and McCreanor 1997). They believe these patterns are based in a ‘standard story’ of race relations, and maintain its authority. The patterns, which can be evoked by a single word or phrase, limit representations of race relations because they ignore colonial history, social structures, and power imbalances.

McCreanor’s (1993) article is a discourse analysis of a 1990 newspaper article about the occupation of a lodge by protesters. It examines in detail the use of linguistic resources to tell a story based around ‘commonsense’ understandings. Again, the ‘Good Māori/Bad Māori’ and ‘Stirrers’ patterns are discerned. The story marginalises the protest as breaching both Māori standards and the Pākehā notion of ‘fair play’.

Some similar concepts arose in Abel’s (1996) content analysis of television reporting of the 1990 and 1995 Waitangi Day events. Her thesis is that television maintains a Pākehā hegemony, and on both occasions, mainstream television presentations constructed a dichotomy of Māori into ‘Tame Māori’ and ‘Wild Māori’. The coverage implicitly defined Waitangi events as celebrating national unity but the 1990 protest, although a minor part of the day, was given prominence in news coverage and the protesters were marginalised. The context had somewhat altered by 1995, with greater public awareness of the justice of Māori Treaty claims, and

the news emphasis moved from protester views to tactics. 'Tame Māori' could hold radical views but worked in the system whereas 'Wild Māori' worked outside the system and threatened it. Abel stresses that the 'Wild/Tame' strategy is not deliberate, but the Waitangi day reports were from a Pākehā perspective and work against Māori.

This is unintentional and unacknowledged, but it is precisely these factors that make the news so ideologically powerful and supportive of an essentially monocultural status quo.

This work is based on research reported more fully in Abel's (1997) book *Shaping the News*.

Kernot (1991) examines coverage by two Wellington newspapers in 1986-87 of the Māori Loans Affair. He questions the motivation for the intense and prolonged media attention extending to 237 items in one newspaper and 224 in the other. Both newspapers identified ministerial responsibility and public accountability as key issues. Secondary issues included the amount of money involved, taxpayer liability, and different standards of accountability for Māori. Writers defined issues in ethnic terms, with the interests of taxpayers, the public, and society portrayed as opposed to Māori interests. Public response in correspondence columns was unsympathetic and ethnocentric. Kernot concludes that media coverage of the loans affair effectively maintains structural inequality and Māori social, economic, and political subordination.

Rice (1990) also discusses media coverage of the Māori Loans Affair. Bias was evident in headlines, news item placement, and the tone of reports. Rice claims the media have a scandal mentality and appetite for sensational stories. In this case, the 'scandal' served as an excuse to mould Māori development on the government's terms. For Rice (1990:118), separate Māori media are necessary, providing 'Māori news in a Māori way', to contest the negativity and monoculturalism of the Pākehā-dominated mainstream.

The media's power to construct a story from a monocultural point of view, and defend it, is discussed by Spoonley (1990a) in his introduction to Shortland (1990). Shortland critically reviews a newspaper's coverage of the 'Kill a white' incident at Auckland University *marae* in 1988. Journalistic guidelines were ignored and the conventions and sanctity of the *wharehenui* were violated. Murupaenga (1988) was present at the *marae*, and felt the event was misreported. She sees the main issues arising as being: Māori rights to free expression in the 'cultural setting' of the *marae*;



and the role of the media in covering Māori issues in a way that helps Pākehā understand Māori customs. In this case, the protocol that words spoken in the *whare* must remain there until those present can reassemble and discuss them, the right of reply, and the use of strong rhetoric, were not explained by the *kaumātua* present, nor by the media.

In Barclay and Liu's (2003) quantitative analysis of two city newspapers' Moutoa Gardens coverage, they used a computer programme to analyse the data in four different ways. They found that Māori did not achieve one-half of the 'amount of voice' in coverage; rather, the various Māori interests were accorded the status of a minority voice. Overall, the proportion of material quoted from Māori occupiers was less than that from any of the other groups, and Māori quotes were shorter. In terms of balance, occupiers' accounts were matched with alternative accounts more often, compared with frequency of matching for other groups. The authors conclude it is virtually impossible for Māori interests to gain equal voice in the media according to their Treaty status; instead, their voice is treated as a minority one. Barclay and Liu assert that media fairness should be assessed on the basis of biculturalism.

The Moutoa Gardens occupation and its reporting is also discussed by Stuart (1996) and by a journalist (Brett 1995). 'What the country got was simplified, personalised news which stressed action rather than process', writes Stuart (1996). He believes the Moutoa Gardens story should have been presented as both an events and an issues story. Māori decision-making processes are different from Pākehā processes where the media have a watchdog role. Meanwhile Brett (Brett 1995) arrived at Moutoa Gardens 'armed with stock images of Māori radicalism' but found many contradictions and ambiguities. Before the occupation, relations of Pākehā and the Crown with local *iwi* were believed, by Pākehā, to be 'excellent', but the complexity of *iwi* structures and histories had not been appreciated and Pākehā had expected that Māori all spoke as one. The domestic face of Pakaitore *marae* was invisible to the news media, which instead focussed on tattooed warriors. Stuart (1996) believes cross-cultural journalism education in both directions is needed to facilitate better understanding and news coverage.

Cochrane (1990) takes the view of news as a socially manufactured product through which the media both help to establish and reaffirm prevailing assumptions and values, and also reflect society. In a content analysis of two city newspapers May-June 1989, yielding 75 articles, she tested four propositions. She found that the overall coverage of Māori issues is negative but not overwhelmingly so; certain aspects of Māori presence are over-represented in news, especially legislative

themes; issues of culture, housing, and education were under-represented; and there was significant absence of background exposition. Standard news values place immense pressure on media to exaggerate and sensationalise.

Dawson's (1991) research examining two Wellington daily newspapers from 1975 to 1989, used two sampling methods for a longitudinal study and yielded 96 newspapers. She assessed Māori news as a proportion of news in the whole paper excluding advertising, and found that Māori news was insignificant at about 1% over the sample. This news was presented in a balanced way, however, in three main themes: political, social, and cultural issues, with political issues predominating. An article's 'direction', or the attitude conveyed, was rated on a five-point scale of favourable to unfavourable. Dawson found the overall direction of the Māori news favourable, but unfavourable issues were most influential in constructing news. A qualitative analysis identified metaphors in the articles, with a recurring pattern of landscape metaphors. In the 1970s, language and concepts emphasised race (for example, racial discrimination, racial harmony, ethnic minorities) whereas in the 1980s cultural terms predominated (for example, biculturalism, and cultural awareness). Dawson concludes that Māori voices in the news are distorted because Māori have no control in the news media and news making.

Russell's (1995) content analysis of a provincial newspaper examined two consecutive weeks in each of August 1994 and August 1995, supported by interviews with representatives of the newspaper and a Māori group which protested publicly against the newspaper in early 1995. The interviews showed divergent views about news values and the role of the media, with the Māori representative seeing the media as supporting powerful groups. Russell concludes that the Māori who protested were justified in asking for the journalistic principle of balance to be applied.

A 'critical discourse analysis' by Crombie, Paki, Rolleston and Te Kanawa (2002) of 10 articles or editorials about governance and resource management issues, five about Māori and five not, was interested in 'how vested interests are maintained and social inequalities sanctioned' (Crombie *et al.* 2002:70). The authors concluded that fundamental differences between the two groups of articles were due to an underlying 'normative/paternalistic agenda that stigmatises cultural difference'. They found that writers use the positioning of different voices to support the idea that Māori resource management should be externally controlled and scrutinised, thereby undermining Māori self-determination.

Te Awa was involved in two analyses of broadcast media; one looking at radio news (Te Awa 1996a, 1996b) and the other, with McGregor, looking at two television news stories (McGregor and Te Awa 1996). Te Awa's case study of *Mana News* summarised her Masters research defining and distinguishing differences between news produced by *Mana News* and news from mainstream sources. She was especially interested in news selection and its role in defining the limits of discourse. The research included a participant observation with journalists and editor, and a content analysis of two constructed weeks, yielding 63 stories. Te Awa compared results of her analysis on these stories with those of McGregor and Comrie (1995). Te Awa concluded that *Mana News* applied news values differently from conventional media practice. There was more news that was positive; negativity on *Mana News* was counterbalanced by composition of the programme; cultural proximity and relevance were high. Issue-orientated stories made up 38% of the sample, which is high compared to mainstream media. Background to and context of news were given in nearly all reports of events, and historical perspective was often given. *Mana News* allowed sources 'far more time to speak than any other news programme... By allowing sources to speak more often and for longer [*Mana News*] gives stories more depth and context and delves into those shades of grey that conventional media tend to veer away from' (Te Awa 1996a).

Te Awa worked with McGregor on *Racism and the News Media* (McGregor and Te Awa 1996). Following their detailed critical analysis of two television news stories, they develop themes: the invisibility, stereotyping and trivialisation of Māori in the news media which they label 'symbolic annihilation'; issues in employment of Māori journalists and training of non-Māori journalists; and the need for an integrationist model of news coverage. They identify sources of news as being 'overwhelmingly white, male and institutional'. There are low numbers of Māori journalists, and only about 30% of journalists regard themselves as adequately prepared to cover Māori news stories.

McGregor and Te Awa (McGregor and Te Awa 1996) discuss Wilson and Gutierrez's five developmental phases in news about minorities in white news media in the USA:

1. exclusionary
2. threatening issue
3. confrontation
4. stereotypical selection
5. integrated coverage.

The first four phases can be regularly observed in New Zealand news media. The fifth phase has not yet been achieved leaving Māori seeking to develop separate Māori media in print and radio to give voice to Māori aspirations. To address racism in the media, the authors believe that legislative, structural and journalistic reforms are necessary 'to establish normative standards for the news media and reporting news about Māori and other ethnic minorities ... and the codes of broadcasting practice should be strengthened so there is a positive onus on the broadcasters to represent Māori news faithfully'. Minorities, as consumers, need to be seen as a commercial audience if advertisers are to deliver messages to them.

McGregor's work on this topic has been extensive. In addition to the items cited above, she also worked on a survey of 115 news executives, and interviews with 28 news executives following *hui* about race relations and the media in 1990 (McGregor 1991b). She found that few respondents had close contact with Māori, or a good or thorough understanding of *te ao Māori*; none was fluent in *te reo*; recruitment of Māori journalists was not a high priority, despite a perceived need for them; and training programmes were felt to be needed in Māori culture, the Treaty of Waitangi, race relations, grievance issues, *marae* protocol, the Waitangi Tribunal, pronunciation (especially in the broadcast media), biculturalism, *iwi* development, Māori language and tribal structure. News values were consistent across Māori and general stories. There were no guidelines similar to those for journalists in the UK and USA in New Zealand to monitor and promote better coverage of Māori news or recruitment. McGregor concludes '...a consistently monocultural value structure is in place within the news process which fails to take account of different cultural sensitivities between Māori and Pākehā'. There is an urgent need for media 'to recognise ignorance, acknowledge shortcomings and strive for professionalism' (McGregor 1991b:11).

McGregor also worked with Comrie on a significant study of balance and fairness in broadcasting news over a ten-year period from 1985 to 1994 (McGregor and Comrie 1995). From the point of view that news is socially constructed, their research produced both quantitative and qualitative results showing:

- balance, objectivity, fairness and impartiality are contested terms
- few Māori news stories were broadcast
- Māori stories on television were predominantly bad news
- Māori stories on National Radio's *Morning Report* were strongly neutral
- *Mana News* stories were fairly evenly balanced between 'good', 'bad' and 'neutral'

- 'bad news' stories on *Mana News* were almost all bad news 'for' Māori whereas on television 'bad news' was predominantly 'about' Māori (McGregor and Comrie 1995:38)
- Māori related news was marked by negativity, sensationalism, and stereotypical depiction in many instances (McGregor and Comrie 1995:39)
- Māori and Pacific people were relatively invisible as sources, meaning accuracy and social responsibility in news are not served
- emotional language was found a significant factor in causing stories to appear unbalanced
- special camera techniques – fast or slow motion, instant replay, juxtaposing events widely separated in time or space, shifting points of view, extreme close-up, techniques to disguise identity, and extreme camera angles – had minimal effect on the balance of stories
- special audio techniques – altered sound speed, sound effects, music, deliberate silence, archival tapes and merging, altering or distorting sound – overall were not problematic
- there were few 'synthetic experiences', but one observed was a staged *haka* emphasising the defiance of protesters referred to in the story (McGregor and Comrie 1995:39)
- stories using pieces to camera (where the reporter speaks to the camera) were less likely to distinguish fact from opinion, more likely to contain emotive language, and less likely to deal fairly with everyone referred to or appearing in the story than other stories (McGregor and Comrie 1995:39)
- nearly half of all stories contained both fact and comment, opinion or analysis, with the distinctions blurred in about a third of those.

Reviewing McGregor and Comrie's work, Mandow (1995) highlights the paucity and negativity of Māori news stories.

2.3 Conclusions

Literature we reviewed about the portrayal of Māori in the mass media included research findings, opinion and comment. The following key patterns emerged.

- Eurocentric conventions and news values are deeply embedded. The different worldviews of Pākehā and Māori impact in the news media notably in relation to: concepts of time with different views of history and historical concepts; appropriate spokespeople; appropriate means of arriving at understanding,

Pākehā debate versus Māori discussion/*kōrero*; Pākehā focus on events, against Māori focus on issues.

- Journalists and editors are seen as key players. There are concerns about the numbers and placement of Māori journalists, and about how they can operate in mainstream media. Non-Māori news workers need education and training about Māori and *te ao Māori*.
- There are frequent stereotyping and negative portrayals of Māori. Patterns of 'Good Māori/Bad Māori' and 'Tame Māori/Wild Māori' have been observed. There is anger among both Māori and Pākehā at negative portrayals.
- A strong Māori response has led over time to the development of Māori broadcast media. But because of the penetration of mainstream media, changes are also needed there.
- In broadcast media, correct pronunciation of Māori names and words is important.

3 Content analyses

Content analyses were carried out by Māori team members in three groupings of programmes: mainstream television, by Māori for Māori television, and National Radio. These are reported below. Readers will notice the different approaches taken in each of the three main sections following. There are two reasons for these: the material itself varied; the radio section, for example, is much longer than the others, reflecting the greater amount of radio material, both in number of items analysed and their overall length, as the table below shows. In addition, the analysis and reporting was undertaken by three different teams. The teams' differences in style and approach yielded varying amounts and types of data and analysis.

Table 3-1 Sources, number and length of items analysed

	Mainstream television	By Māori for Māori television	National Radio	Totals
Number of items analysed	51	40	98	189
Total length of items	2 hours, 2 minutes	3 hours, 24 minutes	5 hours, 10 minutes	10 hours, 36 minutes

4 Television: Mainstream Programmes

4.1 Overview of findings

- News and current affairs programmes from TV One and TV3 yielded 51 items (19 from *One News*, 15 from *3 News*, one from *Holmes*, and 16 from *Breakfast*) covering 2 hours 2 minutes of broadcast material.
- Tone: Most of the items were serious and informative in tone; this varied with the type of programme.
- Balance: The lengthy period of interest enabled broadcasters to achieve balance over successive programmes.
- Accuracy: Most of the items were factually accurate. Minor inaccuracies included the misspelling of some Māori (but no *Pākehā*) names.
- Fairness: All of the items were considered fair.
- *Tikanga Māori*: Where there were references to *tikanga*, they were well-explained by Māori Affairs reporters
- Language: Pronunciation of Māori words and names was generally good.

4.2 Background

This section gives an analysis of items about the foreshore and seabed issue screened on mainstream free-to-air television between 20 June-4 July and 4 September-26 September 2003. The programmes included in the study are TV3's *3 News* and TV One's *One News*, *Holmes* and *Breakfast*. Although TVNZ Archives supplied items from TV One's *Sunday* programme, their broadcast dates fell outside the scope of this research. Furthermore, although TVNZ Archives supplied six *Holmes* programmes, only one of these was included in the analysis as the broadcast dates of the remainder fell outside the period of interest.

The programmes included in the study are a mixture of news and current affairs programmes aired by two different broadcasters. The programmes serve a range of purposes and target different audiences.

One News consistently rated in the top three programmes for viewers nationwide aged 5 and over and in the top ten programmes for viewers nationwide aged 18-49 throughout the period of interest (New Zealand Herald). The *Holmes* show also

rated highly for national viewers aged 5 and over throughout the period of interest, being consistently ranked in the top ten programmes (New Zealand Herald).

One News coverage included initial reactions to the Court of Appeal's ruling; the Government's decision to legislate and a range of Māori reactions to this including the Labour Māori Caucus statement, the Wellington Tenth Trust claim to the Waitangi Tribunal and Māori MPs meeting with what are labelled 'Māori activists' (*One News*, 30 June 2003, CD1/8); and the consultation *hui* organised by the Government.

The TVNZ website claims the *Holmes* programme to be the 'champion of the people', offering 'a voice for those who don't have a voice', with a mission 'to present a mix of information and entertainment' (TVNZ 2004c). The *Holmes* item gave some initial reactions to the Court of Appeal's ruling canvassed the day after the decision was released, from Maui Solomon from Te Ohu Kaimoana/Waitangi Fisheries Commission, John McEnteer from the Hauraki Māori Trust Board and National MP Nick Smith.

Breakfast is claimed to provide an 'in-depth look behind the day's headlines, with interviews and information about issues and events that affect New Zealanders' (TVNZ 2004e). Items include news items which focussed on reactions to the Court of Appeal decision, reactions to the Government's decision to legislate and the need to find an alternative venue for the final consultation *hui* in Auckland. Items from the current affairs portion of the *Breakfast* programme include interviews with representatives from Te Ohu Kaimoana/Waitangi Fisheries Commission and the Oyster Industry Association, legal opinions, insights from TV One's Political Editor Mark Sainsbury, discussions with Prime Minister Rt. Hon Helen Clark and an interview with Associate Māori Affairs Minister John Tamihere and National Urban Māori Authority Chairperson Willie Jackson.

3 News is described as 'high credibility with a good dose of personality' and is the top-rated news programme in New Zealand's major urban markets, according to the TV3 website. The *3 News* items included in the study cover the Government's decision to introduce legislation and a variety of reactions to this, the Marlborough District Council's decision to lodge an appeal with the Privy Council, Māori MPs meeting with 'activists' (*3 News*, 1 July 2003, CD2/7) and the Government's consultation *hui*.

4.3 Data-handling

All the items were transcribed from the audio track and the transcripts then checked and amended where necessary. The items were then viewed, noting the start and end time of each item, and the length of time for which each speaker spoke. This information was noted on the transcripts and has been collated into separate tables for each programme. The tables appear as Appendix 8, Appendix 9, Appendix 10 and Appendix 11. The total length of each item and the total speaking time are not equal as there are sometimes gaps in the audio track between speakers. The items were then viewed again and the visual images and effects used noted on the transcripts.

4.4 Quantitative analysis

A total of 51 items were analysed, of which 19 were from *One News*, 15 from *3 News*, one from *Holmes*, and 16 from *Breakfast*. In total the analysed items comprised 7329 seconds or 122:09 minutes of footage.

Table 4-1 Mainstream television data

Programme	Number of items	Airtime (sec)	Airtime (min)
<i>One News</i>	19	2289	38:09
<i>3 News</i>	15	2059	34:19
<i>Holmes</i>	1	559	9:19
<i>Breakfast</i>	16	2422	40:22
Total	51	7329	122:09

The *One News* data comprised 19 items ranging in length from 25 to 206 seconds. The *3 News* data comprised 15 items ranging in length from 93 to 225 seconds. The *Holmes* data comprised 1 item of 559 seconds. The *Breakfast* data comprised 16 items, including both news reports and interviews, which ranged in length from 28 to 387 seconds. On behalf of the broadcasters of *One News* and *3 News*, the programmes' political editors (Mark Sainsbury and Stephen Parker respectively), and Māori Issues reporters (Tini Molyneux and Mereana Hond respectively) dominated speaking time.

4.5 Interviews

The number of Māori interviewees outweighed Pākehā interviewees in the items analysed from *One News*, *3 News* and *Holmes*, and Māori dominated speaking time. In the *Breakfast* items however, while one more Māori than Pākehā was interviewed, Māori only accounted for 40% of speaking time. These data are illustrated in the tables below.

Table 4-2 *One News*: Ethnicity and speaking time of interviewees

	Number	Percentage of interviewees	Speaking time (seconds)	Percentage of speaking time
Māori	39	75	481	69
Pākehā	13	25	213	31
Total	52	100	694	100

Table 4-3 *3 News*: Ethnicity and speaking time of interviewees

	Number	Percentage of interviewees	Speaking time (seconds)	Percentage of speaking time
Māori	27	67	382	68
Pākehā	13	33	176	32
Total	40	100	558	100

Table 4-4 *Holmes*: Ethnicity and speaking time of interviewees

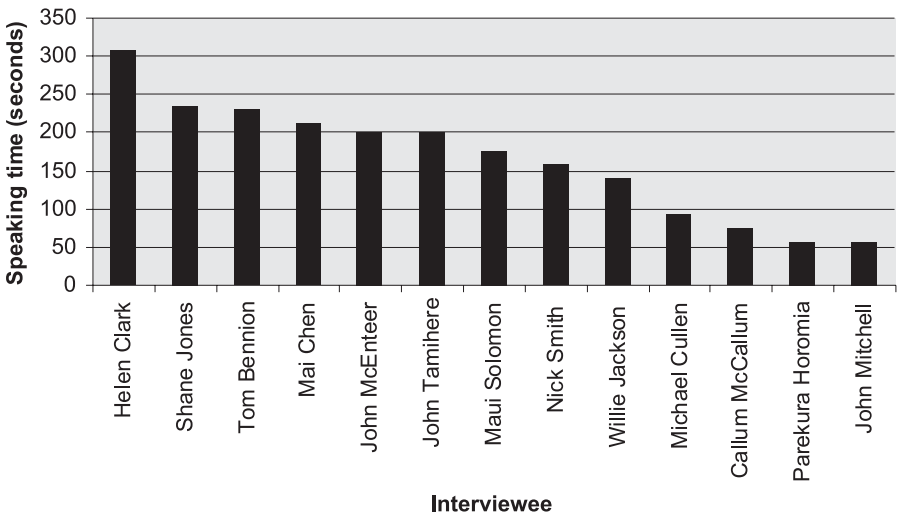
	Number	Percentage of interviewees	Speaking time (seconds)	Percentage of speaking time
Māori	2	67	249	62
Pākehā	1	33	153	38
Total	3	100	402	100

Table 4-5 Breakfast: Ethnicity and speaking time of interviewees

	Number	Percentage of interviewees	Speaking time (seconds)	Percentage of speaking time
Māori	7	54	531	41
Pākehā	6	46	757	59
Total	13	100	1288	100

Across all the programmes analysed, Rt Hon Helen Clark had the greatest amount of speaking time (308 seconds), followed by Shane Jones (234 seconds), Tom Bennion (231 seconds), Mai Chen (212 seconds), John McEnteer (201 seconds), John Tamihere MP (200 seconds), Maui Solomon (177 seconds), Nick Smith MP (159 seconds) and Willie Jackson (141 seconds). This is illustrated in the graph below.

Figure 4-1 Mainstream television: Interviewee speaking time



4.6 Qualitative Analysis: *One News*

As the foreshore and seabed story gained momentum throughout the period of interest and the focus shifted from the Court of Appeal's ruling, to the Government's decision to legislate, to the Government-organised consultation *hui*, there was a distinct change in the *One News* reporters who presented items and those commentators whose opinions were canvassed.

The earlier items in the period were reported by a junior, general reporter and interviewees included people involved in the marine industry, the Marlborough District Mayor, an *iwi* lawyer and John McEnteer of the Hauraki Māori Trust Board, all giving their opinion on the ramifications of the Court's decision.

After the Government's decision to pass legislation was announced, most items were presented by TV One's Political Editor, Mark Sainsbury. Māori interviewees included Maui Solomon of Te Ohu Kaimoana/Treaty of Waitangi Fisheries Commission, John McEnteer, John Mitchell representing Marlborough *iwi*, Labour MPs Dover Samuels, Parekura Horomia and Tariana Turia, academic Margaret Mutu and Ngai Tahu Chief Executive Tahu Potiki. There was also frequent comment from Rt. Hon Helen Clark.

In September, when the focus of the news items was on the Government's consultation *hui*, the bulk of the reporting was done by TV One's Māori Affairs reporter, Tini Molyneux. Māori interviewees during this time included *iwi* representatives who made submissions at the various *hui* and Labour MPs Tariana Turia, John Tamihere and Parekura Horomia. Michael Cullen MP and Trevor Mallard MP also promulgated the Government perspective.

These differences in assigned reporter may show the way producers of *One News* perceived the issue to change over time. Initially assigned to a general reporter, the issue became highly political after the Government announced its plans to legislate and a senior political reporter took responsibility for much of the ensuing coverage. By the time of the consultation *hui* in September, a specialist Māori Affairs reporter presented most of the items.

4.6.1 Tone

The tone of *One News* coverage was generally serious and informative.

4.6.2 Balance

The foreshore and seabed issue occupied a relatively lengthy period of interest in which broadcasters could achieve balance by presenting significant points of view.

Thus while balance may not have been achieved within a single broadcast item, balance could be achieved over the period of interest.

From the researcher's perspective, *One News* was not always successful in ensuring balance within a particular item. For example, in the item screened on the 20 June 2003 that garnered opinions about the Court of Appeal decision, the views of two Pākehā men involved in the marine industry in Marlborough were canvassed, as was the opinion of Marlborough Mayor Tom Harrison. Respectively, these interviewees expressed the view that the ruling would result in injustices for commercial marine operators and that the Government should intervene. The only opposing perspective was put by a representative from Ngāti Rarua who noted that the situation was similar to that of Lake Taupo where Māori title to the lake had changed nothing for lake users.

An item broadcast on 25 June 2003 focussed on Māori reactions to the Government's decision to enact legislation. Māori perspectives were offered by *iwi* representatives Margaret Mutu (Ngāti Kahu) and Tahu Potiki (Ngai Tahu), Labour MPs Tariana Turia and Parekura Horomia and Māori Council Chairman Graham Latimer and there were no interviews with non-Māori. However, as a focus on Māori viewpoints was signalled in the item's introduction, and a range of Māori perspectives put forward, the item was not unbalanced.

4.6.3 Accuracy

There were some inaccuracies presented in the *One News* items. These ranged from spelling errors such as labelling the *iwi* 'Ngāti Kohungunu' instead of Ngāti Kahungunu (*One News*, 25 June 2003, CD1/5) to promulgating the Government's misinformation that the foreshore and seabed belonged to the Crown. For example, in the item broadcast on 24 June 2003, the introduction included the statement 'The Government has decided to change the law to keep ownership in Crown hands'. (*One News*, 24 June 2003, CD1/4).

Other inaccuracies included the unnecessarily alarmist introduction to the item which screened on 21 June 2003 'More Māori claims for large areas of the New Zealand coastline are looming after a Court of Appeal decision' (*One News*, Saturday 21 June 2003, CD1/2). This item however concluded accurately, describing the onerous burden of proof on Māori hoping to take their claim to the Māori Land Court. The reporter stated, 'Marlborough *iwi* are hoping their case will be heard in the Māori Land Court before the end of the year. That case is likely to take several months and will hinge on whether they can prove they have rights to the seabed and foreshore' (*One News*, Saturday 21 June 2003, CD1/2).

4.6.4 Fairness

All the parties interviewed were dealt with fairly. Comments by those interviewed and extracts of footage accurately reflected viewpoints and events, and individuals freely expressed their own opinions.

4.6.5 Tikanga Māori

There were many references to *tikanga* in *One News*' coverage of the foreshore and seabed issue. *Tikanga* was generally described accurately and with a good level of understanding.

For example in an item broadcast on 4 September 2003, the Māori Affairs reporter was asked by the anchor what message the Government would have left the consultation *hui* in Whangara with. Tini Molyneux responded:

Well that message was that four hours definitely is not enough. It actually clashes with marae protocol. Now Ngāti Porou are renowned for their singing, so each speaker is followed by a song, and they were reminded several times by the Chairman, Wira Gardiner, that singing was a bit of a time waster. Now that was like a red rag to a bull, so the more they were reminded about wasting time with their singing, the more they sang. (*One News*, 4 September 2003, CD1/10).

In the item screened on 24 September 2003, the reporter described the choice of the urban, pan-tribal Ngā Whare Waatea Marae as the venue for the final consultation *hui* as 'prudent'. Original hosts Ngāti Whatua had withdrawn their offer to act as hosts, and another local *iwi*, Tainui, could not be approached as 'second choice' to host the *hui* as it would be an insult to their *mana*. The other factor in this choice was the *kawa* and *tikanga* of the *marae*. As the reporter notes, 'the other issue is to do with protocol and time, now Ngā Whare Waatea is very flexible, it doesn't stand on ceremony and it gives people a lot more freedom to have their say and come and go as they please' (*One News*, 24 September 2003, CD1/18).

Another example of *tikanga Māori* was the use of humour, despite the seriousness of the issue and the depth of opposition to the Government's proposed legislation. For example in an item aired on 4 September 2003, the reporter noted, 'although there's still a lot of opposition to the Government's proposal, that opposition was given with a lot of humour and there also seemed to be a sense, an amazing sense of respect and tolerance for each other's view' (*One News*, 4 September 2003,

CD1/10). Humour was also evident at the final *hui*, as one of the speakers, referring to the presence of Bill English MP, says, 'Kia ora Wiremu Pākehā... you've got a lot of guts turning up here today' (*One News*, 26 September 2003, CD1/20) and generates a great deal of laughter.

4.6.6 Language

There were many Māori words, names and place names used in the *One News* items. Pronunciation by most of the anchors and reporters was good. Statements in *te reo* or including a less common Māori word were also used in the news items. For example, from the *hui* near Thames on 11 September 2003, *kaumatua* Toko Renata was quoted as saying '...*hei roto ki ō koutou ringaringa tēnei pukapuka, nā me pēnei...*' (*One News*, 11 September 2003, CD1/13). At an earlier *hui*, Titewhai Harawira claimed of the Government, 'They have no intention of listening to the *mamae* of our people' (*One News*, 16 September 2003, CD1/15), while Deidre Nehua asserted, 'We didn't want the Crown in here to *paruparu* up our *marae*...' (*One News*, 16 September 2003, CD1/15).

4.7 Qualitative Analysis: *Holmes*

The single item from the *Holmes* programme that was analysed aired the day after the Court of Appeal released its ruling that Marlborough *iwi* could take their claim to areas of the foreshore and seabed to the Māori Land Court. Interviewed in the item were the National Party's Nick Smith MP, John McEnteer from the Hauraki Māori Trust Board and Maui Solomon from Te Ohu Kaimoana, the Treaty of Waitangi Fisheries Commission. John McEnteer and Maui Solomon were seated in the studio with the presenter, while Nick Smith joined the discussion via video link from Wellington.

4.7.1 Balance

The presenter, Susan Wood, introduced the item by acknowledging the Court of Appeal's ruling had generated some concerns and then asking, 'Are those concerns justified? Or simply an overreaction?' (*Holmes*, 20 June 2003, CD3/1). These questions foreshadowed the aspects of the issue addressed by the programme's guests, with Nick Smith MP arguing that the decision would cause 'a fiasco, of a flood of claims and expectations', while Maui Solomon pointed out the ruling had limited impact, 'the Court of Appeal, all they've said at this stage is that the Māori Land Court can investigate the nature and extent of Māori customary ownership' and both Solomon and John McEnteer noting that the issue was about the legal

rights of Māori.

All of the guests were introduced respectfully, with the presenter giving their full name and the organisation they represented, 'I'm joined now by Maui Solomon from the Waitangi Fisheries Commission, John McEnteer from the Hauraki Māori Trust Board, and National MP Nick Smith, and a very good evening to you all' (*Holmes*, 20 June 2003, CD3/1). The presenter ensured each had an opportunity to speak and attempted to prevent interruptions, for example saying, 'You've had your chance Doctor Smith, I'll come back to you'. Nevertheless, John McEnteer and Nick Smith spoke for almost twice as long as Maui Solomon. No Government perspective was presented although those interviewed on the programme speculated about what action the Government could take.

4.7.2 Accuracy

During the introduction the presenter posed a rhetorical question that both played up Pākehā fears and claimed ownership over the coastline for non-Māori through use of the possessive pronoun 'our', 'The decision allowing the Māori Land Court to hear claims over the ownership of our foreshore. Will it open the floodgates to Māori claims over our entire coastline?' (*Holmes*, 20 June 2003, CD3/1).

Nick Smith's opinion was notable for its alarmist posturing ('let's avoid the issue of a fiasco, of a flood of claims and expectations'), confusion of the issue with Treaty of Waitangi claims ('And I say to the Government, New Zealanders have had it with the way in which this whole Treaty claim process is out of hand ... we need decisive Government that says, 'enough is enough. Our beaches and our sea are not up for grabs') and disparagement of the Appeal Court's decision that the Māori Land Court had jurisdiction to hear foreshore and seabed claims ('Look it doesn't take Albert Einstein to work out that the *land*, the *Māori Land Court* is not there to determine issues about the sea').

Nick Smith's attempts to generate public alarm were noted and commented on within the item by Maui Solomon who said, 'It doesn't really behave Doctor Smith to now say that there's going to be a floodgate open because they, these are legal rights that Māori are pursuing. They're not going on to the streets with their taiaha, they're following a due legal process ... I think Doctor Smith is trying to whip up a public reaction and public fear when that's not justified'.

4.7.3 Fairness

All those interviewed were treated fairly.

4.7.4 Tikanga Māori

There were no direct references to *tikanga* in the item.

4.7.5 Language

Pronunciation of the few Māori words and place names used in the item was good.

4.8 Qualitative Analysis: *Breakfast*

Breakfast comprises current affairs items involving interviews with guests either seated in the informal setting of the studio or joining the discussion through a video link. *Breakfast One News*, on the other hand, consists of brief news items, read by a newsreader seated in front of a newsroom background.

4.8.1 Tone

The tone of *Breakfast One News* was serious and informative. Items were very brief to fit into the format of the show as a whole.

The tone of *Breakfast* interviews was generally serious, however there were some lighter moments; for example an interview with John Tamihere MP and Willie Jackson was interspersed with jokes and laughter. The host, Mike Hosking had a rather aggressive interview style and often took the ‘devil’s advocate’ role to prompt a response from the person being interviewed. This interviewer also used colloquial language and slang, such as ‘Just give us the crash course’ (*Breakfast*, 25 June 2003, CD4/8), ‘Why rark it up?’ (*Breakfast*, 26 September 2003, CD5/4) and ‘Well man it costs money...’ (*Breakfast*, 26 September 2003, CD5/4).

4.8.2 Balance

Items on *Breakfast One News* generally showed balance in that perspectives from many sides of the issue were presented, whether summarised by the anchor or reporter or portrayed using sound bites from interviewees. For example, in an item broadcast on 20 June 2003, the Court of Appeal’s judgement is summarised along with the Government perspective. A considered opinion is then offered by Shane Jones (Te Ohu Kaimoana/Treaty of Waitangi Fisheries Commission) who proposes discussions between the Treaty partners. This is followed by the alarmist rhetoric of the National Party’s Nick Smith MP, who claims that the Appeal Court ruling, ‘is a recipe for chaos and racial tension on the beaches and seas of New Zealand’ (*Breakfast One News*, 20 June 2003, CD4/2). Although this inaccurate and alarmist statement was aired unchallenged, the item concludes by noting that the Government has made no comment.

Another news item later in the same programme continues to provide a balanced perspective, but updates the comments from Shane Jones by using part of his interview with Eric Young that took place earlier that morning. Once again Jones provides a measured opinion, acknowledging the concerns of the marine industry but noting that the Court of Appeal decision is about Māori rights. He states, 'Māori should not be expected to have their rights extinguished without due process' (*Breakfast One News*, 20 June 2003, CD4/4).

4.8.3 Accuracy

Breakfast One News presented points of fact accurately. For example, following the Government's decision to legislate, *Breakfast One News* accurately described the intended legislation, as 'planned legislation which would extinguish customary title to New Zealand's seabeds and foreshores' (*Breakfast One News*, 25 June 2003, CD4/7).

The presenters of the *Breakfast* programme sometimes used a 'devil's advocate' interview technique to prompt responses that would clarify meaning and thereby achieve accuracy. For example, in an item screened on 25 June 2003, the presenter states, 'Customary rights, my understanding of customary rights is go down to the beach and grab a few *pipis*' (*Breakfast*, 25 June 2003, CD4/8). While this statement is simplistic and inaccurate, it provokes the interviewee into putting forward an accurate explanation of the Māori view, 'as far as Māori are concerned there is no necessary distinction, say, between the land that they had where they lived and had control over, the land under the seabed...' (*Breakfast*, 25 June 2003, CD4/8).

4.8.4 Fairness

All those interviewed were treated fairly.

4.8.5 Tikanga Māori

There were no direct references to *tikanga* in the *Breakfast One News* coverage. However in a clip shown on 24 September 2003, following an outburst by Trevor Mallard MP inside the whare, a *hui* organiser is heard reminding him of protocol, saying '*Kia ora* Trevor, *kia ora* Trevor, you're in our *whare*. There's no need to yell' (*Breakfast One News*, 24 September 2003, CD4/12).

In another item, TV One's Political Editor Mark Sainsbury puts forward a Māori worldview in an interview on 25 June 2003, where he points out Māori see no distinction between land and sea (*Breakfast*, 25 June 2003, CD4/8).

4.8.6 Language

Pronunciation by anchors, reporters and interviewees of Māori words was generally good.

4.9 Qualitative Analysis: 3 News

Throughout 3 News' coverage of the foreshore and seabed issue, the Political Editor Stephen Parker and Māori Affairs Reporter Mereana Hond shared the bulk of the reporting duties. Naturally, the Political Editor's reports focussed on the political implications of the issue while the Māori Affairs Reporter focussed on Māori perspectives. Both reported on the Government's consultation *hui*, while other reporters also filed foreshore and seabed stories.

During June and July, interviewees included Rt. Hon Helen Clark, Dover Samuels MP, John Mitchell, Archie Tairaoa and Maui Solomon of Te Ohu Kaimoana, the Treaty of Waitangi Fisheries Commission, Marlborough Mayor Tom Harrison and Parekura Horomia MP.

During the consultation *hui* in September, interviewees included *iwi* representatives such as Api Mahuika (Ngāti Porou), Hemi Leach (Ngāti Konohi), Mark Solomon (Ngai Tahu) and Te Pahunga Davis (Taranaki), and Labour MPs Tariana Turia, John Tamihere and Michael Cullen.

4.9.1 Tone

The tone of 3 News though serious was also somewhat informal. This was especially evident in the use of wordplay, puns, slang and colloquialisms in the presenter Carol Hirschfeld's introductions to items. For example on 25 June 2003, the presenter introduced an item with 'Well someone seems to have chucked a bucket of cold water over Labour's Māori MPs' (3 News, 25 June 2003, CD2/3); on 5 September 2003, she begins an item with 'Government Ministers copped more aggro at the second of the seabed *hui* with Māori today' (3 News, 5 September 2003, CD2/10); and on 26 June 2003, the presenter's introduction included the following play on words, 'There seems to be a turning of the tide over the Government's proposed new law on ownership of the foreshore and seabeds' (3 News, 26 June 2003, CD2/4).

This informal approach was also evident in some of the titles used to introduce items such as 'Mutiny over Bounty' (3 News, 24 June 2003, CD2/1), a play on *Mutiny on the Bounty* and a reference to the lucrative marine industry. Use of such titles also tended to be simplistic, attempting to distil a complex issue into a two-

word label, for example 'Foreshore Row' (3 News, 26 June 2003, CD 2/4), 'Seabed Saga' (3 News, 27 June 2003, CD 2/5), 'Foreshore Saga' (3 News, 1 July 2003, CD 2/7) and 'Beach Battle' (3 News, 4 September 2003, CD 2/9). These titles in particular served to dramatise the issue and the use of the word 'saga' implied the issue was long and drawn out, though at the time the word was first used in a title, the foreshore and seabed had been headline news for exactly one week.

4.9.2 Balance

3 News was generally successful in achieving balance in its broadcasting. Sometimes this was achieved within a single item and at other times by airing two items within a newscast that put forward different perspectives on the foreshore and seabed issue.

For example, on 24 June 2003, two items were broadcast regarding the Government's decision to legislate following the Court of Appeal ruling. The first item focussed on reactions within Parliament to the intended legislation, including the reaction of Māori Labour MPs, who were rightly described as 'furious' (3 News, 24 June 2003, CD2/1). The second item concentrated on Māori reaction outside Parliament, and opinions were canvassed from a range of Māori including John Mitchell (Ngāti Tama ki Te Taiuhu), Archie Tairaoa and Maui Solomon from Te Ohu Kaimoana, the Treaty of Waitangi Fisheries Commission, and veteran commentator Ranginui Walker.

In another example, a 3 News item covering the first consultation *hui* at Whangarā on 4 September 2003 (3 News, 4 September 2003, CD2/8) was followed by a more in-depth look at the concerns of local *iwi*, Ngāti Konohi (3 News, 4 September 2003, CD2/9).

4.9.3 Accuracy

3 News items were generally accurate. However, Ngāti Porou elder Api Mahuika's surname was incorrectly spelt as 'Nahuika' (3 News, 4 September 2003, CD2/8).

4.9.4 Fairness

All those interviewed were treated fairly.

4.9.5 Tikanga Māori

There were many references to *tikanga* in 3 News' coverage of the foreshore and seabed issue. In an item broadcast on 4 September 2003, the reporter explained *mana whenua*, *mana moana*, and *kaitiakitanga*:

Ngāti Konohi descend from Paikea, the ancestor well known through the film the *Whale Rider*. They assert a *mana* or authority that extends from lands they have owned continuously for hundreds of years through to the sea. But with it comes an obligation to protect the resource (3 News, 4 September 2003, CD2/9).

The item that focussed on the cancelled *hui* in Whangarei explained the effect of the protesters' actions in terms of *tikanga*, that is the insult to the *mana* of the Government party and the *kaumātua* who had organised the *hui*. The reporter explained:

Protesters blocked the front entrance, leaving only the side door for Ministers, considered an insult in Māoridom. Local MP Dover Samuels says the protesters' actions were humiliating for the *kaumātua* (3 News, 16 September 2003, CD2/12).

4.9.6 Language

Pronunciation of Māori words and place names was good.

4.10 Conclusions

4.10.1 Tone

Most of the 51 items analysed from *One News*, *3 News*, *Holmes* and *Breakfast* were serious and informative. *3 News* tended to be more informal than *One News* and this was evident in the use of wordplay and colloquialisms in titles and introductions to items. Some of the interviews on *Breakfast* were also less formal, though this varied depending on the interviewer and those being interviewed. For example an interview with John Tamihere MP and Willie Jackson was interspersed with jokes and laughter (*Breakfast*, 26 September 2003, CD5/4). The items presented by general and political reporters tended to focus on conflict while those presented by Māori affairs reporters tended to focus on the need for further consultation.

4.10.2 Balance

There was a relatively lengthy period of interest on the foreshore and seabed issue which allowed broadcasters to achieve balance in successive items broadcast rather than necessitating balance being achieved within a single item. As the focus on the issue changed from the June/July period to the September period, from being seen as a political issue reported on by general and political reporters to being a Māori issue reported on mainly by Māori affairs reporters, a wide variety of perspectives were presented.

4.10.3 Accuracy

Most of the items analysed were accurate on points of fact. Some factual inaccuracies occurred, particularly misspellings of the names of Māori individuals and *iwi*. While these may be considered minor, no misspellings of Pākehā names were noted.

4.10.4 Fairness

All of the stories could be considered fair. There was no indication that interviewees were treated unfairly or that comment or footage was edited to misrepresent viewpoints and events. Individuals freely expressed their own opinions.

4.10.5 Tikanga Māori

Where there were direct references to *tikanga* in items presented by the TV One or TV3 Māori Affairs reporters, *tikanga* was explained fully and accurately. One of the presenters of *Breakfast* tended to present *tikanga* in a simple and inaccurate way, but this was perhaps simply an interview technique to generate an accurate response from those being interviewed.

4.10.6 Language

Pronunciation of Māori words, names and place names was generally good.

5 Television: By Māori for Māori Programmes

5.1 Overview of findings

- Two programmes were analysed: *Te Karere* (solely *te reo*) yielded 30 items and *Marae* 10 items, covering a total of three hours, 24 minutes.
- By Māori for Māori programmes comprise a very small proportion of television broadcasting time.
- Balance, Accuracy, Fairness: the programmes were balanced, and almost always accurate and fair.
- Tikanga Māori: there is extensive exploration of *tikanga* in the analysis. The cultural concepts evident in the programmes and discussed in the analysis include: respect and courtesy, frequent use of *whakataukī* and *pepeha*, emphasising tribal identities, *wero*, multiple identities, and the use of humour.
- Language: there is extensive discussion of language in the analysis. Aspects evident in the programmes and discussed in the analysis include auditory aspects, *rongo*, and the use of metaphor.
- Overall, the presentation of by Māori for Māori news and current affairs demonstrated an understanding and sensitivity in the portrayal of Māori and *te ao Māori* in broadcasting.
- However, the Broadcasting Standards used to assess the programmes were framed in a monocultural way and lack recognition of Māori values.

5.2 Background

Two by Māori for Māori programmes were analysed in the study. TV One's *Te Karere*, a wholly Māori language news programme was broadcast at 5.15pm and repeated at 6.10am the following morning from Monday to Friday. The *kaupapa* of the show is to 'use the Māori language five days a week', and 'satisfy its audience with a service that will convey Māori issues that are of National significance' (TVNZ 2004g).

The second programme was TV One's *Aurere*, the current affairs portion of the *Marae* programme now broadcast on Saturday at 11am. (This change has occurred since March 2005.) While this programme is primarily in English, Māori language clips are often used. The goals of *Marae* are 'to excite viewers about the vibrant

culture within the Māori community', 'to educate and inform viewers about issues impacting on and important to Māori', and 'to motivate viewers to take an active role in understanding the diverse opinion of Māori towards New Zealand and its place in the world' (TVNZ: 2004).

Most *Marae* interviews were conducted in the Auckland studio but three of the interviews, those with Peter Dunne (*Marae*, 31 August 2003, CD3/2), Paul Morgan (*Marae*, 31 August 2003, CD3/3) and Gideon Porter (*Marae*, 7 September 2003, CD4/2), took place in the Wellington studio. The physical layout of the Auckland studio is made up of three panels with the centre panel displaying the *Marae* logo. The two side panels are on rollers and are angled. They are decorated with blown up photographs of *kowhaiwhai* designs in shades of blue and green. The anchor sits on the right and his guests sit opposite with a small glass-topped coffee table between him and his *manuhiri* or guests.

Both programmes are fully funded by Te Māngai Pāho, the Māori broadcasting funding agency. This is despite the fact *Marae* is not a solely Māori language programme.

The target audience for TV One is ages 25-54. Neither *Te Karere* nor *Marae* appear in the top 20 ratings (New Zealand Television Broadcasters' Council, 2003). There is a likelihood that most of the viewers who watch these programmes are primarily Māori who are a minority within the total New Zealand population. It is unclear whether the views of Māori are adequately captured and reflected in viewer-surveys of the population.

5.3 Scope of the stories

The scope of the stories analysed reflects issues, people and places of interest to Māori viewers. Although the topic was the seabed and foreshore debate, the discussions broadcast by the programmes were broader in scope. The discussions and issues were not limited to the coastal marine environment because the foreshore and seabed impact upon many areas. This approach is consistent with the Māori worldview described in Chapter 1, where there is no distinction made between the land, below the surface of the land (minerals, oil and gas), rivers, lakes, harbours, swamps and foreshore and seabed. These waterways were described by one interview as *wai Māori* or Māori water (*Te Karere*, CD1/2). They are part of the continuum of Papatuanuku or the Earth. Divisions of lakes, rivers and foreshore and seabed are Western categories of classification, as opposed to the more holistic Māori view.

Māori are not a homogeneous group but are tribal peoples (Metge, 1976:4) with their own 'political units and territories'. Durie (1994:1) claims that Māori live in 'diverse realities'. They are now a highly urbanised population with over 80% living in urban centres. There are aspects of Māori society which Māori share in common with each other, such as their relationship to Ranginui (sky) and Papatuanuku (earth). *Te Karere* reflected the holistic view of the earth and the localised nature of the seabed and foreshore debate. This diversity between tribes and traditional and urban Māori was reflected in the programmes (*Te Karere*, CD2/8). *Te Karere* covered all parts of the country from Muriwhenua, Te Rarawa and Ngapuhi (Northland), Tamaki Makaurau (Auckland), Taranaki, Tairāwhiti (Gisborne/East Coast), Tainui (Waikato), Hauraki (Coromandel), Te Arawa (Rotorua), Whanganui-a-Tara (Wellington), Te Taihū o te Waka a Māui (Marlborough), Christchurch and Awarua (Bluff). Where an event takes place tends to be of greater importance to Māori than when it occurred.

Te Karere reported from 6 of the 11 consultation *hui*. They were:

7 September	Omaka Marae, Blenheim
11 September	Mataiwhetu Marae, Thames
16 September	Terenga Paraoa Marae, Whangarei
18 September	Rapaki Marae, Christchurch
19 September	Te Rau Aroha Marae, Bluff
23 September	Owae Marae, Waitara

Marae focussed on in-depth discussion with a range of commentators on the issue.

5.4 Issues covered

Issues highlighted by *Te Karere* included the initial reaction to the Court of Appeal decision. It was this decision which triggered a response from the Government and led to what has become known as the foreshore and seabed debate (*Te Karere*, CD1/1, CD1/2). Issues covered in *Te Karere* included the challenge put by a Mātaatua *kaumatua* to Māori MPs to support Māori (*Te Karere*, CD1/4); the concerns raised by *iwi* groups around the country, especially in Muriwhenua (Northland); the significance that has been traditionally placed upon the coastal marine environment; the assertion of ancestral rights, unresolved land claims as a consequence of *raupatu* or confiscation, the use of email in communicating what was happening in *hui* to tribes and sub tribes, the implication of any new legislation on existing land and mineral claims before the Waitangi Tribunal; the foreshore and

seabed proposal considered as another form of confiscation or *raupatu* and the tribal *pepeha* or sayings which assert the links of Māori to the land. Annette Sykes (*Te Karere*, CD1/9) from the Tino Rangatiratanga (sovereignty) movement focussed on the notion of *tino Rangatiratanga* or tribal sovereignty while Ranginui Walker (*Te Karere*, CD1/10) addressed the issue of being a minority group in a democratic society. Other natural features such as rivers, lakes, swamps and harbours also formed part of the discussions (*Te Karere*, CD1/6; *Te Karere*, CD1/7).

Marae focussed on broader national issues which impacted on Māori in the main. These issues included land and claims to mineral rights (*Marae*, 29 June 2003, CD1/1); the Government's DigiPoll ratings as a result of the debate (*Marae*, 17 August 2003, CD3/1); race relations and the place of the Treaty of Waitangi (*Marae*, 31 August 2003, CD3/3); the Hauraki Declaration; the role of the Treaty of Waitangi Fisheries Commission; and the way in which the Government had handled the issue. The consultation *hui* were discussed with Māori and Pākehā representatives of mainstream radio and print media, and representatives of Māori and *iwi* radio. One story raised the query regarding the impact on gathering *pingao* which is a type of grass which grows along the foreshore and whether this practice would continue (*Marae*, 7 September 2003, CD4/1). Māori broadcasters discussed the issues of *tīpuna* or ancestral title, and ancestral rights (*Marae*, 7 September 2003, CD4/3).

5.5 Data handling and quantitative analysis

TVNZ did not supply dates with the *Te Karere* data, but the logo which is used daily on the programme and denotes the start of a new day's stories appeared six times. For that reason the number of stories supplied has been counted and references are made to where the story appears on the compact disc, for example *Te Karere* CD2/1. The tables have been useful for analysis and referencing purposes. *Te Karere* data came from a total of 30 items with an average length of just over two minutes. The longest item was 4.08 minutes long, and the shortest 1.47 minutes. Of the 30 stories the anchors spoke longer than the interviewees in 13 of them. In 12 items the interviewees spoke for longer, and in five items the discussions were between the anchor and reporter. This occurred when the media were excluded from some of the *hui*, or where the reporter gave additional information. In 12 of the stories *kaumātua* or elders were interviewed (totalling 17 *kaumātua*). Nine of the stories included interviews with Māori Members of Parliament either exclusively

or with other interviewees. Five of the stories were with men prominent within the fishing industry.

The *Marae* data comprised 10 stories varying in length from 5.02 minutes to 20.24 minutes. Five or half the *Marae* stories were either with or included MPs. In all the *Marae* programmes the interviewees spoke longer than *Marae* staff.

There appeared to be no difference between Māori and Pākehā, in terms of how they were treated on the programmes. There did appear to be a bias toward men in terms of anchors and reporters and who was interviewed. Despite the overall fairness of treatment, *Te Karere* had one female reporter who reported in three of the 30 stories (*Te Karere*, CD1/4, CD2/2, CD2/11) while *Marae* had none. Most of the people interviewed on both programmes were male. In the *Marae* programme aired on 31 August 2003, Peter Dunne spoke ten times for 270 seconds while Jeanette Fitzsimons spoke five times for 195 seconds (*Marae*, 31 August 2003, CD3/2). On *Marae* there were 13 Māori men (four were seen and heard briefly in clips) and four Pākehā men (two were seen briefly in clips). There were five Māori women (four of whom were shown in very brief clips) and four Pākehā women namely the Rt Hon Helen Clark, Jeanette Fitzsimons MP, Ruth Berry and Margaret Wilson MP, who was seen briefly in a clip. On *Te Karere* a total of 31 men and three women were interviewed.

5.6 Qualitative analysis: *Te Karere* and *Marae*

The qualitative analysis identified whether the programmes complied with the broadcasting standards for free-to-air television programmes.

5.6.1 Balance

Both the *Te Karere* and *Marae* programmes complied with this standard.

Te Karere and *Marae* sought views from several sides of the debate. *Te Karere* interviewed a wide range of Māori from Members of Parliament to leaders in the fishing industry, tribal leaders, and national commentators on Māori issues, *kaumātua* from different *iwi* and members of *ahi kā whānau* or those who have continued to live near the coastal marine environment. Most of the people interviewed could be considered 'elites'. Most of the Māori MPs, either interviewed or shown visually, were from Labour's Māori Caucus. They included Dover Samuels, Nanaia Mahuta and Parekura Horomia who were frequently interviewed and also Mita Ririnui and Mahara Okeroa. Bill Gudgeon from New Zealand First was also interviewed (*Te Karere*, CD/3). In the visuals other non-Māori-speaking

MPs were shown. They included John Tamihere, Tariana Turia and Georgina Beyer. Pākehā MPs shown in the visual images included Rt. Hon. Helen Clark, Michael Cullen, Margaret Wilson and Trevor Mallard. They were shown several times and in one story Bill English, Richard Prebble, Winston Peters and Peter Dunne could be seen in the debating chamber and heard speaking in English in the background while the reporter summarised and translated their comments into Māori (*Te Karere*, CD1/6). Twenty-four out of 30 of these stories included MPs and the Government's position. Members were either interviewed, shown in the debating chamber with voice-over, appeared in clips, or there were photographs of newspaper articles and photographs of the discussion document.

Once the consultation *hui* began, *kaumātua* were more prominent in the stories. Most of these *kaumātua* were from the northern tribes or *rohe* (area). This was partly because of the Muriwhenua claim to the Waitangi Tribunal and because Dover Samuels MP had decided to hold five *hui* with Nga Puhi at their request. *Kaumātua* interviewed included Matiu Wiki, Muriwhenua (CD1/1), Manu Paul, Mātaatua (CD1/4), Rima Eruera and Tame Maara, Muriwhenua (CD1/8), Joe Cooper, Te Rarawa (CD1/11), Rikiriki Rakena, Ngāti Tamatera (CD2/1), Huirangi Waikerepuru from Taranaki (CD2/2), Tame Kingi, Ngāti Mahuta (CD2/3), Hone Uru, Ngāti Ururoa, Pita Apiata, Ngā Puhi and Witi Ropiha from Ngāti Kahu. (CD2/4) There were also Nuku Aldridge, Ngapuhi (CD2/6), Keremata Herewaka on behalf of Wellington urban Māori (CD2/8), Heiki Moses and Whiti Maaka from Ngāti Kuri (CD2/10), and Temple Isaacs from Ngai Tāmanuhiri (Gisborne) (CD2/13).

Views were sought from leaders in the debate such as Matiu Rei representing Te Ope Mana a Tai (CD1/12), Archie Taiaroa from Te Ohu Kaimoana, the Treaty of Waitangi Fisheries Commission (CD1/2), and Tutekawa Wylie from Te Ope Mana a Tai (CD2/7, CD2/11). Dr Ranginui Walker (*Te Karere* CD1/10) is a former academic and commentator on Māori issues who expressed his views as did Professor Margaret Mutu (CD2/6) who gave the views of her *iwi* Ngāti Kahu. In the same story Shane Jones spoke on behalf of Muriwhenua. Responses from other tribal leaders included Arapeta Tahana, Chairman of Te Arawa Trust Board (CD1/7), David Taipari, Ngāti Maru Runanga (CD1/17), and Tahu Potiki of Ngai Tahu (CD2/7). Matiu Rei, although Chairperson of Te Ope Mana a Tai, is also the Chief Executive of Te Runanga o Ngāti Toa Rangatira, one of the Wellington *iwi* groups.

Because *Te Karere* is a Māori language programme, Māori MPs represented the Crown's point of view generally, although following the Prime Minister's statement that the Government would legislate against the Court of Appeal decision, Māori

MPs were arguing for their own position. Sometimes they appeared to be in accord with Māori viewpoints in terms of the views expressed but once the consultation *hui* began it was clear that they were wearing their Crown hats. The exception was Nanaia Mahuta. Tariana Turia was not interviewed. She was shown at the Owae *hui* at Waitara. Only those MPs who could speak Māori were interviewed. As noted above, Pākehā members of the Government and arguments from opposition parties such as National, New Zealand First, United Future, ACT and the Green Party were presented in translation.

Marae interviewed key commentators including John McEnteer from the Hauraki Māori Trust Board and Matiu Rei. Also interviewed were Ken Mason, a retired judge and member of the Waitangi Fisheries Commission and Te Tauihu Confederation; Maui Solomon from Te Ohu Kaimoana, the Treaty of Waitangi Fisheries Commission and Tutekawa Wylie and Paul Morgan both from Te Ope Mana a Tai. The Crown was represented by the Prime Minister, the Rt Hon Helen Clark, and on two occasions by John Tamihere MP. The United Future leader, Peter Dunne, the Green Party Co-leader, Jeanette Fitzsimons, and ACT's Justice Spokesperson, Stephen Franks, were also part of the mix.

Mainstream and Māori media representatives were interviewed. They included Gideon Porter from Radio New Zealand, Ruth Berry from the *New Zealand Herald*, and Rereata Makiha from *Te Karere*. Heni Tawhiwhirangi from Radio Ngāti Porou, an *iwi* radio station, and Tau Henare from Radio Waatea were also interviewed.

5.6.2 Accuracy

Marae was factually accurate but on one occasion *Te Karere* was not.

On one occasion while reporting on the consultation *hui* at Mātaiwhetu *Marae*, Thames, the reporter described the next *hui* which was to be held at Omaha *Marae* out of Hastings as being at *Ahuriri* (*Te Karere*, CD2/1). *Ahuriri* is the Māori name for the area around the port of Napier.

Marae was factually accurate in its reporting. Hard copies of documents were used for the discussions. They included the Hauraki Declaration, the Crown's Proposal, DigiPoll results and quotes from speeches, newspapers and interviews made by Members of Parliament.

As many of the stories in *Te Karere* were local, images were used that reflected the locality. For instance, if the story was coming from Taranaki there was a picture of the drilling rig or Mount Taranaki in the background. If the story was about Te Tauihu the image was of the interisland ferry travelling through the Marlborough Sounds.

The images supported the importance of places and landmarks. In the interview with Sykes (CD1/9), who is from Rotorua, pictures of a lake were shown and then more images of the coastline around Mount Maunganui were visible. In the interview with Walker (CD1/10), who lives in Auckland but comes from Whakatōhea (Opōtiki), the researcher was not able to identify where the coastline images came from.

There were some instances when the reporting on *Te Karere* showed some linguistic inaccuracies on points of fact. For example, when describing a *hui* at Parliament for groups with an interest in the foreshore and seabed the groups were described as:

*Ko te hunga rahi o rātau me ki, me karanga i a rātau ko te hunga e haere ana ki te hī e kitea ana rātau i ngā taha o te roto o Taupo [this is a reference to freshwater fishermen] ... me te hunga kākārīki [a green group] ... ko te roopu haere ana ki rō ngāhere ki te kake i ngā puke [trampers or climbers] (*Te Karere*, CD1/5).*

These descriptions did not give the viewer a clear idea of who the groups were. This could be attributed to a lack of research prior to the *hui*. It would have been helpful if the English names of the groups had been used because there are several groups that come under the categories and descriptions used.

5.6.3 Fairness

While *Marae* complied with this standard *Te Karere* was less measured.

In both *Te Karere* and *Marae* people and organisations taking part were treated with respect when dealing with them *kanohi ki te kanohi* (face to face). However in a *Te Karere* story the reporter said '*I te rā nei kāore hoki e kore kei te hari koa katoa ngā kakī whero o te motu*'. This means 'no doubt the "red necks" *kakī whero*, around the country would be pleased with the stance the Government was taking on the foreshore and seabed'. This could be considered unfair (*Te Karere*, CD1/4). In the same story there was reference to '*ehara tēnei te mahi touhou a tēnei kāwana, otirā kua tauna kē ki ōna mahi nanakia*'. This means that the *nanakia* behaviour of government is not new to Māori and cited the Privy Council case. The Williams Dictionary (1985) defines *nanakia* as 'treacherous' and 'crafty', however the term is also used affectionately to describe a mischievous person. The visual image accompanying the story was of John Tamihere MP walking in a park but the shot started at his feet and moved up to show his head. While there was a mixed

message between the words and image, it is common knowledge that Tamihere supported cutting New Zealand's ties with the Privy Council.

It was not clear in most instances whether interviewees had been informed of their contribution to the programme. However, in the *Marae* interview with the Prime Minister it was apparent from comments she made that she had been given an opportunity to view the DigiPoll results used in the programme as she commented on the results (*Marae*, 17 August 2003, CD3/1).

5.6.4 Tikanga Māori

Tikanga Māori was one of the categories used to assess the portrayal of Māori and *te ao Māori* in broadcasting. It relates to the use of cultural concepts.

There were many cultural concepts used in the two programmes. *Te Karere* is produced and delivered in a manner where aspects of *tikanga* can be used effectively by the media. *Tikanga* is described by E. T. Durie as 'practices and values that many Māori, a growing number, see as necessary for good relations with people and with the land on which they live' (Mead, 2003:ix). The cultural concepts are also an expression of the worldview described earlier. Many of these values were portrayed by anchors and reporters on *Te Karere* and *Marae* programmes.

A feature of these two programmes was the respect and courtesy shown by anchors and reporters to the interviewees and to each other. They did not interrupt or talk over another person as is often seen on mainstream programmes. Respect and humility are qualities admired by traditional Māori society.

In *Te Karere* interviews, the anchors greeted the interviewees and thanked them at the end. In one story (*Te Karere*, CD1/2) the anchor asked Archie Tairaoa a question. When Tairaoa continued speaking the reporter did not pursue his question. Likewise, when another anchor interrupted Nanaia Mahuta MP because they were running out of time, she stopped talking (*Te Karere*, CD1/6). The anchors and reporters, coming live from either the Wellington studio or phoning into the programme, greeted each other warmly and ended the link with a short *mihi*. This pattern was repeated throughout these types of stories (*Te Karere*, CD1/13 CD1/15, CD1/16, CD2/5, CD2/12).

Mihi is defined by the Williams Dictionary (1992:201) as a greeting and as an acknowledgement of an obligation. The *mihi* was usually brief and sometimes accompanied by the phrase '*e te rangatira*' (an important person) which

acknowledges the importance of the person or his or her position, and can be used to elevate the status of an individual. Showing respect to *manuhiri* or the interviewees in this instance is an important aspect of *tikanga*. The anchors on *Te Karere* usually gave a short *mihi* and *whakatau* to the *iwi whānui* or the viewers. In other words they greeted the viewers with particular turns of phrase which were inclusive of all the viewers. While the use of *whakatau*, *whakataukī*, *pepeha* and metaphors may appear similar they are considered to be different concepts and practices. They are also shortened versions of *whaikōrero* or speech making which would occur on *marae* where such introductions are used prior to getting on with the main point of the speech.

Whakataukī and *pepeha* were frequently used. Mead and Grove (1989: v) state, '*pepeha* is often identified with "proverb" but that is too restrictive. The term also embraces charms, witticisms, figures of speech, boasts, and other sayings.' Of *whakataukī* and *pepeha*, Karetu (1981:41) says 'it is possible to imply a great deal in a few words'. Reedy (2005) claims that *whakataukī* are 'the uncut jewels of wisdom'. The ability to convey a great deal in a few words is much admired as implied by this *whakatauki* '*he iti te kupu, he maha te whakaaro*'. For example one anchor opened the story with the phrase '*e ngā tuhi mareikura o te ao Māori, tēna koutou*'. This is a reference to the chiefly lines, which has its origins in traditional Māori society but in this context it is used in the metaphorical sense (*Te Karere*, CD1/5). Another anchor often used a *whakatau* such as '*e ngā maramara pounamu e pirara mai ana i ngā motu*'. This means 'you little gems of greenstone glistening in different parts of the country'. These types of greetings are an extended form of the traditional greeting. In addition to the process the actual words used are significant as they 'talk up' the place of Māori within the wider New Zealand society and are flattering to the ear of the viewer. Two anchors in particular used this practice but none of the reporters.

The *Te Karere* anchors and reporters used tribal *pepeha* when reporting from a particular *rohe* or area. For example the tribal boundaries of Mātaatua were mentioned, '*Mai ngā Kuri a Whareī ki Tihirau, mai Maketū ki Tongariro*'. These place names are of great importance to people of Mātaatua descent assert their tribal self identity. In the same story the expression '*he tai ki tai, he tai ki uta*' was used which reinforces the continuum between marine coastal and inland waters (*Te Karere*, CD1/7). This saying is from Te Arawa. Another example was when the following saying was used, '*i riro whenua atu me hoki whenua mai*' (*Te Karere*, CD1/6). For Tainui people this means that if land is taken, then land must be returned. They are

a tribe which suffered large confiscations of land. The people of Ngai Tāmanuhiri (a small coastal tribe outside of Gisborne) have a saying, '*ko au ko te moana, ko te moana ko au*'. This means 'I am the sea and the sea is me' and again asserts a positive position (*Te Karere*, CD2/13). The use of *pepeha* also gave the viewer a clue as to what part of the country the story was coming from. Knowledge of such *pepeha* in addition to *te reo* is an important component for a Māori reporter in order that they reflect the values of Māori.

In the *Marae* interviews, the charismatic anchor graciously greeted and thanked every interviewee with '*tēnā koe*' which means greetings to you. In addition, on one occasion he asked the Prime Minister how the Bledisloe Cup had gone the night before. In the same story, the anchor asked the Prime Minister to comment on the Pacific Forum that she had chaired the week before (*Marae*, 17 August 2003, CD3/1). On another occasion, the anchor asked John Tamihere if he had received 'breakfast in bed'. These were ways of building empathy and establishing rapport or *whanaungatanga*. While the Pacific Forum and Bledisloe Cup did not relate directly to the seabed and foreshore, this type of approach is often used in personal interactions between Māori and in *whaikōrero* or formal speeches as a means of making connections and establishing links.

Broadcasters are required to 'be impartial and objective at all times'. However Māori notions of objectivity are somewhat different from those articulated in the broadcasting standards and need to be understood within the context of the culture. It does not mean that reporters and anchors were behaving in a subjective manner. As Maori Marsden once said:

...my approach to Māori things is largely subjective. The charge of lacking objectivity does not concern me: the so-called objectivity some insist on is largely a form of arid abstraction, a model or a map ... I am concerned then with viewing attitudes from within the culture (Marsden 1981:143).

In a *Te Karere* story, the anchor said in the introduction, '*kia ora tātau katoa*' (*Te Karere*, CD2/6). By using the term *tātau*, meaning all of us, he included himself. This is in contrast to an introduction by another anchor when he said '*tēnā koutou*' which is greetings to you all that excludes him (*Te Karere*, CD1/1). This use of *tātau* is a practice of *tikanga*. On *Marae* the *whaikōrero* will often begin by addressing the gathering as *koutou* (you all) and then it switches to the more familial and inclusive term *tātau* (us).

The phrase '*ngā tika a Māori ki ona takutai moana*' or the rights of Māori to the foreshore and seabed was used in several stories (*Te Karere*, CD1/8, CD1/10, CD2/11). The anchors and reporters are *mokopuna* or grandchildren of *iwi* or tribe. The tribes have exercised a customary right and usage of the marine environment over many generations. Rights to the foreshore, seabed, inshore and deep sea fishing grounds were accessed on the basis of *whakapapa* or by descent. Traditional Māori notions of ownership differ from those of Western law. The notion of *kaitiakitanga* or a caretaker role is closer to Māori understanding than the notion of an exclusive, individual title exercised over the ownership of general land.

Wero is described by Mead (2003:370) as the ritual challenge to visitors. It can be used in ceremonial dance form on formal occasions and as a verbal challenge. Images of the *wero* during a *powhiri* were used on both programmes and in context. On *Te Karere*, the *powhiri* on to Omaka Marae (*Te Karere*, CD1/12) in Marlborough was shown. Images of the Omaka *powhiri* including the *wero* (from different angles) were shown again in a later story in a reference to the consultation *hui* (*Te Karere*, CD1/16). An example of a verbal *wero* was shown during the *powhiri* or welcome on to Mataiwihetu Marae, Thames. The *kaumatua* during his *whaikōrero* said '*kia tupato kotahi anō nei to mātau whakaaro*' or 'be careful we are of one mind' (in opposition to the proposal).

The *wero* was not overplayed as mainstream television is inclined to do.

The ceremonial *wero* was shown once on *Marae* when there was a short clip of the *powhiri* on to Whangara Marae, north of Gisborne (*Marae*, 7 September 2003, CD4/1). Examples of the verbal *wero* were witnessed in the *Te Karere* interviews with a Mātaatua *kaumatua* (CD1/3) as discussed further below and with Annette Sykes (CD1/9) when she did a similar thing by challenging the Māori MPs.

Another aspect of *tikanga* noted was the way in which a person was claimed but also challenged. A Mātaatua *kaumatua* referred to John Tamihere as *tamaiti* which means child (*Te Karere*, CD1/3). Here, however, he was using it in the familial sense of claiming John as a Māori. Later he challenged Tamihere to '*tū mai koe ki te taha o ngā Māori mena hiahia ana koe hei Rangatira*'. This was a challenge to support the aspirations of Māori if Tamihere wanted to be a *rangatira*. The challenge was extended to the other Māori MPs so that they may be called Māori or '*kia kiia rātau he Māori*'. While he included all the other MPs in his comments they were directed at Tamihere. This practice of claiming a person while challenging them is common in traditional settings and is in itself an art that some speakers have mastered.

On *Marae*, John McEnteer did a similar thing. While he placed John Tamihere on the side of the Crown, he also acknowledged him as *whanaunga* or a relative from Hauraki when he said:

I'm glad that John has indicated that he is ... part of that team because clearly as a Minister of the Crown, John would have been part of that Cabinet decision, ... it is good the Crown is putting a negotiating team together which includes one of our *whanaunga* (*Marae*, 29 June 2003, CD1/1).

These statements also reflect the notion of 'multiple identities' or *rau kotahi*, where Māori individuals can belong to more than one *iwi* or tribe, *hapu* or sub tribe and can wear 'many hats' as Māori MPs do. It may be argued that all MPs wear 'several hats' but the difference with Māori MPs is that they have no choice because of their *whakapapa* or descent regardless of whether they have chosen to join several organisations. This is a fundamental difference between descent and assent groups.

The use of humour was also evident. When a *Te Karere* reporter was not allowed into a meeting at Parliament, the reporter chuckled rather than protested. (*Te Karere*, CD1/5). He then indicated the groups concerned were prepared to talk to him after their meeting but the media were not permitted into the meeting.

In each *Marae* programme, the background stories were both humorous and serious. The 'backgrounder' as it was called, was presented in a lighthearted manner. The anchor also adopted this light-hearted humorous approach when leading into a story, but not during interviews. *Marae* used images of the sea to illustrate and support the verbal description. For example as the *Marae* reporter said, 'Our coastline, sometimes tranquil, sometimes furious, this week a symbol of the histrionics over who owns it'. The first image onscreen was of a calm coastline, the next a stormy sea and the third was another calm view of the coastline (*Marae*, 29 June 2003, CD1/1). Unlike *Te Karere*, these images were not connected to a particular place.

5.6.5 Language

Given that Māori is an oral language, the auditory aspects of the programmes are of particular importance. The Māori word for listen is *rongo*. The Williams Dictionary (1992:346) defines *rongo* as all the senses except sight so that means hearing, tasting, touching and smelling. It is not just about correct pronunciation; the voice carries not only the *kōrero* (message) but also the *wairua* of the *kōrero* or the spirit

of the message. This spirit contains within it the inner, deeper meaning underlying the words. Dewes (1981:45) described the Māori language as, '*Ko te pūtake o te Māoritanga ko te reo Māori*. The tap root of Māori culture is the Māori language'.

The tone of the language was *ngawari* or easy on the ear and mellifluous. The reporters and anchors on *Te Karere* and *Marae* come from different tribal areas such as Te Arawa, Ngāti Porou, Rongomaiwahine, Tainui, Tūhoe and Ngā Puhī. They brought with them their dialects, and these dialect differences added interest. The competency of the anchors and reporters to speak *te reo* Māori allows older Māori to freely and comfortably engage and express their views.

In both *Te Karere* and *Marae*, the uses of metaphors were apparent. For example one anchor said '*i haruru te motu*', or the land was a-buzz with the news of the foreshore and seabed story and what this might mean (*Te Karere*, CD1/1), and another anchor referred to the need for Māori MPs to '*whakatū puehu*' or raise the dust, in other words to argue for the interests of Māori (*Te Karere*, CD1/8). On *Te Karere* if metaphors were used, they appeared in the anchors' introduction. The reporters in the field did not use metaphors. Metaphors are commonly used in Māori society, on both formal and informal occasions. For example, the use of the phrase '*kua hinga Te Wao nui a Tane*' or the tallest tree in the forest has fallen, is sometimes used to describe an important elder who has died. The use of metaphor is not limited to *tangi* but occurs in everyday events. A meeting house named after an ancestor is often a metaphor for that ancestor. It is sometimes used to soften something that may otherwise sound harsh.

On *Marae*, the reporter used metaphors in background stories. He used phrases such as 'makes that assumption look like a broken idol' and 'ride a reality wave' (*Marae*, 10 August 2003, CD2/2). In the same story the anchor also used phrases like 'the Government finds itself digging in the sand', and 'veil of silence'. During the interview with the Prime Minister on *Marae* aired on 17 August 2003, the anchor used the following metaphors in his introduction: 'Prime Minister Helen Clark continues to pull rabbits out of her hat'; 'another *waka* to jump into'; and 'are there any other political *waka* out there that can handle extra paddlers without sinking?' (*Marae*, 17 August 2003, CD3/1). They were used in a light-hearted, tongue-in-cheek manner.

5.6.6 Other Issues

This section includes observations that fell outside the scope of the brief regarding standards, but which raise some interesting issues and are relevant to the way in which Māori and *te ao Māori* are portrayed.

In *Te Karere* in all but one of the images of the coastline, the scenes showed calm seas. In CD1/9, the story began with medium-sized waves crashing noisily on the shore. It was accompanied by the words '*ngunguru ana ngā tai o te motu i te rā nei.*' This means that Māori around the country would be 'up in arms' with what the Government was planning. Then a representative from the Tino Rangatiranga movement was shown walking beside a calm lakefront. The images of calm seas appeared despite the heat that was being generated nationally by mainstream television, radio including talkback shows and newspapers.

The angry reaction from Māori was acknowledged in words but few images were shown. The anger was not highlighted but was part and parcel of an overall story. As one reporter said '*na te pakaru mai o te riri o te ao Māori*', or the anger Māori were feeling over the issue (*Te Karere*, CD1/7). The only visual showing an objection to the message contained in the Discussion Document was the *kaumatua* at Mātaiwhetu Marae (Thames) who quietly and purposefully tore up the document (*Te Karere*, CD2/6).

At two consultation *hui*, an angry buzz could be heard in the background. The *hui* at Terenga Paraoa Marae, Whangarei was cancelled. The reason given was that the *hui* objected to the presence of the Chairperson of the consultation meetings because during his public service career he had supported the building of the prison at Ngawha (Northland). This was described as his '*mahi takino*' or bad treatment of Ngā Puhi people. Not all Ngā Puhi supported the cancellation and while Shane Jones was being interviewed the angry buzz could be heard but not seen. A protestor holding a banner was seen standing quietly. An earlier shot showed a group of protestors with their banner standing quietly. At the same *hui* National MP Georgina Te Heuheu was warmly welcomed (*Te Karere*, CD2/6). The reporter said '*i awhingia i tōna haumarie*' because of her gentleness. This greeting was in stark contrast to that of the Labour MPs. *Marae* (CD4/1) showed a clip of the protest at Maketū Marae which was described by the TV One reporter as 'noisy'.

At the *hui* at Owae Marae, Taranaki (*Te Karere*, CD2/11), again an angry buzz could be heard in the background. People attending the *hui* were not happy with the remarks made by Hon. Trevor Mallard MP. Mallard was clearly annoyed as he spoke and waved what appeared to be the Discussion Document in the air. Mallard had also commented that if Māori owned the foreshore and seabed, they would sell it in the same way they had sold their land. In terms of Taranaki *iwi* their land was confiscated by the Crown, and Mallard's comment was particularly inappropriate. These confiscations are still the subject of Waitangi Tribunal claims.

On two occasions Dover Samuel's aggressive manner was portrayed. The MP was annoyed because the Labour Māori Caucus had not been involved in the early discussions when the Government decided to legislate on the seabed and foreshore (*Te Karere*, CD1/3). In the second story he wanted the Māori MPs to 'stick together' and any suggestion by the media that they were at odds with each other was discounted (*Te Karere* CD1/5).

There were no negative images of Māori or Pākehā shown. Pākehā could be seen surfing, swimming, playing in the surf, kayaking, and wind surfing, fishing and boating. As noted above senior members of the Government featured in the visuals with several views of the debating chamber at Parliament. *Marae* showed clips of Pākehā airing their concerns, for example, about their ability to use boat moorings on lakes.

A discussion of the images used by *Te Karere* is relevant because Māori are often portrayed negatively in mainstream stories. Visuals are an important and powerful component of television stories in creating and informing public perceptions of a particular group of people. As Underwood (2003) points out, the visual component is a key part of any news broadcast. Māori media did not avoid what could be considered 'negative' images but did not sensationalise them. *Te Karere* showed both Dover Samuels and Trevor Mallard being angry and aggressive and not Mallard alone. *Te Karere* and *Marae* were respectful to Māori and Pākehā alike.

5.6.7 Discussion

The TVNZ Charter states that it will ensure the 'presence of a significant Māori voice' and will 'serve the informational needs of Māori'. TV One broadcasts from 6am to around midnight daily when it switches to *BBC World* (TV One website). The time the switch takes place can vary from day to day. This provides approximately 18 hours a day and over a seven day period equals approximately 126 hours of New Zealand broadcasting. *Te Karere* is broadcast for fifteen minutes, five days a week at 5.15pm and repeated at 6.10am. It is also available through *Te Karere* website. *Marae* is broadcast for one hour on a Saturday and *Waka Huia* for one hour on a Sunday. This gives a total of 3 hours 15 minutes per week or 2.6% of the total TV One broadcasting time. This does not represent a 'significant Māori voice' and could be considered tokenism. Further marginalisation of Māori programmes occurs when these programmes are scheduled for viewing in off peak hours. *Te Karere* goes to air when most people are at work. More recently *Marae* has been moved from a Sunday at 11am to a Saturday at the same time when younger viewers are usually engaged in sporting activities. This marginalisation has occurred

over time because when *Te Karere* first began it came on for five minutes before the 6pm news. The joint Māori/Crown Working Group on Broadcasting Policy found that in addition to a separate Māori television channel 'provision for Māori programmes on mainstream media and in primetime is vital to revitalise *te reo*'. While the TVNZ Charter states its commitment to Māori programmes, what actually takes place is somewhat different.

The literature (see Chapter 2) discusses news values: McGregor (1991), Galtung and Ruge (1973), Burns (2002), Underwood (2003). McGregor claims 'that news values and news worthiness are subjective' and that 'Māori news media show significantly different news values which are grounded in a Māori value system'. *Te Karere* in particular and to a lesser degree *Marae* demonstrated Māori value systems explained above. The difference in the degree to which these value systems were expressed could be explained by the use of *te reo* Māori in one programme and English in the other. *Marae* also has an informative and educative role while *Te Karere* has a commitment to use and promote the Māori language.

Galtung and Ruge describe eight factors which are universal news values and four which are specific to western societies. One of those values is 'reference to elite people'. Of the two programmes analysed *Marae* more frequently than not interviewed elite people, while *Te Karere* interviewed both elites and non-elites. McGregor claims that despite goodwill toward Māori, 'Māori news coverage is grounded in Pākehā news values'. Tremewan claims that 'Māori media show significantly different news values which are grounded in a Māori value system'. *Te Karere* in particular demonstrated aspects of this value system described earlier in this chapter. At the same time like *Marae* they are located within the 'mainstream house'. It is a credit to both programmes that they are able to imbue the programmes with Māori values given their minority position within a mainstream dominated industry.

Stuart has analysed Māori media using Robie's Four Worlds framework. Again this is a mainstream framework which does not fit the complexity of Māori society or its portrayal. Stuart contends that Māori media is concerned, amongst other things, with 'cultural survival and rebuilding rather than the economic, political and social development of the whole country'. More recently Stuart concluded that Māori media were constructing a 'Māori nation within New Zealand'. Māori media is not constructing either of these two things. Māori, as explained in the section on worldview and above, portray groups of people often with strong tribal identities and worldviews which are both pluralistic and relativistic. Tribes have their own

geographical territories and would consider themselves nations even if this is only symbolic. Notions of Māori identity and nationhood come from Western notions of universalism. For many Māori people, their way of 'being Māori' is informed by their tribal identity. The news stories analysed assert a positive tribal or collective position when Māori are united either in agreement or disagreement on an issue. During the *hiko* in opposition to the foreshore and seabed legislation in May 2004, people gathered in their tribal groups. In addition, tertiary students chose to stay as a group marching under their own banner. Notions of universalism and uniformity have not served Māori or tribal interests over time.

Much of the literature is based on analyses of the ways in which Māori are portrayed by the mainstream media but there is very little that explores the ways in which Māori see themselves. *Te Karere* in the majority of cases portrayed in its visuals calm seas, which gives a message that all is well. Or is it the paradoxical nature of the worldview at work? Or is it an acknowledgement of Māori survival despite the odds? This was in contrast to the debate that was taking place where opposition to the Government's intention was repeated strongly and consistently. At the same time 'talking up' was occurring. This was related to the assertion of a positive Māori position, where reaffirmation is important. The emphasis on the positives could also be an attempt by Māori media to offset the negative stereotyping (Ballara 1986, Young 1989, Walker 2002, Keenan 2000) that occurs in mainstream reporting. Although the issue was 'bad news' for Māori the programmes allowed the Māori voice to be heard using a style that was conducive to Māori expression. Rice describes this as presenting 'Māori news in a Māori way' (Rice, 1990:118).

At times, it seemed the reporter could have gone along to an interview better prepared and any lack of clarity could be attributed to inadequate research.

5.6.8 Conclusion

- Mainstream television is not as committed to broadcasting Māori language and current affairs stories as it should be. The amount of time allowed and time of day the programmes are broadcast marginalise the Māori voice.
- While meeting most of the broadcasting standards, mistakes could be avoided by more research by media personnel.
- The presentation of by Māori for Māori news and current affairs demonstrated an understanding and sensitivity in the portrayal of Māori and *te ao Māori* in broadcasting.

6 Radio: National Radio

6.1 Overview of findings

Two National Radio programmes were analysed: *Morning Report* (47 items), and *Checkpoint* (51 items). In total 98 items were analysed, covering five hours, 10 minutes of broadcast material.

- **Tone:** almost all of the items were serious and informative. There was little sensationalism. A shift in tone was observed from the early part of the period (June/July) to the later part (September) consistent with an increase in information available.
- **Balance:** this was not always evident within individual stories. Overall coverage during the period was marked by a strong emphasis on information from politicians.
- **Accuracy:** core factual information was accurate.
- **Fairness:** all of the items were considered fair.
- **Tikanga Māori:** references to *tikanga* were few but were generally dealt with sensitively.
- **Language:** the pronunciation of Māori words was generally very good.

6.2 Scope

This section provides an analysis of all the foreshore and seabed items that aired between 20 June - 4 July 2003 and 4 - 26 September 2003 on National Radio's *Morning Report* and *Checkpoint* programmes. The sections of both programmes chosen for analysis (6.40-7.40am for *Morning Report* and 5.00-6.00pm for *Checkpoint*) included news bulletins, a *Mana Report* or *Mana News* item and a period of time devoted to interviews on current issues. *Mana Report* is independently produced by Mana Group. *Morning Report* and *Checkpoint* are produced by Radio New Zealand staff.

6.3 Quantitative Analysis

6.3.1

A total of 98 items from Radio New Zealand's National Radio were analysed, of which 47 were from *Morning Report* and 51 from *Checkpoint*. Both sets of data broke down into the four categories of *Mana News*, half hourly news, stories

between the news, and headlines that just preceded the news (see Tables). In total, foreshore and seabed items accounted for 6% of the total *Morning Report* airtime and 4.5% of the total *Checkpoint* airtime over the study period.

Table 6-1 *Morning Report* data

Item type	Number	Airtime (seconds)
Mana News	12	4356
News items	17	874
Stories	11	5013
Headlines	7	26
Totals	47	10269

Table 6-2 *Checkpoint* data

Item type	Number	Airtime (seconds)
Mana News	6	1198
News items	25	992
Stories	19	6140
Headlines	1	3
Totals	51	8333

6.3.2 Interviews

In the *Morning Report* data, 60% of the items involved interviews with specialists or affected or interested parties. Just under half (49%) of the *Checkpoint* data involved interviews. In the *Morning Report* material this occurred in three items and in four items for the *Checkpoint* material (see Tables). For both sets of data, the highest number of interviewees in any one item was four people. All of the *Mana News* items from both programmes included interviews but the majority of these (83%) were interviews of only one person. Across both sets of data 74 different people were interviewed. In the *Morning Report* material, eight interviewees appeared twice in separate interviews and three other people were interviewed three separate times. In the *Checkpoint* data, three people appeared twice, two appeared three times, one four times and another five times.

6.3.3 Interviewees' points of view

Interviewees were classified into three categories based on their position in respect of the issue (see Tables). Those who were generally in support of the Māori claim in the Court of Appeal decision were classified as 'Pro'; those in opposition to it were classified as 'Anti'. Five interviews included two opponents debating and arguing over aspects of the issue, these were classified as 'Anti-Pro'. Six interviewees were classed as 'Neutral'.

In the *Morning Report* material, eight of the interviewees classified as 'Anti' were Members of Parliament, including four Māori and four Pākehā MPs, while only one MP, Tariana Turia, was classified as 'Pro'. This pattern was the same for the *Checkpoint* material, where eleven of the 'Anti' interviewees were MPs while Tariana Turia, categorised as 'Pro', was interviewed twice. The most striking feature of this analysis was that the interview airtime of the 'Pro's' (60% for *Morning Report* and 61% for *Checkpoint*) was over twice that of the 'Anti's'. The identification of the ethnicity of the interviewees in these tables was based primarily on prior knowledge of the researchers. However in some cases the programme anchors or reporters identified ethnicity directly or indirectly.

Table 6-3 *Morning Report*: Position, ethnicity and airtime of interviewees

Position	Number	Māori	Pākehā	Airtime (seconds)	Airtime %
Pro -	16	14	2	3995	60
Anti -	11	4	7	2049	31
Neutral	4	1	4	302	4
Anti-Pro	3	3	0	313	5
Total	34	21	13	6659	100

Table 6-4 Checkpoint: Position, ethnicity and airtime of interviewees

Position	Number	Māori	Pākehā	Airtime (seconds)	Airtime %
Pro -	19	17	2	2383	61
Anti -	16	3	9	757	24
Neutral	2		2	63	1
Anti-Pro	2	2		286	14
Total	39	22	20	3489	100

6.3.4 Anchors and Reporters

The analysis identified the anchors and reporters on each programme, the types of items they appeared in and the amount of airtime they received. However, for five of the headlines in the *Morning Report* data it was not possible to identify the announcer and for two of the *Morning Report: Mana News* items and ten of the *Checkpoint* items the anchor also acted as the interviewer in the item.

The relative airtime of various anchors and reporters is necessarily a reflection of their specific roles and availability to cover foreshore issues. The only clear trend that emerged was the obvious dominance of the Radio New Zealand Māori Issues reporter Gideon Porter as the only clearly Māori person amongst the reporters. Dale Husband and Numia Ponika-Rangi's positions as *Mana News* anchors did not significantly affect the amount of airtime they received.

Table 6-5 Morning Report: Anchors by item and airtime

Anchor	Mana News	News items	Stories	Headlines	Total items	Airtime (seconds)
Dale Husband	12				12	424
Geoff Robinson			5	1	6	363
Nicola Wright		11	1		12	250
Warwick Burke		5			5	178
Sean Plunket			4		4	137
Chris Whitta		1			1	20
Not identified			1		1	13
Total	12	17	11	1	41	1385

Table 6-6 Checkpoint: Anchors by item and airtime

Anchor	Mana News	News items	Stories	Headlines	Total items	Airtime (seconds)
Mary Wilson		3	18	1	22	765
Hewitt Humphrey		5			5	159
Catriona McLeod		6			6	159
Numia Ponika-Rangi	4				4	157
Sue Scott		5			5	98
Chris Whitta		4			4	87
Dale Husband	2				2	65
Gael Woods		1	1		1	26
Nicola Wright		1			1	22
Unknown				1	1	8
Total	6	24	19	2	51	1546

Table 6-7 Morning Report: Reporters by item and airtime

Reporter	Mana News	News items	Stories	Total	Airtime (seconds)
Gideon Porter		5	3	8	991
Kathryn Ryan		1	2	3	530
Carol Archie	10			10	356
Eric Frykberg		1	2	3	180
Carmen Curtis		1		1	50
Total	10	8	7	25	2107

Table 6-8 Checkpoint: Reporters by item and airtime

Reporter	Mana News	News items	Stories	Total	Airtime (seconds)
Gideon Porter		7	10	17	2379
Julian Robins			1	1	346
Jeff Moffat		1	1	2	156
Kathryn Ryan			1	1	154
Mark Torley		1	1	2	120
Andrew McRea			1	1	82
Jane Patterson			1	1	60
Carol Archie	1			1	23
Total	1	9	16	26	3320

Table 6-9 Morning Report: Stories without reporters (anchor only)

Mana News	News items	Stories	Headline	Total
2	9	4	7	22

Table 6-10 Checkpoint: Stories without reporters (anchor only)

Mana News	News items	Stories	Headline	Total
5	16	3	1	25

6.3.5 Airtime summary

The tables below summarise the total airtime of anchors, reporters and interviewees. In both sets of data the ‘Pro’ interviewees received significantly more airtime than those categorised as ‘Anti’.

A noticeable variation between the *Morning Report* and *Checkpoint* material was the relative airtime of the anchors and reporters compared to interviewees. While these Radio New Zealand staff accounted for only 35% of the *Morning Report* airtime, in the *Checkpoint* environment they accounted for 59%.

Table 6-11 Morning Report: Airtime summary

	Airtime (seconds)	Airtime percentage
Anchors	1385	14
Reporters	2107	21
Interviewees		
Pro	3995	39
Anti	2107	21
Neutral	302	2
Anti-Pro	313	3
Total	10209	100

Table 6-12 Checkpoint: Airtime summary

	Airtime (seconds)	Airtime percentage
Anchors	1546	19
Reporters	3320	40
Interviewees		
Pro	2383	28
Anti	757	9
Neutral	41	1
Anti-Pro	286	3
Total	8333	100

6.4 Qualitative Analysis: *Morning Report*

6.4.1 Tone

The vast majority of the 47 *Morning Report* stories in this study were serious and informative. They rarely took a sensationalist approach to the foreshore and seabed

issues and instead attempted to maintain a neutral position. Despite this, there were occasional lapses where the urge to sensationalise seemed to override the usually moderate tone.

For example, a 7.14am news story on 9 September 2003 began with the opening statement, 'Last ditch talks have averted a *crisis* that threatened to *derail* the third of the Government's consultative *hui* in Marlborough today' (italics added). This overstated the situation considerably; the actual story that followed described the resolution of a misunderstanding about speaking rights at the *hui*. Similarly, a 7.00am news story on 25 September 2003 stated 'Senior Ministers will draw their *disgruntled* Māori MPs in close in a bid to contain the *fallout* over the seabed and foreshore issue'. These terms were out of character for the usually conservative approach in *Morning Report* news bulletins.

Other examples include:

- An interview with Mark Solomon and Dover Samuel MP at 7.00am 17 September 2003. This was for the most part serious and direct; however the cutting in of a pre-recorded, aggressive exchange between John Tamihere MP and Titewhai Harawira was gratuitous, barely decipherable and did not add any new information.
- At other times the tone changed to something more deeply informative. For example, a Carol Archie interview with John Mitchell on *Mana Report*, 2 July 2003, probed the background to the foreshore and seabed issue and presented a very thorough and incisive account of historical events.
- The usually serious *Morning Report* tone was occasionally more jovial, but this seemed to depend more on the interviewee than the anchor or reporter. For example, a *Mana Report* interview on 30 June 2003, between Dale Husband and Willie Jackson was more light-hearted than usual, probably because of Jackson's gregarious personality. Similarly, a *Morning Report* interview at 7.20am on 26 September 2003, by Gideon Porter with Willie Jackson and John Tamihere MP was good-humoured at times but also reverted to a more serious tone.
- On some occasions a cynical tone of the reporters tinged the discussions, such as in an interview between Sean Plunket and Gideon Porter at 7.15am on 25 September 2003. Both Plunket and Porter displayed a degree of flippancy and scepticism, demonstrated when Plunket's tone implied inverted commas when talking about 'consultation' *hui*, and Porter replied, 'How long is a piece of string?' when asked about the timeframe for resolving the foreshore issue.

- For a news story on 26 June 2003, the headline set a negative tone with the prelude, 'The seabed and foreshore issue rumbles on'. Later in that piece, Gideon Porter referred to 'veteran activists including Hone Harawira and Ken Mair'. By singling out known Māori individuals he has assisted the listener to conjure up images of the protesters and draw conclusions about their likely behaviour. His coverage focussed on the protest element even though it was a minor part of the story.

A chance to compare the language used for Māori and for non-Māori arose in a news bulletin at 7.00am on 9 September 2003. Bruce Mason, a Pākehā from Public Access New Zealand was described as a 'staunch critic of the Māori claim for the foreshore and seabed'. The use of the term 'staunch critic' is significant because it has less negative connotations than activist or protester, terms usually reserved for Māori protagonists. 'Staunch critic' suggests an intellectual element to the action; it is more conservative and less confrontational than the 'activist' labels given to Māori. In short, intellectual criticism is encouraged, but activism is not.

6.4.2 Balance

Balance can be achieved over time (during 'the period of current interest') or may be necessary within a single item. To identify whether balance was achieved within the items, the stories were checked to see if the speakers were given comparable amounts of time to speak, if the item presented different sides of the debate, and whether the presenter provided a neutral and challenging view. If appropriate, the stories were also reviewed to see if criticised people had a chance to respond.

Balance within a story is relatively easy to gauge, but when stories are presented in packages, such as a series of news bulletins informed by an interview piece that is aired in its entirety later in the show, identifying balance is more difficult.

A number of stories portrayed a one-sided, non-Māori perspective. For example, a 7.02am news story on 20 June 2003 presented only National and ACT Party views. The story reported that the Government had not issued a response, but it did not refer to any Māori response or counterpoint. There was also no follow up story or further explanation provided.

On 27 June 2003, a news story about the economic implications of Māori ownership of the foreshore and seabed provided no balance at all. There was no reply sought from Māori despite the use of assertions from Port of Marlborough staff that the impact would be negative. In a news bulletin at 7.00am on 15 September 2003 the story included only comments from a Recreational Fishing Council representative, and did not provide any 'balancing' view.

Besides the regular comments from politicians, *Morning Report* stories usually selected a wide and appropriate range of interviewees to present a well-considered Māori perspective on this issue. The use of commentators such as Maui Solomon, Moana Jackson and John Mitchell provided credible input from a Māori perspective. In contrast, there was one instance in the study period of a news story that sought comment from a Pākehā farmer from Waimate (*Morning Report*, 26 September 2003, 7.00am) and attempted to portray him as somehow representative of all farmers in the area, without noting if he was a representative of any body or group.

Possibly the strongest example of the standard of balance not being met was demonstrated in an on-air discussion between Sean Plunket and Gideon Porter with some input from other Māori broadcasters at 7.15am on 25 September 2003. In it, Porter effectively blames Titewhai Harawira personally for the cancellation of the Orakei Marae hosting of a *hui*. He suggests the *hui* was called off primarily because, 'any *marae* in Auckland was going to see her show up complete with "dial-a-protest crowd"'. This comment is not consistent with the explanation given by Hugh Kawharu, the nominated spokesperson for the Orakei Marae. Nor was it corroborated by anyone else. Further, we don't know whether Harawira was given a right of reply; however Porter did speak to Willie Jackson about it, who gave a more positive view of Harawira's level of influence.

In stories that included a number of interview subjects, balance was easier to achieve through good interviewing technique and editing.

- In a story aired at 7.21am on 20 June 2003, featuring two Opposition spokespeople, Nick Smith MP (National) and Ken Shirley MP (ACT), balance was provided by the following interview with Maui Solomon (Te Ohu Kaimoana, the Treaty of Waitangi Fisheries Commission) who was given an opportunity to directly address their earlier comments. He was asked, 'Okay, you've heard what Nick Smith and Ken Shirley had to say, would you care to respond to them?' and was able to rebut the criticisms of both politicians.
- In a 7.08am interview on 24 June 2003, the anchor attempted to provide balance by asking direct questions to Hon. Margaret Wilson about the effect of the proposed legislation on Māori, and then asking Maui Solomon and John McEnteer to respond to Wilson's answers. However, the subsequent news headline at 7.33am focused only on the content provided earlier in the morning by Wilson and neglected to mention any of the rebuttal provided by Solomon.

- In a story broadcast on 25 June 2003 at 7.17am, balance was achieved through the interviewing of two Government representatives, two *iwi* representatives and one independent commentator. Similarly in a news bulletin item on 9 September 2003, the story referred to both John Mitchell and Wira Gardiner, so provided both *iwi* and Crown representative perspectives.

Despite examples of unbalanced stories, the number of stories focusing solely on Māori perspectives was significant, so it could be argued that the many other Māori-focussed news stories provided that balance. For example, a *Mana Report* story on 8 September 2003 only included a Government spokesperson, the Rt. Hon. Helen Clark, but it could be argued that the lack of balance within this individual item was mitigated by the fact that most other *Mana Report* interviews involved Māori interviewees. A *Mana Report* interview on 23 September 2003 provided some media airtime to a member of a Pākehā group that supported the Māori position on the foreshore and seabed. The inclusion of a pro-Māori Pākehā perspective went some way towards providing balance also.

Sometimes the lack of balance went against the Crown, rather than Māori.

- A *Mana Report* item on 24 June 2003, based on an interview with two lawyers representing Māori claimant groups repeatedly included quotes from Hon Margaret Wilson, but did not invite Wilson or any other Government representative to provide an official response to the lawyers' criticisms. In another instance, a *Mana Report* story on 2 July 2003 provided no Crown response and no Marlborough Council or marine farming industry response either. A news headline created from an earlier interview with Hugh Kawharu that aired at 7.33am on 24 September 2003, did not provide the Crown with an opportunity for rebuttal.
- A *Mana Report* story broadcast on 11 September 2003 was an interview with Grant Powell, a lawyer acting on behalf of Māori claimants, about the Judicial Conference held by the Waitangi Tribunal. Powell criticised the Prime Minister's position that there was no representative Māori body to talk to over this matter. No Crown representatives were included in this story, but interviews with the Prime Minister and other Labour MPs were completed and aired at a later time, potentially providing them with an opportunity to provide some balance to this story.

At times interviewers themselves must provide balance when they do not have another interviewee to pose an alternative view. For example on 16 September,

Carol Archie's *Mana Report* interview with Moana Jackson provided an opportunity for a Māori spokesperson to respond to criticism levelled at Māori by the Crown in other media statements. Archie also attempted to provide balance by probing Jackson's answers and posing some potential Crown rebuttal to his ideas. For example, she asked 'The regulatory bodies that look after these areas would find that uncertain, wouldn't they?' in response to Jackson's suggestion of a more culturally appropriate mechanism for resolving the foreshore and seabed issue.

Overall, balance was not always evident within individual Morning Report stories and was not necessarily provided over time. However the lack of balance affected both pro and anti foreshore exponents.

6.4.3 Accuracy

The stories were first reviewed for factual correctness and for gaps in the material presented. Assessments were made about whether the anchors or reporters were presenting fact or opinion, and the appropriateness of their comments in various contexts.

While generally displaying an intention to keep to the facts of the situation, the foreshore and seabed issue brought with it so much uncertainty and supposition, particularly in the period following the release of the Court of Appeal judgment, that at times the broadcaster did disseminate factual inaccuracies.

Reliance on information from less objective sources contributed to the inaccuracy of some stories. For example, a news headline at 7.02am on 20 June 2003 propagated a factual inaccuracy when it repeated a National Party claim that, 'the [Court of Appeal] decision opens the floodgates to Māori claims over beaches, harbours and the coastline and has serious implications for the fishing, marine and shipping businesses'. This perpetuated misinformation about the physical extent of the foreshore area and contributed to the level of public fear by not framing it as one of a variety of possible outcomes.

There were a number of examples of accurate, objective reporting of this issue however. In particular, Carol Archie from *Mana Report* produced some well-informed and factually sound pieces, such as her story of 6.41am 25 June 2003, where she demonstrated a good knowledge of the seabed and foreshore cases and the issues arising from them, including the Court of Appeal decision. She also accurately summarised the central points of the Crown's proposals. In her *Mana Report* interview with the Rt Hon Helen Clark, at 6.40am on 8 September 2003, Archie

posed well-crafted and informed questions, such as one about Māori being treated as stakeholders rather than Treaty partners.

Archie interviewed Moana Jackson at 6.40am 16 September 2003, for *Mana Report*, and again asked probing and informed questions, without offering her own opinion or placing any personal bias on the piece. For example, in response to a relatively complicated answer from Jackson suggesting a more culturally appropriate resolution for the Crown to follow, she was immediately able to formulate a clarifying question, asking, 'so it's a matter of making covenants with every *hapū* and *iwi* who have these rights?', again demonstrating her understanding of Māori societal structures and of the foreshore and seabed issue.

Her colleague, Dale Husband, at times demonstrated a similar level of understanding about the issue, such as his *Mana Report* introduction at 6.40am, 1 July 2003, where he gave an accurate and insightful comment on the Crown-Māori relationship and the role of the Māori MPs.

Some other interviewers did not appear to know much about the issue. Instead they used an interview technique of asking a straightforward question and then asking other interviewees to comment on the answers that were given. This is a legitimate interview technique when there are two or more interviewees to draw out the issue; and could be said to be an impartial method. However it could also be a convenient strategy for covering a lack of knowledge on the subject. For example Sean Plunket, in an interview with Tariana Turia MP and Ken Mair on 1 July 2003 at 7.20am, asked a series of simple questions that ensured he did not need to understand the issue. At one point he asked, 'Ken Mair, what message did you get from the Māori caucus last night?' and then followed up Mair's answer with, 'Tariana Turia, is that your understanding of what went on at the meeting?'

At times, Gideon Porter in particular did offer his opinion in his capacity as Māori Issues Correspondent. The implication that he is more informed about activities within Māoridom, and Māori society and culture generally, places a greater onus on him to be well-informed and accurate in his portrayal of events. In some instances, Porter's relaxed style of delivery affected the clarity and accuracy of his reports. For example, in an interview between Sean Plunket and Gideon Porter at 7.15am on 25 September 2003, Porter asserted that because of the *whakapapa* connections between Te Ati Awa Taranaki and Te Ati Awa Wellington, their responses to the foreshore and seabed proposals would automatically be the same. In fact, despite their genealogical connections, these two tribes have entirely autonomous

governance structures and regularly have different opinions on political, commercial and cultural matters, including opinions on the foreshore.

Finally, there were some instances when the interviewer or anchor appeared to endorse a pro-Māori position on the issue.

- In a *Mana Report* interview with John Mitchell on 2 July 2003, Carol Archie provided plenty of opportunity for Mitchell to fully explain the background to the seabed issue, and while remaining impartial for the most part, a possible pro-Māori bias could be detected through her selection of the concluding statement that 'John anticipates that every case Māori take will be challenged'. So rather than endorsing the view promoted in other stories that Māori are placing obstacles and causing difficulties for the Crown, this comment suggests that it is Māori who are facing the repeated challenges.
- In an interview between Geoff Robinson and Hugh Kawharu broadcast at 7.15am on 24 September 2003, Robinson queried whether the 'consultation process has become an exercise in futility'. He also made a negative statement about the Crown making 'a mockery' of the process, suggesting empathy for Māori going through the consultation process.

6.4.4 Fairness

One of the tests of fairness was to assess whether the interviewees appeared to know what the item was about, what their contribution was to be and why.

There was no indication in any of the 47 stories that any interviewee was unaware of the nature of their interview. There were no examples of grossly one-sided debates, and none of the interviewees indicated on air that they were unhappy with their treatment.

Another aspect of fairness concerns taking sides or distorting facts and events. An example where this occurred was the playing up of supposedly threatening behaviour of Māori groups and individuals. For example in an interview segment at 7.20am on 5 September 2003, Sean Plunket's questions highlighted the threat of Māori protest. Of the three questions he asked in the five-minute long interview, two focussed on Māori aggression. In the first he suggested that Government Ministers were 'going to find the going tougher and tougher' and in the second he asked who was responsible for security.

In the *Mana Report* item of 1 July 2003, the reporter selected a John McEnteer quote that he would 'gatecrash a meeting' implying an element of aggression.

A news headline at 7.03am on 26 June 2003 spoke of Māori groups *demanding* they be included in an official consultation *hui* at Parliament (italics added). This description reinforces the perception that Māori are aggressive, but the story is actually about whether a range of Māori groups were able to attend a scheduled meeting with the Government. Then some months later on 5 September 2003, in a news headline at 7.02am, Māori are again presented as aggressive, in this case through the actions of Atareta Poananga, who is described as 'slamming' a Government *hui* and 'challenging Government Ministers'.

In a different, but equally suggestive context, a Mana Report segue by Dale Husband on 30 June 2003, referring to the Māori MPs described 'their experience of stopping her in her tracks last week'. This implied aggression on the part of the Māori MPs, and demonstrates that the aggressive characterisation was applied to the full range of Māori protagonists.

In terms of taking sides on an issue, the use of certain words and phrases was noticeable:

- A common practice was the use of the word 'activist' to introduce or provide context for an interviewee or story subject. As McCreanor (1993) noted, 'the term "Māori Activists" creates the expectation that the Māori involved will do something assertive and contentious ... with its implicit notions of use of physical assertion or even force'. He explains that use of the term encourages the audience to 'access a series of almost graphic images of demonstrations or protests complete with banners, staunch Māori people and grievance strong in the air'.
- There are a number of instances of this kind of language in the *Morning Report* data. In a news headline at 7.03am on 1 July 2003, the reporter's introduction used both of the phrases 'senior Māori activists' and 'prominent activists', implying not just that the individuals were active in protest movements, but that they were the most aggressive or controversial of their type.
- In an interview at 7.20am on 1 July 2003 Ken Mair was asked 'are they on your side or not?' in reference to the Māori caucus. This question implied a degree of conflict and coupled with the repeated use of the term 'Māori activist' to describe Ken Mair, it implied both aggression and division.

Sometimes it was just a matter of Māori characters being portrayed in an unnecessarily negative way that could damage listeners' overall perception of them.

In a 7.17am interview on 25 June 2003, the political commentator, referred to the Māori caucus by saying 'they're left huffing and puffing'. This conjures up an image of Māori MPs who are unfit and unable to cope with the pressures of the political situation. She also placed great emphasis on the notion that the Māori caucus statement was leaked, implying that this was somehow improper, and drawing attention away from the content of the statement itself.

A 7.00am news bulletin on 17 September 2003, stated that the 'Government says it's determined to push ahead with the five remaining Māori consultation *hui*', reinforcing the idea that Māori were providing unreasonable obstacles and resistance to the process. Negative stereotyping of Māori characters can be coupled with the use of other loaded language, such as the emotive, colloquial lexicon used by Gideon Porter in a discussion with Sean Plunket at 7.15am on 25 September 2003: 'dial a protest crowd', 'no hijacking of this *hui*', 'cold shoulders, hostile looks, heckling and niggling'. Together these negative descriptions produce a perception that the Māori involved in this issue are rebellious dissidents.

6.4.5 Tikanga Māori

A further aspect of the research assessed the manner in which Māori and *te ao Māori* were portrayed. Often this related to the language that was used to describe the Māori interviewees, who was chosen to represent the Māori perspective, how those Māori views were presented either during the interview or in the later news bulletins, and how the headlines depicted the Māori dimension of the story. In addition the stories were checked to see whether they demonstrated an understanding of *tikanga*.

Direct references to *tikanga Māori* were rare outside of *Mana Report* items. If a story did traverse areas relating to Māori cultural practices they were often treated lightly and without explanation.

- A 7.00am news bulletin on 9 September 2003, noted the issue of whether a consultation *hui* should be open to the public or not. It did not attempt to explain why this was an issue, perhaps because of the restrictions of the news bulletin format, so listeners were left unaware about the cultural factors that needed to be considered.
- A news story at 7.00am on 24 September 2003, reported that the venue of the final consultation *hui* would not be Orakei Marae because, to quote Gideon Porter, of fears that, 'disruptions or protests would taint its [the Marae's] reputation in cultural terms'. This was not elaborated on in the news bulletin

but in an interview later that hour between Geoff Robinson and Hugh Kawharu, Kawharu could have been called on to demystify statements in the interview introduction such as that ‘the tapu of the marae would be put at risk’. Instead, Robinson chose to focus the interview on other points, such as the idea that Auckland Māori were being denied an opportunity to hear the Crown proposals, and that the Crown was now left ‘scurrying around’ to find another venue. Both stories therefore portrayed cultural beliefs as the primary basis for the decision to cancel the *hui*, but failed to explain these beliefs and their impact, instead leaving the listener uninformed.

Gideon Porter did integrate comments about *tikanga* and Māori protocols into some of his stories, and while his insights were for the most part accurate, the descriptions often lacked clarity. In an interview between Sean Plunket and Gideon Porter at 7.15am on 25 September 2003, Porter described the *tikanga* around the media presence at *hui*. He also discussed the impact of the Crown directive that *hui* be completed within a four hour time period. In his unique style, he summarised the Crown position as, ‘it might be your *kawa* at this marae to sing songs after you’ve done speeches but not this time mate’. Although colloquial in description his assessment was generally consistent with conventional *tikanga Māori*. He also referred to ‘the mana of our [Pipitea] Marae being desecrated or demeaned’ because of negative reaction from Māori due to the restrictions placed by the Crown on the consultation *hui* processes.

Within the *Mana Report* segments, Carol Archie demonstrated a good understanding of Māori cultural concepts and practices. For example, her story at 6.41am on 25 June 2003 showed some understanding of the holistic nature of Māori customary use rights. Her level of understanding even went to the extent of recognising tribal variation. In her interview with John Mitchell on 2 July 2003, she demonstrated a good understanding of the Marlborough-area marine-related *tikanga* and then again on 5 September 2003, in an interview with Hohepa Rangihuna she referred to Ngāti Porou *tikanga*, the ‘*mana Māori*’ of *hapū*, and the treatment of *manuhiri* – all with understanding and ease. She referred easily to the concept of *kaitiakitanga* (Mana Report, 8 September 2003), and used the terms ‘*mana moana*’, ‘*urupā*’ and ‘*rahui*’ in appropriate context in an interview with Dover Samuels MP (Mana Report, 9 September 2003).

6.4.6 Language

While the Eurocentric resistance to pronouncing *te reo Māori* correctly has long been recognised (Ballara 1986), the *Morning Report* staff were relatively competent at pronouncing Māori words and phrases. Māori greetings such as ‘*Tēna koe*’ (*Morning Report*, 20 June 2003, 7.21am) and ‘*Kia ora*’ were used regularly, and phrases such as ‘*Kia ora rawa atu e hoa ma*’ were pronounced correctly and used in context at the start of the *Mana Report* item.

One marked mispronunciation became evident through a story at 7.15am on 25 September 2003, during an interview between Sean Plunket and Gideon Porter. Porter added an ‘s’ to some Māori words including ‘*huis*’ and ‘*iwis*’. This contradicts the orthodox grammatical convention of not adding ‘s’ to pluralise Māori words, although ironically this faux pas was committed by the Māori Issues correspondent.

6.5 Qualitative Analysis: Checkpoint

6.5.1 Tone

As with *Morning Report*, the general tone of the *Checkpoint* items was informative and serious. However, particularly with the interview segments, there was joviality apparent between the interviewers and interviewees. This was in large part a result of Gideon Porter’s colloquial style. In an interview with Mary Wilson on 25 June 2003, he referred to Māori speaking about the Government as ‘I heard a whisper today ... and that same whisper’ and ‘if that’s the way they want to play it’.

The June/July set of stories reported on the Court of Appeal decision and presented the initial reactions from the Government, Māori and other commentators. The stories were therefore probing in nature, trying to establish what the position of the various parties was and in particular focusing on the political wrangling that was going on.

By September however, the tone of the *Checkpoint* reports had changed, becoming a little more sensational and aggrandising of the scale or ferocity of the Māori response to the Crown’s proposals. News reports often began by citing the Māori rejection of the Crown’s proposal, many times without explaining what the rejection was actually based on. Some were described as ‘overwhelming rejections’ (*Checkpoint*, 4 September 2003, 5.00pm and 5.30pm; 23 September 2003, 5.11pm). On another date the Crown proposal was said to have been ‘firmly rejected’ (*Checkpoint*, 25 September 2003, 5.04pm and 5.31pm), with a final comment describing the Māori responses collectively as ‘a barrage of outright

rejections' (*Checkpoint*, 25 September 2003, 5.34pm). This continued focus on the Māori rejection of the Crown proposal, often without providing the range of reasons, served to create a perception that Māori were being obstructive and unreasonable and that they were not prepared to listen to the Crown's rational reasoning.

In contrast with the way Māori groups and individuals were portrayed, there was a more positive slant put on an item about a meeting between the Crown and various outdoor recreation lobby groups broadcast at 5.27pm on 15 September 2003. In a discussion between Mary Wilson and Jane Patterson, Wilson asked if the lobbyists were 'grumpy', a less severe description than the angry or threatening ones given to Māori groups. In response Patterson commented that the groups were 'happy with the outcome', which is in contrast with the summaries filed after consultation *hui* with Māori had taken place.

6.5.2 Balance

An over-emphasis on statements by politicians led to some concerns about whether a reasonable standard of balance was maintained overall.

- A headline read by Mark Torley at 5pm on 24 June 2003, quoted MPs Bill English (National), Hon Margaret Wilson (Labour) and Richard Prebble (ACT). Assessed in isolation it would have clearly been unbalanced, but it was balanced somewhat by the story that immediately followed which focused on the Nga Puhī response to the Government's intention to legislate. However, it is questionable whether the views of three experienced MPs are balanced by a comment from one low profile tribal spokesperson.
- In a news bulletin aired on 24 June 2003 at 5.36pm, the item focused solely on foreshore-related comments from MPs Bill English, Hon Margaret Wilson, Richard Prebble, Peter Dunne (United Future) and Winston Peters (New Zealand First) and provided no balancing perspective from a Māori spokesperson.
- A news story featuring comments from MPs Bill English, Winston Peters and Michael Cullen broadcast at 5.16pm on 26 June 2003, failed to provide a non-political Māori perspective. The story focussed on the 'points' won by Opposition members during question time in the house, but it did address the difference between customary rights and customary title and could have benefited from a Māori perspective on that distinction.

Gideon Porter filed a well-balanced story on 25 June 2003. His 5pm news story explained the intention of the Hauraki Māori Trust Board to host a *hui* to discuss the Crown's foreshore legislation plans but also noted the Crown's intentions to meet with the Māori Council to discuss the matter. While no interview material was included from either group, the story was factual and informed, without any overt bias or opinion.

Later, within an item presented again by Gideon Porter, and aired at 5.10pm on 4 September 2003, Porter gave a simple and clear summary of both the Crown and the local Māori reactions to the *hui*. However this was undermined somewhat by the questions from Gael Woods, the story anchor, who kept turning the interview back to focus on the outcome for the Government, asking questions such as, 'But there wasn't much joy for the Government, was there?', followed by 'Yeah, but presumably they'd [the Government] like to get something a bit more positive than an overwhelming rejection'. This line of questioning could suggest a level of empathy with the Crown, and appears to entrench the adversarial nature of the debate and the winners/losers dichotomy.

At the very end of the story broadcast at 5.10pm on 4 September 2003, an additional report was made about the decision of the Marlborough District Council to defer its appeal decision. In contrast with the descriptions of events at the Māori consultation *hui*, the language used to describe the Marlborough District Council's actions are neutral and objective.

The temptation to latch on to the more interesting angle sometimes overshadowed in-depth reporting on the day's events. For example, the summary aired at 5.03pm on 11 September 2003, of the events of the fourth consultation *hui* held in Hauraki, focussed solely on the actions of the elderly Chairman of the Hauraki Māori Trust Board, who returned his Queen's Service Medal in protest. While it is a legitimate journalistic technique to take a human interest angle, this act displaced any discussion of the key reasons for the Hauraki rejection of the proposals.

There were a number of neutral stories that informed listeners without perpetuating stereotypes. These stories tended to be news bulletins and were often truncated and repeated throughout the evening. For instance, Jeff Moffat filed a good example of a news story on 9 September 2003. His 5.01pm story described the third consultation *hui* held near Blenheim, and noted that the '*hui* was quiet and orderly' but that 'there was no doubting the strength of *iwi* opposition to the Government's plans'. He described the Government's representative group and the format for

the discussions. He made no reference to protest or hostility, and instead provided specific examples from submissions made during the *hui*, such as statements from John Mitchell, a mandated *iwi* representative, and from the host *iwi*, Rangitane. It was factual and accurately summarised the events of the day. A follow-up news bulletin broadcast half an hour later condensed this report further, omitting the references to Mitchell and Rangitane, but retaining the same informative and neutral style.

Similarly, a report by Gideon Porter that was broadcast as part of the news bulletin at 5.03pm on 10 September 2003 was informative and neutral. It described the Waitangi Tribunal's decision to hold an urgent hearing into whether the foreshore proposal breached the Treaty of Waitangi. He recounted the Tribunal's rationale for its decision and stated that there was agreement from both the Crown and Māori. An abridged version of this story, only 17 seconds long, was then played as part of the 5.30pm bulletin.

There were instances of a more pro-Māori approach being taken within an item. For example, on 4 July 2003, the news story at 5.02pm focused on Alison Thoms, a Nga Puhī spokesperson, who was commenting on an illegal mussel farming operation that had been discovered in Northland. Rather than focusing on the illegality of the farm, the story emphasised the financial and process-derived obstacles faced by Māori trying to get into the marine farming industry. In this example Māori were portrayed as victims of an unfair system, rather than as law-breakers — an interesting and unorthodox interpretation of the events.

6.5.3 Accuracy

A persistent inaccuracy conveyed by the broadcasts relates to the ownership of, access to and extent of the foreshore and seabed.

- In a *Checkpoint* story broadcast at 5.23pm on 20 June 2003, Mary Wilson asked John McEnteer, 'Why though in the end, should Māori own the seabed, should own the foreshore, when at the moment it's owned collectively by the Crown for everyone?' She then asks a follow-up question, 'Why change that?' These questions are inaccurate and based on the incorrect assumption that the Crown owns the foreshore and that Māori are seeking some kind of reversal of that title. In fact, the issue revolves around the assertion that the Crown has never had title over the foreshore or seabed, either through purchase or Act of Parliament, and Māori have claimed that in that event ownership was never relinquished.

Some time later in that same *Checkpoint* interview, Jeff Moffat, a Radio New Zealand reporter, clarified the Court of Appeal's decision as:

...merely acknowledg[ing] that the Māori Land Court has jurisdiction to hear the local *iwi* claims for the Marlborough Sounds foreshore. *Iwi* of course, well they have to win their argument and apart from that being by no means certain, it's months if not a year or so from being a decision.

This provided very good and much needed clarification of the legal position, but unfortunately it was buried some way through the item.

- A news story at 5pm on 23 June 2003 focused solely on the Crown's position on the legal status of the foreshore and seabed, quoting misinformation from Hon Margaret Wilson. Wilson, describing the impact of Māori ownership of the foreshore and seabed, said that, 'This outcome is not necessarily desirable because it would exclude a traditional interest that all New Zealanders have in access to the sea and foreshore'. This assumption formed the basis of public fear and outcry and was actively promoted by Government and Opposition spokespeople. It assumed that the recognition of Māori interests in the foreshore and seabed would exclude others, and this idea was picked up by media reports and disseminated, rather than the concept at issue, which is that Māori had never lost their interests in the foreshore and seabed. This particular story only states the Crown's position and provides no information about a possible Māori response.
- In the following *Checkpoint* interview aired at 5.07pm on 23 June 2003, Mary Wilson's opening statement again reported the misinformation that, 'The Government is to pass legislation to make it clear that the Crown has ownership of the foreshore and seabed'. This statement is incorrect because it implied the Crown had ownership of the foreshore and seabed and that the proposed legislation would simply be reinforcing that situation. In fact, this is strongly refuted by Māori and forms the crux of the issue.
- This inaccuracy was carried through to later stories, so that the incorrect assertion that the Crown currently owned the foreshore and seabed was regularly reinforced. For example, on 24 June 2003 at 5.36pm in the news bulletin, the opening statement was:

...the Government has faced a barrage of questions at Parliament this afternoon after its decision to pass new laws to ensure the Crown *retains* ownership of the seabed and foreshore. (Italics added.)

Then again on 26 June 2003 at 5.05pm, the news story stated that 'the Government is under fire from Māori over its plans to legislate to ensure ownership *remains* in the hands of the Crown' (italics added).

- In a later brief news story broadcast on 18 September at 5.01pm, Chris Whitta describes the decision by the Marlborough District Council to withdraw its appeal 'on *iwi* claims to the Marlborough Sounds seabed and foreshore.' This statement is incorrect because the appeal that the Council was considering lodging was not against the *iwi* claims to the foreshore *per se*, but rather against the Court of Appeal decision that a finding about title to the foreshore and seabed falls within the jurisdiction of the Māori Land Court. The perpetuation of the notion that the Court of Appeal had in some way accepted *iwi* claims over the foreshore and seabed was inappropriate and misleading.

6.5.4 Fairness

While a number of stories contained factual inaccuracies, others were factually correct but were distorted for emphasis and therefore appeared unfair. For example, a *Checkpoint* interview broadcast at 5.23pm on 20 June 2003, between Mary Wilson and John McEnteer, began with the statement that, 'A Māori claim for an *enormous* area of North Island coastline will now go ahead in the wake of a Court of Appeal decision' (italics added). The inclusion of the adjective 'enormous' serves to sensationalise the story, whereas the story later explains that the claim is on behalf of twelve *iwi*. The whole introduction also gave the impression that the Court of Appeal decision somehow guaranteed the return of large areas of foreshore and seabed to Māori, when all it really did was offer an avenue for Māori claimants to pursue without any assurance of success.

However, the *Checkpoint* coverage was generally respectful of the interviewees.

As with the coverage in *Morning Report*, the items broadcast on 16 September focussed primarily on Titewhai Harawira and her involvement in the cancellation of the Northland consultation *hui* but just as with the *Morning Report* coverage on that date, Harawira was not given a right of reply and no statement was made that she had declined an interview.

The introduction to an interview between Mary Wilson and Rima Edwards that aired at 5.06pm 24 June 2004, claimed that ‘the Government’s been *warned* ... that it will have to back down over its move to stop Māori claiming ownership to the seabed and foreshore or *face the consequences*’ (italics added). Later in the same interview Wilson described the difference between the Crown and Māori position as sounding ‘like a clash’ further emphasising a sense of violence and division. The ‘warning’, the threat of ‘facing consequences’, and the reference to a ‘clash’ imply a level of hostility from Māori and serve to cast Māori as the aggressors.

However in the interview beginning at 5.11pm on 24 June 2003 with Mary Wilson and John McEnteer, Wilson asks, ‘You’ve heard Rima Edwards talking about protest action being quite strong, is that the kind of language you’ve also been hearing today?’ It is interesting that the question was not sensationalised at all. In fact the strong statements made by Edwards are almost under-emphasised in the question, quite unlike other stories where any hint of Māori hostility is highlighted.

The notion that Māori were acting aggressively was repeatedly reinforced through the selection of wording used to describe Māori sentiment.

- In an interview by Mary Wilson with John McEnteer at 5.07pm on 25 June 2003, her opening sentence was that, ‘Māori *anger* with the Government over ownership of the seabed and foreshore continues to build’ (italics added). Later in the same story Wilson spoke to Gideon Porter and repeated the claim of ‘building Māori anger’. Porter in turn referred to the ‘rumblings and growing sound of discontent up and down the country from Māori’.
- Māori were repeatedly described as being ‘angry’ in other news stories (for example on *Checkpoint*, 26 June 2003, 5.16pm). On 26 June 2003 at 5.05pm and again at 5.16pm, the news stories stated that ‘the Government is *under fire* from Māori over its plans to legislate to ensure ownership remains in the hands of the Crown’ (italics added). The repetitive use of phrases and descriptions emphasising the idea that Māori were angered and aggressive served to stereotype Māori as the hostile antagonist, rather than the aggrieved party. What was never adequately explained was the basis for the ‘anger’ that Māori were displaying and this further served to reinforce the negative aggressive stereotype.
- The idea that Māori would be demonstrative in their hostility towards the Government permeated the media reports to the extent that even when there was no actual protest, this was still reported on. For example, the 5.00pm news

story on 4 September 2003 featured a report from Gideon Porter that noted that, 'predictions of disruptive protests failed to eventuate'. First, there is some irony that the media which predicted the protest could then report on its non-eventuality. Second, the fact that there was no protest should not have been news at all, as all it did was reinforce the idea that there was a threat of protest, without anything to substantiate it. To make matters worse, this statement was followed by another prediction that the following *hui* 'would be a different matter', indicating a continued threat.

- The practice of forecasting negative behaviour, whether it eventuated or not, continued in subsequent coverage of the foreshore and seabed consultation period. In the follow-up story broadcast at 5.10pm that evening, Porter repeated comments from the earlier story that 'there were predictions that there was going to be disruptive protests and that never eventuated'. He did not say what those predictions originated from, but he offered a suggestion by reporting that, 'There were a couple of what you would call possibly Māori activists at the *hui* today. They kept a low profile'.
- Sometimes it was a case of highlighting the Māori reaction rather than focusing on the Crown behaviour that provoked the reaction. For example in a story aired at 5.10pm on 4 September 2003, a discussion ensued with Gideon Porter about the 'shaky start' of the first consultation *hui* because the Ministers were 'told off' by the Māori hosts. The emphasis was placed on the Māori people telling the MPs off, rather than on the fact that the MPs were late.
- The use of the term 'activist' has already been discussed with reference to a number of *Morning Report* stories. This practice continued in the *Checkpoint* programming. For example, Gideon Porter, in the 5.07pm story broadcast on 25 June 2003, focused specifically on Titewhai Harawira by saying that, 'everybody knows that she's a veteran activist and protest sort of person, but she's also a member of Council'. It appeared that Porter was attempting to recast Harawira as someone who is multi-dimensional but ironically in doing so he reaffirmed her as an 'activist', and a 'veteran' one at that. Harawira was again described as an activist on 16 September 2003 in the 5.00pm news story.

In an interesting twist, the last *Checkpoint* item to air within the scope of this project was a 57 word news story read by Catriona McLeod at 5.32pm on 26 September 2003. In that brief piece she summarised the presentations made at the final Government *hui* in South Auckland by saying, 'the Government was told it should

rethink its entire approach'. While she managed to summarise the entire four hours worth of oral submissions into ten words, she then devoted another sixteen words to mention that protesters were at the *hui*, but they did not do anything. This insistence on commenting on the actions, or inactivity, of protesters, in this case 'a dozen Māori sovereignty protesters', merely continued to raise the spectre of hostility and division, and cast Māori once again as aggressors. For the first time too, this story linked the protesters with the sovereignty movement, which for some listeners may have caused an association with other Treaty claims and created an impression that the rejection of the Crown proposal was associated with Māori aspirations for a separate law for themselves.

6.5.5 Tikanga Māori

In a *Checkpoint* interview broadcast at 5.23pm on 20 June 2003, between Mary Wilson and John McEnteer, Wilson describes McEnteer as a 'Treaty Claims Manager for a bid for the Hauraki foreshore and seabed'. This is too vague a description of McEnteer's role and serves to promote the idea that his sole function is to pursue this foreshore claim.

Gideon Porter, in a discussion with Mary Wilson that went to air at 5.07pm on 25 June 2003, gave an account of a surprise visit by Helen Clark and her entourage to a Māori Council meeting in Wellington. He recounted Sir Graham Latimer's comment that the Council delegates 'didn't respond to the Minister because they felt if one person responded all 53 delegates would have had to respond'. What Porter is describing is the *tikanga* around speaking rights, and the decision to preserve the *mana* of the delegates, by not wanting to elevate one over another by granting speaking rights to a limited number.

In another instance, the 5.10pm interview on 4 September 2003 between the anchor Gael Woods and Gideon Porter began with Gael Woods describing the first consultation *hui* as having 'got off to a shaky start this morning with Ministers and officials being told off for arriving late'. This description trivialised the *tikanga* component of the *powhiri* process and missed the significance of the cause of the Māori concern which was that the Crown had set the parameters for these *hui*, contrary to the usual *kawa* or protocols of a *marae*, and then failed to meet its own requirements. It was disrespectful in a Māori cultural context, and the irony was not missed by the Māori participants at the *hui*, so in usual Māori style their disappointment was expressed appropriately, and in accordance with *tikanga Māori*, during the formal welcome. Gideon Porter attempted to address this in his description of the events, eventually summarising the Crown's behaviour as

'very poor form' but he did not fully explain the point of issue from a Māori cultural perspective.

6.5.6 Language

As expected, the pronunciation of *te reo Māori* by Numia Ponika-Rangi, anchor for the *Mana News* item, was excellent.

The pronunciation of Māori words by other people was good. If they mispronounced a word, announcers often immediately corrected it.

6.6 Conclusions

By reviewing the quantitative findings against the qualitative analysis completed for the *Morning Report* and *Checkpoint* data, a number of conclusions can be drawn relating to tone, accuracy, balance, fairness, *tikanga Māori* and language. As noted above (in 3 Content Analysis), readers should be cognisant of the fact that unlike the television analyses the radio analysis was based only on audio and text, and moreover, there was almost twice as much radio material to analyse compared to either mainstream or by Māori for Māori television data. The apparent focus in this report on the radio material compared to the television analyses is a reflection of this only and should not be interpreted as singling out Radio New Zealand for special criticism.

6.6.1 Tone

The vast majority of the 98 *Morning Report* and *Checkpoint* stories that informed this study were serious and informative. Although we have discussed occasions when the stories were sensationalised, these were relatively rare. A shift in tone between the June/July period and September period was consistent with an increased level of awareness of the issue as more information became available, and the change in subject matter brought on by the consultation process. However, this undoubtedly affected the audience's perception and impacted on the formation of public opinion.

The capacity to explore issues through the *Mana Report* and *Mana News* format allowed for more probing coverage, leading to a more edifying output. Also, irregular moments of joviality served to lighten the coverage of an often tense and controversial issue, without undermining the credibility or integrity of the programme.

6.6.2 Balance

The quantitative findings show that within the broadcast items the parties concerned were given fairly equal airtime. However, individual stories were often unbalanced, and the balance can only be found by considering them in packages, that is follow-up stories adding other dimensions and perspectives to earlier unbalanced items. On the basis of the data analysed it does seem that balance was therefore an issue as some of the unbalanced stories were not balanced out by subsequent stories within the study period. The lack of balance was not restricted to undue weight on the Crown side. In some stories Māori and their representatives openly criticised the Government and a Ministerial reply was not provided.

In some items balance was achieved or attempted in the absence of other interviewees by the interviewer probing an interviewee and taking on a devil's advocate style of questioning. Generally however, those stories with more interviewees tended to be more balanced than those with only one or two.

The most significant issue in balance may have been the weighting given to interviewing politicians, and Ministers in particular, to provide an 'Anti' perspective in this issue. Against the politicians were a mixture of *iwi* and other representatives. This created the impression of much greater weight and authority on the 'Anti' side. Tariana Turia was the only MP that appeared as an interviewee in the 'Pro' category.

However, even if there was some emphasis placed on providing an opportunity for pro-Māori perspectives to be voiced, the question still remains about whether Māori really have any influence over the radio content. The existence of *Mana Report* and *Mana News* certainly go some way to ensuring that there is a focus on Māori issues, but the foreshore story was treated as more a mainstream issue and as such was not restricted to coverage within the traditional 'Māori' radio slots.

6.6.3 Accuracy

The core factual information imparted by the *Morning Report* and *Checkpoint* staff was accurate. A higher level of inaccuracy occurred at the beginning of the coverage of this issue, but this tended to arise from the general lack of information and clarity about the Court of Appeal decision and the Government's reaction to it.

One key issue around accuracy however is the reliability and appropriateness of the interviewees and sources. *Morning Report* relied more heavily than *Checkpoint* on specialist or interested party input. Many of these individuals provided well-considered and credible contributions to the discussion. However, often this input was from political sources, either Government or Opposition spokespeople who

were less reliable because of political bias and the very often had limited knowledge or understanding about the facts of the issue.

The media generally purports to be neutral and objective, particularly when reporting the 'news'. This research process has identified many instances when the *Morning Report* or *Checkpoint* reports have perceivably demonstrated a lack of objectivity. This is not surprising as it is almost impossible to be completely objective. McCreanor (1993) suggested that 'speakers tailor their delivery to the particular audience to hand, juggling the resources available to them on a subject in order to optimise their chances of communicating successfully or persuasively'. He also asserted that 'various renditions of particular topics are more easily accepted and therefore more successfully communicated than others'. The question needs to be raised then – did the *Morning Report* and *Checkpoint* shows pitch their delivery of the foreshore stories to a particular audience and, in doing so, were they intentionally constructing them in a way to ensure that they were more 'palatable' to their audience? Secondly, does pitching the stories in that way to a particular audience just serve to further entrench Māori stereotypes?

The quality of the journalism varied somewhat in terms of various individuals' ability to understand the foreshore and seabed issue, relate that to orthodox Māori cultural concepts and practices, and construct a story that provided some real insight into the Māori grievance.

6.6.4 Fairness

In general all of the stories could be considered fair because there was no indication that any of the interviews were grossly one-sided, or that any participants felt aggrieved by the treatment they received. Perhaps the only person with a potential claim against this standard is Titewhai Harawira, although it is likely that the coverage from these programmes was fairer than the treatment she receives from other media.

There was however an unfair characterisation of Māori as activists or protesters, who engaged in violent, threatening behaviour. This is consistent with the stereotypes identified by Nairn and McCreanor (1997) of the 'Good Māori/ Bad Māori' and 'Stirrer'. These characterisations were reinforced through repeated descriptions in *Morning Report* and *Checkpoint* stories and portray a negative rationale for Māori behaviour, instead of providing an explanation for the underlying causes of Māori grievance or dissent.

When not being labelled 'activists', another characterisation was that Māori characters were unfit or incompetent. While less prominent than the 'activist' description, it particularly impacted on the credibility of the Māori MPs involved.

In contrast, there was a clear difference in the way both programmes dealt with items about non-Māori individuals or groups. Care was taken to present these groups as rational and logical. More positive terms such as 'lobby groups' and 'staunch critic' were used in *lieu* of 'activists' or 'protester'.

In contrast with the instances of reports presenting a negative angle towards Māori, it could also be argued that a pro-Māori bias was present at times. This is supported by the quantitative findings that 60% of the *Morning Report* airtime and 61% of the *Checkpoint* airtime was devoted to commentary regarded as 'Pro-Māori'. Coupled with examples of interviewers showing empathy for Māori frustration about events, there is some validity to this suggestion.

6.6.5 Tikanga Māori

There did not appear to be any serious breaches in understanding or presenting *tikanga Māori*. There were very few direct references to *tikanga* or issues arising out of *tikanga* in the items. Where there were issues they tended to be touched on lightly and mostly by Gideon Porter, the Radio New Zealand Māori issues reporter although Carol Archie consistently demonstrated sensitivity to *tikanga Māori* issues in her reports.

The main story where *tikanga* was discussed was an interview between Sean Plunket and Gideon Porter at 7.15am on 25 September 2003, where Porter described the *tikanga* around the media presence at hui. This was treated somewhat flippantly however when Porter summarised the position as 'it might be your *kawa* at this *marae* to sing songs after you've done speeches but not this time mate'. This however was consistent with *tikanga*.

6.6.6 Language

The other area where *tikanga* often becomes an issue is in the area of the pronunciation of Māori words and language. Generally speaking however the standards of pronunciation were very good across the board and announcers often corrected mispronunciation when it occurred. The anomaly in this perhaps is the consistent addition of the pluralising 's' at the end of Māori words by Gideon Porter that contradicts orthodox grammatical conventions.

6.6.7 Politician Bias

A number of the Morning Report stories relied heavily on the contribution of politicians with a clear political bias and very often limited knowledge or understanding of the facts of the issue, sometimes resulting in contradictory or vague statements. For example, there was an interview with Dover Samuels MP as part of a Mana Report story on 25 June 2003, because of his experience in taking a claim to the Māori Land Court for customary rights over a foreshore area near Northland in 1984. However his answers were often colloquial, for example 'you've got to throw the Māori a few crumbs here and there'. He made generalisations about processes and outcomes, such as a comment that, 'I think with a bit of commonsense we can steer the passage through this and come out the other end one people, one minded'. He also appeared to support the Court of Appeal decision, in contradiction to the view of his political party, when in reference to the Court decision he said, 'now, I think that there's a pool of wisdom there in terms of their analysis of the application'.

In another example, the reporter tried valiantly to redeem a Mana Report interview with Mahara Okeroa MP broadcast on 23 September 2003. She asked Okeroa very direct and informed questions but received evasive and somewhat obscure answers. Despite this she managed to ask reasonable and legitimate follow-up questions. For example, she asked him 'what's your personal view about the way the customary rights are going to be protected by the Government?' and after a very non-committal answer she followed up with a probing question, 'So it needs changing?' This illustrates the problem of using politicians to explain complex issues.

7 Discussion

7.1.1 The Broadcasting Standards

In general the standards of balance, accuracy and fairness were met in the broadcasts. The research also looked at tone, *tikanga* and language in the broadcasts. In general the tone was serious and informative. In terms of language, in contrast to previous research findings the pronunciation of Māori words and phrases has greatly improved, and is now at a generally good standard. The researchers comment at length on *tikanga*, noting that aspects of *tikanga* arose and in most cases brief explanations were given.

7.1.2 News Values

News values are those factors which influence how the news is developed and how it is structured and, according to McGregor, constitute 'some of the most problematic concepts in journalism' (McGregor, 1991:1). The foreshore and seabed debate in 2003 certainly qualified as having strong and distinct news values. It was a continuing story with political, legal, constitutional, ethnic, economic and social aspects. The news story had a sudden start with the Court of Appeal decision and the almost immediate Government announcement of new legislation.

As the story unfolded the implications of legal and political decisions became clearer. The analysis suggests that journalists took some time to appreciate the complexities of the issue, as evidenced by continuing references to retaining Crown ownership. The consultation *hui* provided a series of high points in the news story, from different parts of the country. At a wider level, broadcasters perceived and told a story of inherent conflict: between Māori rights and non-Māori and Crown rights. That story consistently characterises Māori as unreasonable and aggressive, while non-Māori are portrayed as rational and law-abiding and the Crown as the guardians of national interest. As the earlier literature and commentary show, this is a key ongoing theme in New Zealand public life and news media.

7.1.3 Stereotyping

The foreshore and seabed news story in 2003 was both a national and a regional/*iwi* story. This should have allowed news organisations a chance to acknowledge unique *iwi* identities and issues, as well as the national implications of the issue. While some broadcasters canvassed several sides of the debate, there was a considerable reliance on politician interviews, despite their clear political bias and often limited understanding of the legal and cultural issues. There was also a



noticeable emphasis on the threat of Māori 'protest', whether any protest occurred or not.

The Māori researchers analysing the data were very clear that the way Māori and *te ao Māori* are portrayed in both mainstream and by Māori for Māori broadcast news does have an effect on attitudes. A question often raised by the researchers was, were the various stories or shows constructed to appeal to a mainstream audience and, in doing so, were they simply further entrenching Māori stereotypes? The researchers analysing mainstream programmes were alert to the kinds of stereotyping and negativity already documented in the literature. In particular the researchers noted the portrayal of 'angry' Māori under the labels of 'activists' and 'protesters'. These and similar words and labels tend to undermine the real points at issue and become shorthand for negative stereotypes.

7.1.4 Differences between Māori and mainstream news reporting

This research shows that Māori news is different from mainstream news in both content and style. This is particularly noticeable from the *reo Māori*-only television news data, where the items demonstrated understanding and sensitivity to Māori realities and values. The quality of the *reo* contributes greatly to this. But differences are also suggested by the researchers' commentary on English-speaking Māori reporters and the Māori Affairs reporters in mainstream broadcasting. The style of Māori journalists in both mainstream and by Māori for Māori programmes was distinctively marked by:

- in-depth knowledge in many cases of *te reo*, *tikanga* and *te ao Māori*
- a mostly respectful and courteous manner
- the use of colloquial expressions in English
- the use of humour.

There was an assumption that in mainstream television and radio, the Māori reporters would be able to provide 'the' Māori perspective when often there was no Māori consensus view, or the view that they were presenting was not necessarily representative of wider Māori opinion. It was also assumed that they would be aware of the sensitivities involved with reporting on Māori issues, but this was sometimes not the case. Conversely, it was found that non-Māori reporters were capable of being sensitive to Māori cultural values and produced stories that had a greater resonance for Māori audiences.

While the funder did not require a gender analysis it is worth pointing out that on the basis of the stories analysed there was a bias toward men in terms of reporters,

anchors, and interviewees. Where mainstream television ensures there is a gender balance in terms of reporters and anchors, the Māori media have yet to catch up.

7.1.5 Media Research Methods

The literature review revealed two points of interest: (1) media researchers do not always devote much – or any – space to describing their method, and (2) methodologically rigorous media analysis seems rare in New Zealand.

The BSA request for proposals indicated a qualitative analysis was required. Content analysis is an essentially quantitative research method. Believing that qualitative findings about mass media become meaningful only in the context of quantitative findings, the research team undertook both analyses, and commends this dual approach. Owing to the limited resources available, the researchers on this project were unable to conduct a textbook-style content analysis. But within the limited scope we have attempted to ensure robust results, for example by ensuring the programmes were viewed or heard by two researchers, or spot-checking of data sheets.

7.1.6 Adequacy of Broadcasting Standards

The question arises: how can – or should – the existing broadcasting standards operate in a way that protects Māori values and worldviews? In keeping with the two-house model – *Ngā whare e rua*, described above in Chapter 2, the broadcasting standards are conceptualised from the ‘Master’s House’, from a western legal or regulatory framework intended for the population as a whole, but not necessarily fitting with a Māori worldview or Māori realities. Reporting on Māori people and *te ao Māori* generally, even by Māori reporters, is still done within a largely Western framework. Even though we concluded that the broadcasting standards were met, there remains a question about whether the standards themselves are set so ‘objectively’ in a western paradigm, that they do not protect Māori. The current standards allow Māori to be criticised and misrepresented, which would be considered disrespectful if measured against Māori standards of balance and fairness. In general, notions of universalism work against minority groups: one size of balance or fairness or accuracy (built with the Pākehā mainstream in mind) may not fit all. The broadcasting standards at present are ‘one size’, and as such do not take account of existing unequal power relations in New Zealand or Māori cultural values.

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9 Appendices

Appendix 1 Research Team and Advisory Group

Research Team

The multi-disciplinary research team is drawn from the fields of media studies, Māori studies, law, history, social policy and anthropology.

Researchers

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Bernard Kernot, M.A. Former Senior Lecturer, Te Kawa a Māui: School of Māori Studies, Victoria University of Wellington.

Marie Russell, Dip. NZLS, M.A. (Applied) Social Science Research. Research Fellow, Health Services Research Centre, School of Government, Victoria University of Wellington.

Tai Walker, Ngāti Porou, M.A. (Applied) Social Science Research. Māori Research Advisor, Health Services Research Centre, School of Government, Victoria University of Wellington.

Advisory Group

Dr **Kevin Dew**, Sociologist, Wellington School of Medicine and Health Sciences has extensive expertise and experience in qualitative research.

Te Ripowai Higgins, Ngai Tūhoe, Head of School, Te Kawa a Māui, Victoria University of Wellington chairs the Advisory Group. Te Ripowai is currently on the board of Te Mangai Paho, a former trustee on Te Upoko o te Ika Māori radio station and broadcaster.

Steven Price, LLB (1st Class Hons), M.A. (Journalism), lectures at Victoria University of Wellington Law School and is a freelance journalist and commentator specialising in legal and media issues.

Dr **Roy Shuker**, Associate Professor and Director, Media Studies, Victoria University of Wellington, has a Masters degree in History and PhD in Education. He has researched and written numerous studies about popular culture and the media.

Aroaro Tamati, Taranaki, Ngāti Ruanui, Te Whanau a Apanui, B.Ed. (Tchg), Dip. Tchg ECE. Aroaro began her media career in 1980 when she joined Radio New Zealand. From 1982-87 she was a TVNZ reporter and from 1987-93 worked as a journalist for the *Evening Post*. In 1995 she returned to television journalism and currently works as a freelance reporter/director for *Marae*.

Appendix 2 Glossary of Māori Terms

ahi kā	<i>literally 'burning fire', continuous occupation, rights to land by occupation</i>
Kaihautu	<i>Māori Senior Manager at TVNZ</i>
kaitiakitanga	<i>ethic of guardianship, protection</i>
kakī whero	<i>literally 'red neck'</i>
kaupapa	<i>subject, theme, topic, idea, base</i>
kawa	<i>custom, protocol, etiquette</i>
kōrero	<i>discussion, speech, to speak</i>
kōwhaiwhai	<i>form of Māori artwork using paint as the medium</i>
mana	<i>authority, control, influence, prestige, power, reputation</i>
mana moana	<i>customary rights and authority over the sea</i>
manuhiri	<i>guests, visitors</i>
marae	<i>courtyard, community meeting place</i>
mihi	<i>greet, greeting</i>
pepeha	<i>proverb, saying</i>
pōwhiri	<i>ceremony of welcome</i>
rāhui	<i>restriction on access or prohibition on use of land and resources</i>
rohe	<i>boundary, territory, district, area, region</i>
tamaiti	<i>child</i>
tangata whenua	<i>local iwi/hapū, hosts</i>
te ao Māori	<i>the Māori world</i>
te reo	<i>Māori language</i>
tikanga	<i>custom, practice, protocol, convention, principle</i>
tino rangatiratanga	<i>full, chiefly authority</i>
tīpuna, tūpuna	<i>ancestors</i>
urupā	<i>burial site, cemetery</i>
wero	<i>challenge</i>
whakapapa	<i>ancestry, lineage, family connections, genealogy</i>
whakatau	<i>welcome</i>
whakataukī	<i>proverbial saying</i>
whanaunga	<i>relative, blood relationship</i>
whare, whareniui	<i>house, building, meeting house</i>

Appendix 3 BSA Wording in the Codes of Broadcasting Practice

In the codes of broadcasting practice, the relevant principles/standards are as follows:

Radio Code of Broadcasting Practice

Principle 4 [Balance]

In programmes and their presentation, broadcasters are required to maintain standards consistent with the principle 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.

Guidelines

4a Broadcasters will respect the rights of individuals to express their own opinions.

4b Broadcasters may have regard, when ensuring that programmes comply with Principle 4, to the following matters:

- (i) An appropriate introduction to the programme; and
- (ii) Any reasonable on-air opportunity for listeners to ask questions or present rebuttal within the period of current interest. Broadcasters may have regard to the views expressed by other broadcasters or in the media which listeners could reasonably be expected to be aware of.

Principle 5 [Fairness]

In programmes and their presentation, broadcasters are required to deal justly and fairly with any person taking part or referred to.

Guidelines

5a No telephone conversation will be recorded or broadcast for the purpose of news, current affairs or any other programme, unless the recipient has been advised that it is being recorded for possible broadcast, or is aware that the conversation is being broadcast. Exceptions may apply depending upon the context of the broadcast, including the legitimate use of humour.

5b Care must be taken in the editing of programme material to ensure that the extracts used are a true reflection and not a distortion of the original event or the overall views expressed.

5c Programmes shall not be presented in such a way as to cause panic, or unwarranted alarm or undue distress.

Principle 6 [Accuracy]

In the preparation and presentation of news and current affairs programmes, broadcasters are required to be truthful and accurate on points of fact.

Guidelines

- 6a Broadcasters will not use deceptive programme practices.
- 6b In the event of an allegation of inaccuracy, broadcasters will act promptly to check the allegation against the original broadcast, and will broadcast with similar prominence a suitable and appropriately scheduled correction if that is found to be justified.
- 6c Factual reports on the one hand, and opinion, analysis and comment on the other, shall be clearly distinguished.
- 6d Broadcasters shall ensure that the editorial independence and integrity of news and current affairs is maintained.

Principle 7 [Social responsibility]

In programmes and their presentation, broadcasters are required to be socially responsible.

Guidelines

- 7a Broadcasters will not portray people in a manner which encourages denigration of or discrimination against any section of the community on account of gender, race, age, disability, occupational status, sexual orientation; or as the consequence of legitimate expression of religious, cultural or political beliefs. This requirement does not extend to prevent the broadcast of material which is:
 - i) factual; or
 - ii) a genuine expression of serious comment, analysis or opinion; or
 - iii) by way of legitimate humour or satire.

[...]

Free-to-Air Television Code of Broadcasting Practice

Standard 4 [Balance]

In the preparation and presentation of news, current affairs and factual programmes, broadcasters are responsible for maintaining standards consistent with the principle 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.

Guidelines

- 4a Programmes which deal with political matters, current affairs, and questions of a controversial nature, must show balance and impartiality.
- 4b No set formula can be advanced for the allocation of time to interested parties on controversial public issues. Broadcasters should aim to present all significant sides in as fair a way as possible, it being acknowledged that this can be done only by judging each case on its merits.
- 4c Factual programmes, and programmes shown which approach a topic from a particular or personal perspective (for example, authorial documentaries and those shown on access television,) may not be required to observe to the letter the requirements of standard 4.

Standard 5 [Accuracy]

News, current affairs and other factual programmes must be truthful and accurate on points of fact, and be impartial and objective at all times.

Guidelines

- 5a Significant errors of fact should be corrected at the earliest opportunity.
- 5b Broadcasters should refrain from broadcasting material which is misleading or unnecessarily alarms viewers.
- 5c Broadcasters must ensure that the editorial independence and integrity of news and current affairs is maintained.
- 5d Factual reports on the one hand, and opinion, analysis and comment on the other, should be clearly distinguishable.
- 5e Broadcasters must take all reasonable steps to ensure at all times that the information sources for news, current affairs and documentaries are reliable.

Standard 6

[Fairness]

In the preparation and presentation of programmes, broadcasters are required to deal justly and fairly with any person or organisation taking part or referred to.

Guidelines

- 6a Care should be taken in the editing of programme material to ensure that the extracts used are a true reflection, and not a distortion, of the original event or the overall views expressed.
- 6b Contributors and participants in any programme should be dealt with fairly and should, except as required in the public interest, be informed of the reason for their proposed contribution and participation and the role that is expected of them.
- 6c Programme makers should not obtain information or gather pictures through misrepresentation or deception, except as required in the public interest when the material cannot be obtained by other means.
- 6d Broadcasters should acknowledge the right of individuals to express their own opinions.
- 6e Broadcasters should take particular care when dealing with distressing situations, and with grief and bereavement. Discretion and sensitivity are expected.
- 6f Broadcasters should recognise the rights of individuals, and particularly children and young people, not to be exploited, humiliated or unnecessarily identified.
- 6g Broadcasters should avoid portraying persons in programmes in a manner that encourages denigration of, or discrimination against, sections of the community on account of sex, sexual orientation, race, age, disability, or occupational status, or as a consequence of legitimate expression of religious, cultural or political beliefs. This requirement is not intended to prevent the broadcast of material which is:
 - i) factual, or
 - ii) the expression of genuinely held opinion in news, current affairs or other factual programmes, or
 - iii) in the legitimate context of a dramatic, humorous or satirical work.
- 6h Broadcasters should avoid causing unwarranted distress to surviving family members by showing library or archival footage of bodies or human remains. This guideline is not intended to prevent the use of material which adds significantly to the understanding of an issue of public interest.

The Portrayal of Māori and *te ao Māori* in Broadcasting

PROPOSAL TO THE BROADCASTING STANDARDS AUTHORITY

Title: The Portrayal of Māori and *te ao Māori* in Broadcasting:
the Foreshore and Seabed Issue

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Date: 1 December 2003

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Summary

A mixed-method, case study approach is proposed to research the portrayal of Māori and *te ao Māori* in broadcasting. The proposal covers *kaupapa*, background, methodology and sampling rationale, proposed measures, budget and a list of people involved.

The multi-disciplinary research team based at Victoria University of Wellington includes bi-lingual Māori and Pākehā researchers, with qualifications and experience in media analysis and related areas. The team is overseen and supported by an Advisory Group whose members are listed.

A case study of the foreshore and seabed issue is proposed, covering the period from June to September 2003. Limitations on the scope of the project arise from the availability and especially the cost of obtaining broadcast material.

The proposal outlines research which meets the Broadcasting Standards Authority codes of conduct, is academically rigorous in both Māori and Western approaches, but also emphasises plain-language reporting that aims to be of use to the Broadcasting Standards Authority.

Title: The Portrayal of Māori and *te ao Māori* in Broadcasting:
the Foreshore and Seabed Issue

Kaupapa:

*'To ringa ki ngā rākau a te Pākehā hei oranga mō tō tinana
To ngākau ki ngā taonga a o tīpuna hei tikitiki mō tō mahuna'*

Your hand reaching for the tools of the Pākehā for your physical well being
Your heart centred on the treasures of your ancestors as a plume upon your head.

The above *whakatauaāki* reflects our approach to this project, where Māori and Western skills, knowledge and personnel have been brought together to undertake a rigorous and robust study.

Consistent with this approach, the research team proposes to work in a consultative and collaborative manner with the Broadcasting Standards Authority (BSA). This includes negotiating details of the budget and methodology.

Aim:

The aim of the project is to evaluate the way Māori and *te ao Māori* are portrayed in broadcasting, in relation to the foreshore and seabed issue, and in accordance with the standards set by the Broadcasting Act 1989 as well as a Māori worldview.

Objectives:

- 1) To identify whether balance was achieved by the programmes;
- 2) To evaluate whether the programmes were accurate, impartial and objective;
- 3) To identify whether the parties involved were dealt with fairly;
- 4) To identify which significant points of view were or were not presented;
- 5) To identify the manner in which Māori and *te ao Māori* were portrayed;
- 6) To analyse and report data in accordance with the standards of balance, fairness, accuracy, objectivity, social responsibility and from a Māori worldview.

Research Questions:

The research questions will focus on the following themes. If the project is funded, these themes and questions will be expanded, building on a literature review and further scoping in consultation with BSA.

Balance: What aspects of the issue did each speaker address?
Were speakers given comparable amounts of time to speak?
Were arguments presented from different sides of the debate?
Were speakers introduced and commented on in comparable ways?

Accuracy, impartiality, objectivity:

Was the material presented accurate, impartial and objective?
Were the images accurate?
Were there gaps in the material presented? Was more information required? What additional information could have been used?

Fairness: Were the parties dealt with fairly?

Māori: What language was used to describe the Māori interviewees e.g. 'radical'?
Which Māori were chosen?
How were Māori views presented?
How were Māori and *te ao Māori* represented in stills and moving images?
How were the headlines representing Māori presented?
How was technology used to represent Māori in comparison with non-Māori e.g. camera angles?

Timeline:

- Months 1 & 2 Review of existing literature
- Identification of data to be collected and ordered from TV and radio archives
- Qualitative and quantitative mapping of video and audiotapes
- Copying of television data on to audiotapes
- Transcribing, checking of tapes
- Analysis of qualitative and quantitative data from the mapping
- Month 3: Analysis of transcripts using qualitative content analysis
- Month 4: Writing of report
- 1 April 2004: Submission of draft report to BSA
- Mid-April 2004: Discussion of report with BSA
- 1 May 2004: Presentation of final report and verbal reporting

Risk:

TV1 Archives staff have indicated that the turn-around time for the purchase of programmes is weeks rather than days. This will impact on the timeline. In case of any delays, the research team will notify the BSA in a timely manner.

SECTION 2**Background – existing comment and research:**

New Zealand commentators on how Māori are portrayed in the media approach it from frameworks of power, dominance, mono-culturalism and the relationships between Māori and Pākehā.

Ownership of the media in New Zealand plays an important part in the exercise of power according to Norris.ⁱⁱ Mahareyⁱⁱⁱ claims that 'news and current affairs make what is a highly selective and constructed view of the world look real'. He goes on to say that 'it is the appearance of being factual that makes the news so *ideologically* powerful'. The ideology serves to maintain a position of dominance. When dealing with race and ethnic relations, while 'being guided by principles of 'neutrality, impartiality and balance' they look for a range of views.' Invariably this view is the majority view. Maharey suggests that by taking the majority view, 'the media reinforce that view and marginalise other views.' Abel^{iv} describes television

as 'producing an ideology of monoculturalism'. Walker^v claims that 'when events involve Māori and Pākehā it [the media] consistently represents the Pākehā status quo, helping them to maintain their power'. Wilson^{vi} argues that 'the mass media work for and to the society from which they have sprung....'

According to Spoonley^{vii} 'the media's power to 'create' facts and confirm values makes them a significant, if not *the* significant, factor in influencing public opinion. The print, radio and audio-visual media determine how we understand other groups in our society, and will reinforce or contradict the views held by one person or another'. In a study undertaken by McGregor and Comrie^{viii} (1985-1994) using a framework of bad news for or about Māori and good news for or about Māori on television, the news was predominantly bad. On TV One 57% of the stories were bad news [about Māori], while on TV3 good news and bad news stories were evenly spread. By contrast with television on radio's Morning Report the news was predominantly neutral. Mana News featured more equal proportions of bad news, good news and neutral stories. Their bad news were bad news *for* Māori rather than *about* Māori.

Māori, in a counter-hegemonic move analogous to the Kohanga Reo movement in pre-school education, have argued for by-Māori for-Māori radio and television services as a Treaty right. As Walker argues 'Māori have had to develop these parallel institutions [*iwi* radio, Māori television] to counter the monocultural depiction of their reality in mainstream media. Pākehā perceptions of Māori will not change unless there is a radical change in the culture of the mainstream media'.^{ix}

Methodology:

Our proposal is for a retrospective, mixed method^x case-study approach to researching the ways Māori and *te ao Māori* are portrayed in broadcasting. While the RFP states that it is a qualitative project the research team felt strongly that a small quantitative component would add to the rigour and robustness of the study and complement the qualitative data. For example, we will measure how long each person spoke in minutes and seconds. Shuker^{xi} used a mixed method approach in a study on the level of violence on television in New Zealand.

A case study^{xii} method has been chosen because it will allow an in-depth analysis of television and radio programmes and broadcasters. The foreshore and seabed debate was selected for two reasons. First, the issue was highlighted for an identifiable period and it is comparatively easy to identify when this commenced following the publication of the Judgement of the Court of Appeal on 19 June 2003.

Second, there was intense interest from television, radio, Māori, the public and Government. In order to consult Māori 11 *hui* were convened around the country. The final *hui* was at Ngā Whare Waatea Marae, Auckland on 26 September 2003. This study will cover the period from 19 June to 28 September 2003.

Scope:

The subject of this proposal is how Māori and *te ao Māori* are portrayed in mainstream radio and television. This study looks at news, current affairs, and other factual programmes from both public and commercial television and radio broadcasters: Radio New Zealand's National Radio (state owned, non-commercial), TV One (state owned, commercial) and TV3 (a commercial station owned by CanWest Global).

Rationale: The times and programmes listed below reflect peak viewing and listening times of the day. The programmes have been chosen to enable an assessment of mainstream broadcasters, Māori broadcasters in English and in *te reo*, and individual Māori and non-Māori reporters.

We wanted to gather data from commercial radio but commercial radio stations save their material for only one month before it is destroyed.

Television One: Breakfast (news and commentaries) 7 – 8am, 6pm News, Holmes, Face to Face, Sunday, Te Karere, Marae

Television Three: 6pm News (TV3 did not address the foreshore and seabed issue in its current affairs programmes 60 Minutes and 20/20)

Radio: Morning Report (including Mana News) 6.40-7.40 am; Checkpoint 5-6 pm.

Data from news programmes will be collected systematically. However for news and current affairs programmes such as Holmes, Face to Face, Sunday and Checkpoint, only those editions which have addressed the seabed and foreshore stories will be selected. Research has already started to identify the relevant dates.

Sample:

Initially a constructed week approach was considered, however, it soon became obvious that the sample would not yield enough data. The most favoured approach was a complete data set, but the costs involved are very high. Finally a purposeful^{xiii} sample was chosen which would look closely at specific dates. For example, the

two weeks following the Court of Appeal Judgement, and the period when *hui* held around the country. *Hui* were held as follows:

4 September	Whangara Marae, Whangara
5 September	Whakaue Marae, Maketū
9 September	Omaka Marae, Blenheim
11 September	Mataiwhetu Marae, Thames
12 September	Omahu Marae, Hastings
16 September	Kotahitanga Marae, Whangarei (cancelled)
18 September	Rapaki Marae, Christchurch
19 September	Te Rau Aroha, Bluff
23 September	Owae Marae, Waitara
25 September	Pipitea Marae, Wellington
26 September	Ngā Whare Waatea Marae, Auckland

Mapping of audio and video tapes using schedules:

Schedules will be developed to map each item. Mapping involves documenting in detail what is taking place. This process is guided by schedules which ask specific questions. While primarily quantitative there will also be qualitative components. The schedules are developed from the research objectives and questions.

Quantitative measures:

Timing of item (start/ end/ duration - in minutes and seconds)

Placement of item in broadcast news (give topic of previous and following item. First half of news broadcast, last half etc and other placement factors)

Speakers: announcer/ interviewees/ etc. Name/ title or identification or not

Breakdown of content of item: (announcer introduction/ interviewer question/ interviewee response/ voiceover/ voiceover reading text/ sound effects/ picture/ other visuals or sound eg logo or background picture behind announcer, sound effects, music etc)

Non-verbals – body language

Note gender/ iwi/ age/ status- title/ and other features of participants.

Qualitative:

Tone of report: confrontational/ sympathetic/ humorous/ etc or combination of tones

Accuracy: How did the item distinguish between fact, opinion, analysis and comment?

Impartiality: What position did announcer or interviewer take? Is this compatible with reasonable news values, which allow for 'devil's advocate' stance?

Objectivity: Unnecessarily alarming material?

Whose views are represented: Were people of equal *mana* interviewed or approached; were all sides represented - if not was this explained?

Overall assessment: how are Māori and *te ao Māori* portrayed?

Data Analysis:

The qualitative component of the research will draw upon standard procedures of thematic analysis^{xiv} (coding) and discourse analysis^{xv}. The analytic focus of discourse analysis will be on the linguistic devices employed such as rhetorical strategies and interpretative repertoires^{xvi}. In addition the research will identify whether particular worldviews are privileged over others in terms of how the concepts and language related to these worldviews are portrayed. The Advisory Group will have a particularly important role at this interpretative stage by identifying where stereotyping is occurring and where nuances of language are given or denied legitimate expression.

Once the mapping is completed the relevant news items will be copied on to audiotape, transcribed and checked. Themes will be identified from the video and audio transcripts. Comparisons will be made between the different data sets (television and radio programmes, mainstream and Māori *reo* and current affairs television programmes). In addition, the qualitative analysis will attend to the linguistic features deployed by the media commentators, such as the rhetoric and membership category devices used.

Quantitative analysis:

Counts of the different measures listed under 'Objective measures' above, including for example, for timing: proportion of time allocated to Māori and non-Māori speakers. Data will be presented in graphic or table forms as appropriate. It will be possible to make comparisons between different programmes.

Ethics:

A check with the Human Ethics Committee at Victoria University of Wellington indicates that as there will be no interviews with human subjects and the data for this project are in the public domain, ethical approval is not required.

Report:

An interim report is required by 1 April 2004, and a final report by 31 May 2004. The format of the report will be negotiated with the BSA. The research team's preference is to provide a full report including methodology and detailed results as well as a summary report. Plain-language reporting is favoured. A verbal report enabling BSA to hear results and discuss these with the researchers is also proposed.

Advisory Group:

The research team will operate at two levels, an Advisory Group and a team of researchers. The role of the Advisory Group is to ensure that the data are collected, analysed, interpreted and reported according to the objectives of the study. They have been drawn from a range of disciplines and have both the Māori, and Western knowledge and skills to ensure high standards are maintained.

Te Ripowai Higgins, Ngai Tuhoe, Head of School, Te Kawa a Māui; Victoria University of Wellington will chair the Advisory Group. Te Ripowai is currently on the board of Te Mangai Paho, a former trustee on Te Upoko o te Ika Māori radio station and broadcaster.

Dr Roy Shuker, Ass. Professor and Director, Media Studies, Victoria University of Wellington, has a Masters degree in History and PhD in Education. He has researched and written numerous studies about popular culture and the media.

Dr Kevin Dew, Sociologist, Wellington School of Medicine and Health Sciences has extensive expertise and experience in qualitative research.

Steven Price, LLB (1st Class Hons) M.A. (Journalism) lectures at Victoria University of Wellington Law School and is a freelance journalist and commentator specialising in legal and media issues.

Aroaro Tamati, Taranaki, Ngāti Ruanui, Te Whanau a Apanui, B.Ed. (Tchg), Dip. Tchg ECE. Aroaro began her media career in 1980 when she joined Radio NZ. From 1982-87 she was a TVNZ reporter and from 1987-93 worked as a journalist for the Evening Post. In 1995 she returned to television journalism and currently works as a freelance reporter/director for Marae programme.

Peter Adds will represent the researchers on the Advisory Group and will be a conduit between the research team and Advisory Group.

Research Team:

The research team is multi disciplinary, and drawn from the fields of: media studies, Māori studies, law, history, social policy and anthropology. The Advisory Group will oversee the research team.

The researchers are:

Peter Adds, Te Ati Awa, B.A, M.A. (Hons). Senior Lecturer in the School of Māori Studies, Victoria University of Wellington, Peter has a background in anthropology and will lead the research team. Peter has had experience in assessing the portrayal of Māori in the media through previous involvement with the Broadcasting Standards Authority.

Tai Walker, Ngāti Porou, B.A., M.A. (Applied) Social Science Research. Tai has studied social policy and Māori studies and is now employed as a qualitative researcher in the Health Services Research Centre, Victoria University of Wellington. Tai monitored tapes from *iwi* radio stations for Māori language content for 5 years and has worked in the Linguistics Department of Victoria University of Wellington mapping and transcribing tapes for the Māori language Corpus.

Meegan Hall, Ngāti Ranginui, LLB, B.A. Hons. With a background in history and Māori Studies as well as law, Meegan was employed as a researcher with the Iwi Helpline through Māori Studies from 1996-2000.

Dee Winterburn, Ngāti Raukawa, B.A, MComms (merit) Film and technology research. Having studied Film and Theatre, Dee currently tutors in Media Studies at Victoria University of Wellington and is undertaking PhD studies focussing on the portrayal of Māori in Broadcast media. Dee has a background in film and television and recently spent 2 years from 2001-2003 analysing film for programme scriptwriting in Brisbane Australia.

Bernard Kernot, B.A., M.A. is a former senior lecturer in Māori Studies, Te Kawa a Māui, Victoria University of Wellington, and will undertake the literature review. Bernard has studied Māori Studies and anthropology, and has also been involved in research in print media coverage of Māori and minority groups.

Marie Russell, B.A., Dip NZLS, M.A. (Applied) Social Science Research, has experience in researching the media and will assist the research team in mapping techniques and ensuring that quality is maintained with regular checking throughout

the mapping and copying of tapes. Marie works as a qualitative researcher with the Health Services Research Centre, Victoria University of Wellington.

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Appendix 5 - Coding Schedule

Title:									
Date of programme: (weekday/date/month)									
Duration of programme:									
Duration of item as minutes: seconds (eg.3:45; 1:22)									
Timing of item – start-time: (if known)									
Placement of item in programme:									
Context of item:									
People in the item: (give details if known, as follows)									
Anchor/s:	<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th>Name/title</th> <th>Gender</th> <th>Age</th> <th>Ethnicity/Iwi</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	Name/title	Gender	Age	Ethnicity/Iwi				
Name/title	Gender	Age	Ethnicity/Iwi						
Reporter/s: Name / Title / Gender / Age-range / Ethnicity/Iwi / direct feed or phone with pic									

Interviewees: Name / Title / Gender / Age-range / Ethnicity/iwi / direct feed or phone with pic

Breakdown of item of the item content by type and style (and timing?) For example

Visuals (eg logo on screen, moving images, cutaways, stills, maps, diagrams with animation, noddies)	
Audio (eg sound, music, shouting, haka etc)	
moving images, cutaways, stills	
Intro – anchor.	
Intro – reporter –	
interview –	
interview –	
sound effects/ music	
reporter voice-over –	
anchor –	
other...	

Tone/s of item: (eg. reporter – serious / anchor – ironic, resigned / interviewee 1 – informative and conciliatory / interviewee 2: - angry)

<p>Accuracy: Are fact, opinion, analysis and comment inaccurate or misleading?</p>	
<p>Tikanga: did commentary show understanding of tikanga?</p>	
<p>Were participants accurately identified?</p>	
<p>Were the titles of speakers onscreen accurate?</p>	
<p>Any extravagant claims/ statements?</p>	
<p>Objectivity / impartiality: Does interviewer take sides? How?</p>	
<p>Fairness: Did interviewees appear to know in advance what the item was to be about, what their contribution would be and why? Ambushed?</p>	
<p>Balance: was anyone that was criticised in any way given a reasonable chance to respond?</p>	

Accord / or not between visual images and words

Language: (from transcript and tape)

Pronunciation: Māori names, place names, phrases (scaled?)

Comment on usage of Te Reo by any speakers in the item, with examples

Note particular use of English words/phrases in description/ factual (eg. fracas/ debacle demonstration/ protest/ riot/ radical)

Provide examples of:

Universalization

Narrativization

Displacement

Euphemization

Trope	
Synecdoche	
Metonymy	
Metaphor	
Unification	
Fragmentation	
Reification	
Naturalization	
Externalization	
Nominalization	
Passivization	
Visuals: Comment on body language, camera angle, interviewee/s' gaze (to camera/ to side etc).	

Appendix 6 - Speaking Times – Te Karere

Key

(A) = anchor

(R) = reporter

Time = length of speaking time in seconds

Spoke = number of times each person spoke

NB: The total item length and the length of time for which people spoke sometimes differ. This is because there is sometimes a gap between one speaker finishing and the next beginning to speak. All this information was transferred to separate tables for each programme.

	CD	Te Karere Staff	Time	Spoke	Māori Manuhiri	Time	Spoke
	CD 1/1	Whetu McCorkindale (A)	48	1		58	3
Total		Dean Nathan (R)	82	3	Maitu Wiki		
Length		End: 3:33	130	189 sec		58	
			Total: 3:09				
	CD 1/2	Whetu McCorkindale (A)	45	6	Archie Talaroa	193	5
Total		End: 7:42	45	248 sec		193	
Length			Total: 4:08				
	CD 1/3	Dean Nathan (A)	22	1	Dover Samuels	32	1
Total		Joe Glen (R)	72	2	Bill Gudgeon	19	1
Length		End: 10:16	94	152 sec		51	
			Total: 2:32				
	CD1/4	Dean Nathan (A)	23	1	Manu Paul	58	3
Total		Hinerangi Goodman (R)	64	3			
Length		End: 12:48	87	151 sec		58	
			Total: 2:31				

	CD 1/5	Dean Nathan (A)	25	1	Parekura Horomia	32	2
		Joe Glen(R)	71	2	Dover Samuels	30	2
					Nanata Mahuta	32	2
					Mahara Okeroa	24	2
			96		Mita Ririmu	15	
Total Length	Start: 13.07	End: 17.06	Total: 3.59	239 sec		133	
	CD 1/6	Dean Nathan (A)	53	7	Nanata Mahuta	119	5
			53			119	
Total Length	Start: 17.07	End: 20.12	Total: 2.05	125 sec			
	CD1/7	Dean Nathan (A)	23	1	Arapeta Tahana	70	3
		Marin Rakuraku (R)	43	4			
			66			70	
Total Length	Start: 20.13	End: 22.45	Total: 2.32	152 sec			
	CD 1/8	Scotty Morrison (A)	19	1	Rima Eruera	18	1
		Hirini Henare (R)	35	4	Patau Te Pahi	18	1
					Tame Mare	31	2
Total Length	Start: 22.49	End: 25.10	Total: 2.11	131 sec		67	
	CD 1/9	Scotty Morrison (A)	17	1	Annette Sykes	65	3
		Dean Nathan (R)	53	4			
			70			65	
Total Length	Start: 25.11	End: 27.29	Total: 2.18	138 sec			
	CD 1/10	Scotty Morrison (A)	21	1	Rangini Walker	81	4
		Dean Nathan (R)	50	5			
			71			81	
Total Length	Start: 27.33	End: 30.14	Total: 2.41	161 sec			

	CD 1/11	Scotly Morrison (A)	14	1	Joe Cooper	77	3
Total		Rereata Makha (R)	43	4			
Length	Start: 30.16	End: 32.31	Total: 2.15	135 sec		77	
	CD 1/12	Scotly Morrison (A)	14	1	Matiu Rei	66	2
Total		Joe Glen (R)	66	3			
Length	Start: 32.56	End: 35.43	Total: 2.47	167 sec		66	
	CD 1/13	Scotly Morrison (A)	40	5			
Total		Joe Glen (R)	81	5			
Length	Start: 35.44	End: 37.51	Total: 2.07	127 sec			
	CD1/14	Scotly Morrison (A)	23	1	Dover Samuels	37	2
Total		Dean Nathan (R)	45	4	Nanala Mahuta	44	2
Length	Start: 37.54	End: 40.31	Total: 2.37	157 sec		81	
	CD 1/15	Scotly Morrison (A)	26	1			
Total		Rereata Makha (R)	91	1			
Length	Start: 40.33	End: 42.31	Total: 1.58	118 sec			
	CD 1/16	Scotly Morrison (A)	19	1			
Total		Rereata Makha (R)	88	1			
Length	Start: 42.31	End: 44.18	Total: 1.47	107 sec			
	CD 1/17	Scotly Morrison (A)	26	1	David Taipari	6	2
Total		Dean Nathan (R)	85	3			
Length	Start: 44.19	End: 46.30	Total: 2.11	131 sec		6	

	CD 2/1	Scotty Morrison (A)	18	1	Kaumātua	36	2
		Dean Nathan (R)	57	4	Rikirihi Rakena	17	1
Total			75		Nanaia Mahuta	21	1
Length	Start: 0.00	End: 2.39	Total: 2.39	159 sec		74	
	CD 2/2	Scotty Morrison (A)	21	1	Huirangi Waikerepuru	59	3
		Hinerangi Goodman (R)	52	4			
Total			73			59	
Length	Start: 2.56	End: 5.15	Total: 2.19	139 sec			
	CD 2/3	Scotty Morrison (A)	17	1	Tame Kingi	27	2
		Dean Nathan (R)	48	6	Nanaia Mahuta	50	3
Total			65			77	
Length	Start: 5.19	End: 7.53	Total: 2.34	154 sec			
	CD 2/4	Scotty Morrison (A)	21	1	Hone Uru	22	2
		Hirini Henare (R)	38	6	Pita Apiata	29	2
Total			59		Witi Ropiha	18	1
Length	Start: 7.51	End: 10.20	Total: 2.29	149 sec		69	
	CD 2/5	Scotty Morrison (A)	35	5			
		Joe Glen (R)	73	4			
Total			108				
Length	Start: 10.22	End: 12.27	Total: 2.05	125 sec			
	CD 2/6	Dean Nathan (A)	17	1	Nuku Aldridge	25	2
		Hirini Henare (R)	51	5	Shane Jones	17	1
Total					Parekura Horomia	11	1
Length					Makere Mutu	15	1
					Nuku Aldridge	25	2
Total			68			93	
Length	Start: 12.45	End: 15.26	Total: 2.51	171 sec			

	CD 2/7	Scotty Morrison (A)	18	1	Tahu Potiki	20	1
Total		Joe Glen (R)	88	3	Tutekawa Wylie	42	2
Length	Start: 15.30	End: 18.25	106	175 sec		62	
	CD 2/8	Scotty Morrison (A)	12	1	Keremata Te Huriwaka	40	2
Total		Rereata Makihia (R)	78	3		40	
Length	Start: 18.26	End: 20.41	90	135 sec			
	CD 2/9	Scotty Morrison (A)	12	1	Mahara Okeroa	26	1
Total		Joe Glen (R)	81	2	Tutekawa Wylie	36	1
Length	Start: 20.47	End: 23.26	93	159 sec		62	
	CD 2/10	Scotty Morrison (A)	14	1	Kaumātua	6	1
Total		Hirini Henare (R)	31	4	Heiki Moses	10	1
Length	Start: 23.30	End: 26.07	45	157 sec	Dover Samuels	41	2
	CD 2/11	Scotty Morrison (A)	35	1	Huirangi Waikerepuru	37	2
Total		Hinerangi Goodman (R)	62	4	Tutekawa Wylie	23	1
Length	Start: 26.16	End: 28.59	97	163 sec		60	
	CD 2/12	Scotty Morrison (A)	47	5			
Total		Rereata Makihia (R)	127	5			
Length	Start: 29.00	End: 32.12	174	192 sec			
	CD 2/13	Scotty Morrison (A)	26	1	Temple Isaacs	71	3
Total		Dean Nathan (R)	48	4			
Length	Start: 32.13	End: 34.44	74	151 sec		71	

Appendix 7 - Speaking Times – Marae

Key

(A) = anchor

(R) = reporter

Time = length of speaking time in seconds

Spoke = number of times each person spoke

CD	Marae Staff	Time	Māori Manuhiri	Time	Spoke	Pakehā Guests	Time	Spoke
CD1/1 29/06/03 Total Length	Shane Taurima (A)	201	John McEnteer	264	14			
	Victor Allen	74	John Tamihere	379	17			
	Start: 0:00	275 End: 17:25	Total: 17:25 min	643 1045 sec				
CD1/2 13/07/03 Total Length	Shane Taurima (A)	272	John McEnteer	302	19	Stephen Franks	200	11
		272	Mau Solomon	285	11			
	Start: 18:26	End: 36:17	Total: 17:51 min	587 1071 sec			200	
CD2/1 03/08/03 Total Length	Shane Taurima (A)	101	Tau Henare	245	7			
		101	Heti Tawhitiirangi	154	7			
	Start: 2:49	End: 10:57	Total: 8:08 min	399 496 sec				
CD2/2 10/08/03 Total Length	Shane Taurima (A)	288	Mattui Rei	441	12			
	Victor Allen	202	Ken Mason	254	11			
	Start: 17:00	End: 37:04	Total: 20:04 min	695 1204 sec				
CD3/1 17/08/03 Total Length	Shane Taurima (A)	308				Helen Clark	748	28
	Victor Allen	162						
	Start: 0:22	End: 20:46	Total: 20:24 min	470 1204 sec			748	

CD3/2	Shane Taurima (A)	160						Peter Dunne	270	10
31/08/03	Victor Allen	117						Jeanette Filzsimons	195	5
Total		277							465	
Length	Start: 21:28	End: 33:21	Total: 11:53 min						713 sec	
CD3/3	Shane Taurima (A)	100					10			
31/08/03										
Total		100								
Length	Start: 33:40	End: 39:37	Total: 5:57 min						357 sec	
CD4/1	Shane Taurima (A)	107					12	Judy Bailey	9	1
07/09/03	Victor Allen	11	John Tamihere	219			9	One News	10	1
			Tutekawa Wylie	216			1	Songs	49	3
			Atareta Poananga	7			2			
			Tini Molyneux	31			1			
			Te Aue Davis	30			1			
			Pia Kerr	4			1			
			Joe Mason	6			1			
Total		118	Total: 12:12 min	513					68	
Length	Start: 2:36	End: 15:14	Total: 7:32 sec							
CD4/2	Shane Taurima (A)	96					7			
07/09/03			Gideon Porter	202						
Total		96		202						
Length	Start: 15:20	End: 20:22	Total: 5:02 min	302 sec						
CD4/3	Shane Taurima (A)	227					10	Ruth Berry	283	8
28/09/03			Gideon Porter	383			8			
Total		227	Rereata Makihia	205						3 min
Length	Start: 22:03	End: 40:26	Total: 18:23 min	1103 sec						

Appendix 8 - Speaking Times – One News

Key

(A) = anchor

(R) = reporter

Time = length of speaking time in seconds

Spoke = number of times each person spoke

CD	One News Staff	Time	Spoke	Māori Interviewees	Time	Spoke	Pākehā Interviewees	Time	Spoke
CD1/1	Richard Long (A)	17	1	Paul Morgan	9	1	Mark Baxter	9	1
20/06/03	Pippa Wetzell (R)	43	4				Alan Culverwelle	21	1
							Tom Harrison	7	1
							Helen Clark	12	1
Total		60			9			49	
Length	Start: 00:10	End: 02:14		Total: 02:04 min	124 sec				118
CD1/2	Simon Dallow (A)	13	1	Kathy Ertel	20	2			
21/06/03	Pippa Wetzell (R)	47	4	John McEnteer	9	1			
		60			29				89
Total					93 sec				
Length	Start: 02:16	End: 03:49		Total: 01:33 min					
CD1/3	Richard Long (A)	31	4	Mau Solomon	28	2	Margaret Wilson	22	2
23/06/03	Mark Sainsbury (R)	92	7						
		123			28			22	
Total					182 sec				173
Length	Start: 03:50	End: 06:52		Total: 03:02 min					
CD1/4	Judy Bailey (A)	19	1	John McEnteer	17	2	Helen Clark	2	2
24/06/03	Mark Sainsbury (R)	45	7	John Mitchell	6	1	Unidentified Pākehā male reporter	3	1
				Dover Samuels	16	2			
				Parekura Horomia	5	1			
Total		64			44			5	
Length	Start: 06:53	End: 08:56		Total: 02:03 min	123 sec				113

CD1/5	Richard Long (A)	27	4	Margaret Mutu	5	1				
25/06/03	Mark Sainsbury (R)	138	8	Tahu Poliki	7	1				
				Tairiana Turia	3	1				
				Parekura Horomia	6	2				
				Graham Latimer	10	1				
Total		165			31	0				196
Length	Start: 08:58	End: 12:24			Total: 03:26 min					

CD1/6	Judy Bailey (A)	15	1	Peter Love	26	3		Helen Clark	16	1
26/06/03	Mark Sainsbury (R)	56	6					Rodney Hide	2	2
								Jonathan Hunt	2	2
Total		71			26				20	
Length	Start: 12:26	End: 14:27			Total: 02:01 min					117

CD1/7	Judy Bailey (A)	25	1							
27/06/03										
Total		25			0				0	
Length	Start: 14:29	End: 14:54			Total: 00:25 min					25

CD1/8	Neil Waka (A)	30	2	Ken Mair	16	1				
30/06/03				Parekura Horomia	11	1				
Total		30			27				0	
Length	Start: 14:56	End: 15:56			Total: 01:00 min					57

CD1/9	Judy Bailey (A)	18	1	Ken Mair	13	3		Michael Cullen	5	1
01/07/03	Garth Bray (R)	50	6	Parekura Horomia	8	1				
				Tahu Poliki	7	2				
Total		68			28				5	
Length	Start: 15:58	End: 17:41			Total: 01:43 min					101

CD1/10	Judy Bailey (A)	35	4	Atareta Ponanga	6	1		Trevor Mallard	7	1
04/09/03	Garth Bray (R)	44	5	Parekura Horomia	2	1				
	Tini Molyneux (R)	67	2	Api Mahuka	25	2				
Total		146			33				7	
Length	Start: 17:43	End: 20:59			Total: 03:16 min					186

CD1/11	Simon Dallow (A)	16	1	Pia Kerr	5	1	Trevor Mallard	6	1
04/09/03	Tini Molyneux (R)	53	5	Rikirangi Gage	5	1			
				Joe Mason	6	1			
				Wira Gardiner	4	1			
Total		69			20			6	95
Length	Start: 21:01	End: 22:49		Total: 01:48 min	108 sec				
CD1/12	Simon Dallow (A)	12	1	Mattiu Rei	12	1	Michael Cullen	11	1
09/09/03	Garth Bray (R)	62	4	Dion Paul	6	1			
		74			18				
Total					108 sec			11	103
Length	Start: 22:51	End: 24:39		Total: 01:48 min	108 sec				
CD1/13	Judy Bailey (A)	15	1	Toko Renata	4	1	Michael Cullen	14	2
11/09/03	Tini Molyneux (R)	56	5	John McEnteer	10	1			
		71			14			14	99
Total					104 sec				
Length	Start: 24:41	End: 26:25		Total: 01:44 min	104 sec				
CD1/15	Richard Long (A)	25	1	Tiiewhai Harawira	9	1	Michael Cullen	22	2
16/09/03	Tini Molyneux (R)	45	7	Maire Tautiri	11	1			
				Shane Jones	6	1			
				Deidre Nehua	6	1			
				Margaret Mutu	5	1			
Total		70			37			22	129
Length	Start: 29:49	End: 32:06		Total: 02:17 min	137 sec				
CD1/16	Richard Long (A)	20	2	Unidentified Māori female kaikaranga	3	1	Bill English	9	1
18/09/03	Tini Molyneux (R)	40	5	Mark Solomon	22	2	Jenny Shipley	8	1
							Michael Cullen	11	1
Total		60			25			28	113
Length	Start: 32:08	End: 34:09		Total: 02:01 min	121 sec				

CD1/17	Richard Long (A)	33	4	Tariana Turia	7	1	Trevor Mallard	8	1
23/09/03	Garth Bray (R)	53	5	Unidentified Māori male	4	1	Unidentified Pākehā male	9	1
	Tini Molyneux (R)	49	2	Unidentified Māori female marae elder	6	2			
				Unidentified Māori female protester	5	1			
				Unidentified Māori male protester	1	1			
Total Length	Start: 34:11	135 End: 37:15		Total: 03:04 min	23 184 sec			17	175

CD1/18	Richard Long (A)	17	2	Willie Jackson	13	1			
24/09/03	Tini Molyneux (R)	40	2	John Tamihere	7	1			
Total Length	Start: 37:20	57 End: 38:45		Total: 01:25 min	20 85 sec			0	77

CD1/19	Richard Long (A)	17	1	Unidentified Māori male	7	1			
25/09/03	Tini Molyneux (R)	55	4	Morrie Love	7	1			
				John Mitchell	8	1			
				Parekura Horomia	5	1			
Total Length	Start: 38:47	72 End: 40:29		Total: 01:42 min	27 102 sec			0	99

CD1/20	Alison Mau (A)	15	1	Margaret Mutu	12	2	Bill English	7	1
26/09/03	Tini Molyneux (R)	35	5	June Jackson	8	1			
				John Tamihere	9	1			
				Unidentified Māori male	6	1			
				Metira Turei	7	1			
Total Length	Start: 40:31	50 End: 42:18		Total: 01:47 min	42 107 sec			7	99

Appendix 9 - Speaking Times – 3 News

Key

(A) = anchor

(R) = reporter

Time = length of speaking time in seconds

Spoke = number of times each person spoke

CD	3 News Staff	Time	Spoke	Māori Interviewees	Time	Spoke	Pākehā Interviewees	Time	Spoke
CD2/1	Carol Hirschfeld (A)	31	4	Dover Samuels	8	2	Unidentified Pākehā male reporter	3	1
24/06/03	Stephen Parker (R)	127	8	Winston Peters	5	3	Helen Clark	19	2
							Unidentified Pākehā female reporter	1	1
							Jonathan Hunt	6	4
							Margaret Wilson	11	1
Total		158			13			40	
Length	Start: 0:00	End: 03:45		Total: 03:45 min	225 sec				211
CD2/2	John Campbell (A)	15	1	John Mitchell	23	2			
24/06/03	Mereana Hond (R)	34	6	Archie Taiaroa	12	1			
				Mauī Solomon	30	2			
				Ranginui Walker	4	1			
Total		49			69			0	
Length	Start: 03:45	End: 05:51		Total: 02:06 min	126 sec				118
CD2/3	Carol Hirschfeld (A)	17	1	Parekura Horomia	3	1	Helen Clark	16	1
25/06/03	Mereana Hond (R)	74	5	Mauī Solomon	13	1			
				Graham Lallimer	11	1			
Total		91			27			16	
Length	Start: 05:52	End: 08:11		Total: 02:19 min	139 sec				134



CD2/4	John Campbell (A)	18	1	Metira Turei	7	1	Helen Clark	15	2
26/06/03	Stephen Parker (R)	72	4				Bill English	10	1
Total		90			7			25	
Length	Start: 08:12	End: 10:21		Total: 02:09 min	129 sec				122

CD2/5	Carol Hirschfeld (A)	9	1				Tom Harrison	20	1
27/06/03	Ingrid Hipkiss (R)	74	4				Unidentified Pākehā male	8	1
Total		83			0		Unidentified Pākehā female	8	1
Length	Start: 10:21	End: 12:26		Total: 02:05 min	125 sec			36	119

CD2/6	John Campbell (A)	14	1	Miria Pomare	25	2			
27/06/03	Mereana Hond (R)	54	4	Matiu Rei	14	1			
Total		68			39				107
Length	Start: 12:27	End: 14:20		Total: 01:53 min	113 sec				

CD2/7	Carol Hirschfeld (A)	21	1	Tariana Turia	12	1	Michael Cullen	4	1
01/07/03	Ingrid Hipkiss (R)	43	6	Parekura Horomia	9	2	Unidentified Pākehā male reporter	4	1
Total		64		Ken Mair	4	1	Helen Clark	2	1
Length	Start: 14:21	End: 16:12		Total: 01:51 min	25		Unidentified Pākehā male reporter	2	1
					111 sec			12	101

CD2/8	Carol Hirschfeld (A)	42	3	Api Mahuika	18	2	Trevor Mallard	4	1
04/09/03	Stephen Parker (R)	98	6	Parekura Horomia	8	1			
Total		140			26			4	
Length	Start: 16:14	End: 19:12		Total: 02:58 min	178 sec				170

CD2/9	John Campbell (A)	16	1	Hemi Leach	19	2			
04/09/03	Mereana Hond (R)	54	3						
Total		70			19				89
Length	Start: 19:13	End: 20:46		Total: 01:33 min	93 sec				

CD2/10	Carol Hirschfeld (A)	11	1	Unidentified Māori protesters	2	1	Margaret Wilson	3	1	
05/09/03	Duncan Garner (R)	57	6	Unidentified Māori male protester	7	1	Trevor Mallard	9	1	
Total				Unidentified Māori female protester	6	1				
Total		68		Total: 01:49 min	25			12		105
Length:	Start: 20:47	End: 22:36			109 sec					
CD2/11	Carol Hirschfeld (A)	25	4	John Mitchell	14	2	Michael Cullen	11	2	
09/09/03	Stephen Parker (R)	132	6							
Total		157			14			11		182
Length:	Start: 22:37	End: 25:50		Total: 03:13 min	183 sec					
CD2/12	Carol Hirschfeld (A)	18	1	Unidentified Māori female protesters	5	1	Michael Cullen	5	1	
16/09/03	Ingrid Hipkiss (R)	61	5	Raumoa Kawiti	7	1				
				Dover Samuels	10	1				
				Deidre Nehua	8	1				
				Shane Jones	8	1				
Total		79			38			5		122
Length:	Start: 25:51	End: 27:58		Total: 02:07 min	127 sec					
CD2/13	John Campbell (A)	41	1	Mark Solomon	17	2	Michael Cullen	9	1	
18/09/03	Mereana Hond (R)	66	5				Bill English	6	1	
Total		107			17			15		139
Length:	Start: 27:59	End: 30:26		Total: 02:27 min	147 sec					
CD2/14	John Campbell (A)	15	1	Te Pahungu Davis	3	1				
23/09/03	Mereana Hond (R)	59	4	Tariana Turia	20	2				
				John Tamihere	7	1				
Total		74			30					104
Length:	Start: 30:27	End: 32:20		Total: 01:53 min	113 sec					

CD2/15	Carol Hirschfeld (A)	22	2	June Jackson	8	1			
26/09/03	Mereana Hond (R)	73	4	John Tamihere	25	3			
Total		95			33				128
Length	Start: 32:21	End: 34:32		Total: 02:11 min	131 sec				

Appendix 10 - Speaking Times – Holmes

Key

(A) = anchor

(R) = reporter

Time = length of speaking time in seconds

Spoke = number of times each person spoke

CD	Holmes Staff	Time	Spoke	Māori Interviewees	Time	Spoke	Pākehā Interviewees	Time	Spoke
CD3/1	Susan Wood (A)	138	20	Mauri Solomon	89	4	Nick Smith	153	6
20/06/03		138		John McEnteer	160	11		153	
Total				Total: 00:36	249				540
Length	Start: 00:36	End: 00:48		Total: 00:12 min	12 sec				
Length	Start: 01:17	End: 10:24		Total: 09:07 min	547 sec				

Appendix 11 - Speaking Times – Breakfast

Key

(A) = anchor

(R) = reporter

Time = length of speaking time in seconds

Spoke = number of times each person spoke

CD	Breakfast Staff	Time	Spoke	Māori Interviewees	Time	Spoke	Pākehā Interviewees	Time	Spoke
CD4/1	Miriama Kamo (A)	3	1						
20/06/03	Eric Young (A)	15	1						
Total		18		Total: 00:18 min	18 sec				18
Length	Start: 00:20	End: 00:38							

CD4/2	Bernadine Oliver-Kerby (A)	26	2	Shane Jones	10	1	Nick Smith	6	1
20/06/03									
Total		26		Total: 00:44 min	10			6	
Length	Start: 01:00	End: 01:44			44 sec				42
CD4/3	Eric Young (A)	87	13	Shane Jones	184	6	Callum McCallum	74	6
20/06/03									
Total		87		Total: 05:56 min	184			74	
Length	Start: 01:53	End: 07:49			356 sec				345
CD4/4	Bernadine Oliver-Kerby (A)	34	2	Shane Jones	26	1			
20/06/03									
Total		34		Total: 01:01 min	26				
Length	Start: 08:17	End: 09:18			61 sec				60
CD4/5	Bernadine Oliver-Kerby (A)	33	2	Mauji Solomon	17	1			
24/06/03									
Total		33		Total: 00:52 min	17				
Length	Start: 09:21	End: 10:13			52 sec				50
CD4/6	Mike Hosking (A)	78	12				Tom Bennion	231	10
24/06/03	Kate Hawkesby (A)	7	1						
Total		85		Total: 05:23 min				231	
Length	Start: 10:19	End: 15:42			323 sec				316
CD4/7	Bernadine Oliver-Kerby (A)	16	1	John McEnteer	5	1			
25/06/03	Garth Bray (R)	50	4	John Mitchell	5	1			
Total		66		John Tamihere	8	1			
Length	Start: 15:44	End: 17:08		Total: 01:24 min	18				
					84 sec				84
CD4/8	Mike Hosking (A)	61	6						
25/06/03	Mark Sainsbury (R)	205	5						
Total		266		Total: 04:28 min					
Length	Start: 17:14	End: 21:42			268 sec				266

CD5/4	Mike Hosking (A)	93	20	John Tamihere	144	11			
26/09/03	Willie Jackson			Willie Jackson	128	16			
Total		93			272		0		365
Length	Start: 18:55	End: 25:22		Total: 06:27 min	387 sec				

Appendix 12 - Radio New Zealand Morning Report and Checkpoint

Table 12-1 Morning Report: Number of people interviewed per item										Table 12-2 Checkpoint: Number of people interviewed per item				
No. of people interviewed	Mana News	News items	Stories	Headlines	Total	%	No. of people interviewed	Mana News	News items	Stories	Headlines	Total	%	
1	10	6	2		18	38	1	5	4	4		13	25	
2	2		2	7	11	41	2	1		4	1	5	10	
3			3		3	6	3			3		3	6	
4			3		3	6	4			4		4	8	
Total	12	17	11	7	47	100	Total	6	25	19	1	51	100	



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