

National Issues — Alternatives to anti-Māori themes in the news media

Kupu Taea

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This is a draft document written by Kupu Taea: Media and te Tiriti Project, a research group based at Te Rōpu Whāriki, Massey University, Auckland and funded by the Health Research Council of New Zealand.

It identifies and describes themes and frameworks about Māori and Pākehā in contemporary news items, which use and build on ideas from the earliest days of colonisation. These themes help make Pākehā control of institutions, resources, practices and culture seem right and natural, and position Māori practices and interests as marginal or a problem.

This is a work in progress and feedback is welcome; contact Angela Moewaka Barnes (angelab@adhb.govt.nz) or Tim McCreanor (phone 09 3666 136 or email t.n.mccreanor@massey.ac.nz).

Media construction of Pākehā as the norm

There are no themes in news media about Pākehā as a group. This is because Pākehā are routinely depicted as if they are the nation. They are constructed as the unmarked norm, the natural, ordinary community against which all other ethnic groups are measured.

The naming of other ways of thinking and being, for example 'sovereignty activists', emphasises that this is a particular point of view and alternatives are possible. Only the culture and point of view that is not named appears to have no alternative, and remains natural and unquestioned.

Cues

The public, taxpayers, New Zealanders, Kiwis, us, we, our, the nation, Pacific's triple star; Māori as 'they' or 'them'.

Examples

- "Most of us know it as Lake Rotorua, but to many local Māori it is Te Rotorua nui a Kahumatamomoe." *Daily Post*, 20 October, 2004.
- "Hone Harawira and the Māori party: what have we got to fear?" *Metro* cover, November 2004.
- "They're not rugby heroes, not gang members. They're the fast growing Māori middle class."

Prepare to adjust your stereotypes", *North & South* cover, June 2008.

Assumptions

- Media audiences are Pākehā, or at least non-Māori.
- Pākehā have normal, ordinary and superior ways of doing things
- Pākehā have Culture (painting, opera, classical music, ballet and so on); ethnic minorities have culture - that is, strange or exotic ways of doing things.
- The Pākehā way of life is the best and what all other groups should aspire to.

Effects

- Pākehā have great difficulty understanding what Pākehā culture actually is.
- Undermines the Treaty; makes a Treaty-based relationship very difficult.
- Māori are continually compared with their colonisers, with no acknowledgement of the structural advantages colonisation brings.
- Positions Māori institutions and practices as abnormal in their own country.
- Triggers defensive reactions in Pākehā to challenges about Pākehā power and control.
- Increases opposition to Pākehā identifying as an ethnic group; makes non-ethnic labels such as 'New Zealander' more likely.

Alternative frames

- Pākehā are one New Zealand culture among many.
- Acknowledge Pākehā ethnicity as also different, not normal or universal.
- Pākehā culture is a regional variant of Western culture, which is a polyglot of influences, elements and traditions
- Identify Pākehā MPs, Pākehā spokesperson, Pākehā priorities as well as Māori MPs, Māori spokesperson, Māori priorities.

Themes about Māori

The first three themes - 'One People', 'Rights' and 'Māori Privilege'" - arose from struggles about class, national identity and democracy in 18th and 19th century Europe. Together these three themes represent New Zealand as a modern, liberal, social democracy to New Zealanders, while also closing off alternative paths to that goal.

Most of the other themes contribute to representing Māori as a troublesome minority overly concerned with the past, who could do better.

1. 'One people'

New Zealanders are described as a single people who should all be treated the same.

Cues

Kiwi/s, New Zealander/s, one people, united, unity, equal treatment, level playing field, time we moved on, we are a multicultural society, we are all immigrants, one law for all, when in Rome.

Examples

- "National...was still promoting the view that all New Zealanders, irrespective of race, should be treated equally by the law." Don Brash quoted in the *Gisborne Herald*, September 10, 2004.
- "We want to have all New Zealanders on the general roll." John Key quoted in the *Wairarapa Times-Age*, February 3, 2007.
- "Our laws hold that every New Zealander, irrespective of ethnic or cultural identity, enjoys equality in citizenship." M. Cabiling, *New Zealand Herald* column, April 24, 2009.

Assumptions

- Equality means treating everyone the same.
- Cultural or racial differences are divisive, not real or do not matter.
- Indigenous status and the Treaty are irrelevant.
- The Pākehā way of life is the best, normal, and what everyone else should aspire to.
- What is good for Pākehā New Zealanders is good for everyone.
- Majority rule is the only fair and just way to make decisions (unless Pākehā don't have the numbers, as in the creation of the Māori seats in 1867).

Effects

- Makes Pākehā ways of doing things seem natural and normal
- Denies cultural differences
- Removes ethnicity from the discussion
- Undermines the Treaty
- Ensures Pākehā control of most important decisions.

Alternative frames

- Tangata whenua aspirations and the Treaty relationship guide our development.
- Equitable outcomes may require treating people differently.
- We can have unity in diversity.
- Pākehā is one New Zealand cultural group among many.
- There are all kinds of ways of being a New Zealander.

2. 'Rights'

People are portrayed as if they are or should be entitled to do what they want provided they do not infringe on the rights of others.

Cues

Rights, democracy, equality, level playing field, one law for all, property rights.

Examples

- "In a free society, individuals have the right to form groups or combinations for any lawful purpose." M. Cabiling, *New Zealand Herald* column, April 24, 2009.
- "Separate seats based on race are the opposite of equality" P. Goldsmith, *New Zealand Herald* column, April 2009.
- "Māori have a special place in New Zealand, but that specialness should not be allowed to undermine the sanctity of the simple equality of all New Zealanders living together." P. Goldsmith, *New Zealand Herald* column, April 2009.

Assumptions

- Rights belong to individuals.
- Rights differ in importance.
- Rights compete or conflict.
- Rights are limited by the rights of others.
- Rights are expressed in legal practice and can be enforced by law.

Effects

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Alternative frames

- Rights are collective.
- Rights can be negotiated.
- Māori rights have their basis in Māori sovereignty and values.
- Treaty rights apply to both Māori and non-Māori in different ways.
- Tino rangatiratanga delineates the rights of Māori.
- Kawanatanga provides the rights of Pākehā.

3. 'Māori privilege'

Māori are portrayed as having rights or benefits denied most others; for example unfair access to diverse funding sources and support for projects that do not deserve it, in a way that is unfair and racist. Māori are said to have been reimbursed generously in Treaty settlements and gained enough resources.

Cues

Special treatment, Treaty gravy train, Treaty/grievance industry, taxpayer funds, it never stops, Māori +; for example, Parliamentary seats, All Blacks, housing, Treaty settlements, claims, admission schemes.

Examples

- "'Iwi tax' Tribe sets lakebed fishing levy" *Dominion Post*, March 6 2009.

- “Māori seats on borrowed time” *Manawatu Standard*, February 7 2007.
- “Māori interests...will effectively be handed the equivalent sea space for 240 new marine farms - for nothing.” *Independent*, 25 August, 2004.
- “Spirituality or special treatment?” *New Zealand Herald* headline, October 12, 2004.
- “Māori receive special treatment across a broad range of areas. Education is one I know factually. I suspect it's in a lot of other areas but I don't have evidence. There's Te Puni Kokiri and agencies like that designed to benefit Māori but there's no special Pākehā equivalent set up.” *Male*, 47, painter, letter to the *New Zealand Herald*, January 22, 2004.

Assumptions

- Colonisation was in the past and no longer has a negative impact on Māori.
- Everyone should have equal rights and should be treated the same.
- Society's structures and institutions benefit everyone equally.
- Indigenous status and the Treaty are irrelevant.
- Fairness is a Kiwi value; Kiwis dislike privilege.

Effects

- Masks the unfair and unequal effects of society's structures and institutions.
- Deflects attention away from Pākehā control of wealth and politics.
- Creates resistance to restitution for past injustices and the use of public money for Māori programmes.
- Takes arrangements like the Māori parliamentary seats out of their historical context as a way of preventing equitable Māori representation in Parliament; instead they are presented as an unjust privilege of Māori.
- Makes analysing the structures that reproduce inequality very difficult.

Alternative frames

- Explore Pākehā power in the area under discussion.
- Acknowledge the role of tangata whenua and the Treaty relationship.
- Māori cannot simultaneously be the beneficiaries of special treatment and suffering persistent social disadvantage (but see “Māori culture’ and ‘Māori inheritance’).
- Treaty settlements have returned less than one percent of the resources taken during colonisation (Margaret Mutu, *Recovering Fagin's Ill-gotten Gains: Settling Ngāti Kahu's Treaty of Waitangi Claims against the Crown*, in *Waitangi Revisited: Perspectives on the Treaty of Waitangi*, edited by Michael Belgrave, Merata Kawharu, and David Williams. Oxford University Press, 2004).

- List some of the privileges Pākehā have received from colonisation:
 - Able to buy or lease Māori land cheaply.
 - Able to learn and speak in their language in school.
 - Have their vote worth more after the creation of the Māori seats.
 - Able to be paid the full unemployment benefit and old age pension from their introduction.
 - Able to get Government loans and finance for land development.
 - Able to use health, justice and social services geared to their cultural values.
 - Having their culture and values reflected in the main institutions, practices and aspirations of society.

4. ‘Good Māori/Bad Māori’

Māori who are seen as happy with their lot, ‘fitting in’ or achieving in settler society are described as good, while Māori who resist, seek restitution, demand recognition or do not achieve are bad. The same person or group can be described as ‘good’ or ‘bad’ depending on the speaker's needs and the audience. The theme works most flexibly when the user does not specify who or how many are ‘bad Māori’; they can then dismiss protesters as a minority and estranged from their people.

Cues

‘Good’: law-abiding, polite, happy, rural, older, hard-working, dignified, co-operative, punctual, clean and tidy.

‘Bad’: criminal, rude, complaining, poor, unhealthy, underachieving, welfare-dependent, protesting, dirty, violent, aggressive, lazy, uneducated, primitive, ignorant, greedy, dishonest, urban, young, demanding.

Examples

- “Two protestors who tried to make their point were quickly escorted out of the Whare by Māori wardens...” *Hawkes Bay Today*, February 6 2007.
- “Hundreds of protestors converged on Waitangi to voice their grievances. No sign of anger and violence of previous years...” *One News*, February 6 2007.
- “The average colonist regards a Mongolian with repulsion, a Negro with contempt, and looks on an Australian Black as very near to a wild beast; but he likes the Māori, and is sorry that they are dying out.” William Pember Reeves, *The Long White Cloud*, 1899, p 57.

Assumptions

- Pākehā have the right to sit in moral judgement on Māori people and actions.
- There are always “bad” Māori; Māori don't have occasional bad apples as Pākehā do

- ‘Bad’ Māori choose to be that way.
- ‘Bad’ Māori make poor decisions that reduce their life chances and outcomes.
- Most Māori are ‘good’ most of the time but their inherent limitations make them a burden.
- More Māori are on benefits, because they don’t want to work.
- ‘Good’ Māori are frequently roused to unreasonable hopes and dreams by stirrers.

Effects

- Normalises Pākehā judgement of a whole people, in a way that does not apply to Pākehā
- Justifies assimilation, because the existence of ‘good’ Māori means it is possible for all Māori to ‘fit in’
- Divides Māori from one another
- Blames Māori for the conditions in which they live and for under achievement
- Portrays the bulk of Māori as passive, acquiescent and willingly assimilating
- One individual can be described as “good” or “bad” depending on the viewpoint of the person using the label.
- Represents problems and protest as arising from a minority of Māori.

Alternative frames

- Māori are diverse, like any cultural group, with different opinions and ways of being.
- Support Māori frames of judgement based on Māori values.
- Judge Māori by the same criteria as Pākehā are judged.
- Passing judgements on indigenous and minority groups is a privilege taken by the dominant group.
- ‘Good’ and ‘bad’ are defined by Pākehā and serve colonial interests; Māori would judge them differently.
- Being Māori is not relevant to telling this particular story.

5. ‘Stirrers’

Anyone who challenges the status quo, whether Māori or non-Māori, is portrayed as a troublemaker who misleads others and causes tension for their own political ends.

Cues

Stirrer/s, radical/s, activist/s, protestor/s, malcontents, Treaty/grievance industry, going on about it, Tame Iti, Harawira whanau, mountains out of molehills.

Examples

- “...shouting and insults from a bunch of parasitical, snouts-deep-in-the-public-trough, Māori malcontents..” Bob Jones, Straight Talking about the Race Crisis, *North & South*, February 1988

- “Before 2004, Miss Clark attended Waitangi Day celebrations despite vowing never to return after... Māori activist Titewhai Harawira challenged her right to speak on the marae.” Clark won’t attend marae celebrations, *Nelson Mail*, February 3, 2007.
- “Māori activists occupied the school’s buildings on Tuesday, saying the Government had no right to sell the school because it was on confiscated Māori land.” Sale found to be a mistake, *Taranaki Daily News*, March 8, 2007.

Assumptions

- Race relations are good and it is stirrers who disturb things.
- Stirrers are a tiny minority whose opinions are not widely held even within Māoridom.
- Stirrers are exploiting the credibility of ‘good’ Māori by misrepresenting the causes of disadvantage.
- Stirrers are not really interested in the issues they raise but use them as vehicles for their own power and control.
- Stirrers have no mandate and little status in the Māori world.
- The issues stirrers raise are insignificant.
- The analyses of stirrers are wrong-headed.

Effects

- Trivialises serious issues
- Distracts attention from the substance of the grievance or topic by attending to the tactics of protest especially (supposed) disruption or aggression
- Positions the issues the stirrers raise as extreme and unacceptable
- Hides the esteem Māori have for sovereignty leadership
- Once someone is labelled a stirrer, their credibility is always in question
- Divides or attempts to divide Māori from each other
- Marginalises and suppresses any Pākehā support for Māori sovereignty.

Alternative frames

- Explore the continuity of Māori voices on this issue or grievance.
- Show the validity of the issue, given its context and history.
- Change how we see ‘stirrers’ and respect them as leaders and visionaries.
- Focus on those who advocate for racism, such as talkback and TV shock jocks, Don Brash and others.
- ‘Stirrers’ have been behind every advance in social justice, including kohanga reo, iwi radio, Māori TV, singing the national anthem in Māori, the 40-hour week, and the right of every adult to vote.

- Māori sovereignty and Treaty-based processes are legitimate viewpoints.

6. 'Ignorance' and 'Sensitivity'

Pākehā actions that offend Māori are portrayed as not deliberate but due to lack of information; Māori responses to such actions are portrayed as unreasonable and unduly sensitive.

Cues

Ignorant, Māori don't tell us, didn't know, hyper-sensitive, unreasonable, take offense, no sense of humour, lighten up, PC, no big deal.

Examples

- "At the time, none of us kids thought we were disrespecting anyone's culture." The Haka Party incident of 1979, when Māori disrupted an annual mockery of the haka by University of Auckland engineering students, who had ignored years of polite requests to stop, is revisited by the *New Zealand Herald*, May 2009.
- "Justice Minister considers law change to give police ways to handle **body snatches**" *New Zealand Herald*, May 4 2009.
- The use of place names such as Whakatane in 2009 car rental billboards, with the tag "Now you can visit any whaka."

Assumptions

- Māori culture and values are inferior and don't merit Pākehā effort or respect.
- It's the responsibility of Māori to tell Pākehā about their culture.
- Pākehā need not listen or respond to Māori or learn about other cultures.
- Māori have unrealistic expectations; they must earn respect for their culture and values.
- A bit of effort to understand the Māori world is enough; practical knowledge is not necessary.
- Māori are secretive about their culture; therefore, it's their fault if Pākehā don't know what is likely to cause offense.

Effects

- Excuses persistent and deliberate breaches of commonly understood Māori values and practices, such as MPs mispronouncing te reo Māori, or people not bothering to learn appropriate protocols for Māori and other environments
- Blames Māori for Pākehā transgressions
- Marginalises Māori cultural practices and maintains the dominance of Pākehā practices
- Speaking Māori and practicing tikanga Māori are seen as a political acts
- Māori cultural practices outside Māori environments, such as marae, are seen as political impositions on others.

- People speaking Māori or practising tikanga Māori in everyday situations are often told to stop or required to fight to be able to do so.

Alternative frames

- Pākehā have persistently remained culturally incompetent and monocultural.
- Māori as host culture is due respect and has an enormous amount to offer locally, nationally and internationally.
- It is polite and neighbourly to learn about other cultures around us.
- New Zealand is the most monolingual country in the world; in many countries being multilingual is ordinary.
- Learning te reo Māori and developing cultural competence in tikanga Māori and other cultures enriches national life.
- In a globalised world, being open to other languages and ways of doing things is an advantage.

7. 'Māori violence'

Māori are presumed to be more likely than Pākehā to be violent; there is a disproportionate focus on Māori people in issues such as theft, assault, child abuse and other crime.

Cues

- Warrior, men, primitive, enjoy violence, violence gene, Jake the Muss, Mongrel Mob, Black Power
- Widespread and repeated use of images of haka and wero
- Media crime stories linked to Māori identity
- Repetitive use of Māori children's names as examples of child abuse.

Examples

- "Gang rampage at university - Students at haka practice bashed" *Auckland Star*, May 1979
- "Haka brawl rivals unite to remember" *New Zealand Herald*, 22 May 2009

Assumptions

- Māori are naturally more savage, primitive, wild or animal-like, especially Māori men
- Non-Māori violence is the action of 'bad apples'.
- Non-Māori don't abuse their children, or do so less than Māori.
- Māori women are thieves.
- Māori are dishonest, lazy and unconcerned about using crime to support themselves.

Effects

- Makes Pākehā family violence invisible.
- Masks or reinforces institutional or state violence against Māori. (eg Land Wars, beating kids for speaking Māori at school, Ruatoki raids).
- The stigma of family violence is focused on Māori families.

- Increases Māori internalisation of these negative stereotypes.

Alternative frames

- Masks Pākehā crime, especially the impacts of colonisation and ‘white collar’ crime.
- ‘Māori crime’ needs to be put in the context of the circumstances and opportunities available to Māori families.
- The majority of babies killed by family members are Pākehā babies.
- Child abuse and family violence happen in all cultures.
- Well-off families are more able to keep family violence from coming to police attention.
- Early settlers regularly commented that Māori spoil their children and didn’t hit them enough.

8. ‘Māori culture’

Māori culture is described as primitive and inadequate for modern life, lacking in conceptual and practical knowledge, and dependent on a limited language. It is simply inferior, and has no intrinsic value in the modern world. On the other hand, Pākehā use or appropriate non-threatening aspects of Māori culture to mark their own identity.

Cues

Time-wasting; stone-age; women at the back; sexist; without the British/Europeans, Māori wouldn’t have (eg computers, radio, TV) or would be (e.g., wearing grass skirts, living in mud huts); cannibal, stick games and a few musical notes.

Examples

- “Māori are descended from stone-age barbaric savage cannibals who owe all the benefits of modern life and civilization to European colonists.” Email from ‘Ozzie’, September 7, 2000, *New Zealand Herald* Online, Inciting racial division thread.
- “Sexist treatment ‘detrimental’ but no damages.” NZPA, March 19, 2008, reporting Human Rights Review Tribunal decision on Josie Bullock’s complaint about a Department of Corrections poroporoaki.
- “Education Minister Trevor Mallard has sparked a race relations row by suggesting Māori culture sometimes cuts across the tradition of equality in schools.” NZPA, September 25, 2004.

Assumptions

- Some cultures are simply superior to others.
- There is a progression in cultures from backward and primitive (tribal) to sophisticated (industrial).
- Cultural superiority is demonstrated by material goods and complexity of organisational structures.
- Authentic Māori culture is static, as at the time of colonisation.

- Māori culture isn’t ordinary, normal, natural or proper.
- Māori culture can be divided into components and pieces.
- Only Pākehā culture is modern.
- Pākehā know enough about Māori culture to make a judgement about it.
- Pākehā have a right to pick and choose the parts of Māori culture they like.
- Pākehā identity and ways of doing things aren’t changed by using aspects of Māori culture.
- All Māori are experts about customary Māori culture.
- Māori culture isn’t important.
- Māori culture is being imposed on non-Māori.
- Using bits of Māori culture is okay, and is a sign of respect.
- Pākehā culture is a branch office of metropolitan Western culture.

Effects

- Justifies Pākehā dominance and ongoing colonising actions.
- Undercuts Treaty rights for Māori taonga.
- Constructs Māori culture as peripheral in its own land.
- Supports ongoing assimilation and abandonment of Māori culture.
- Encourages internalised racism among Māori.
- Divides Māori culture into authentic and bogus forms.
- Makes it more difficult for Māori to explore their own cultural diversity and innovation.
- Māori culture can be owned by anyone.

Alternative frames

- Develop Pākehā sense of their own culture and unique ways of doing things.
- Detailed knowledge about another culture comes from experience and living in it, rather than second hand.
- Cultures are different, rather than better or worse.
- Anything Māori use or make is part of Māori culture (e.g., television).
- Māori cultural concepts have powerful positive effects, including Kura Kaupapa Māori; kaitiakitanga (guardianship); tangihanga (mourning); welcomes, hui.
- Recognise the importance of wairua.
- All cultures borrow from each other, are diverse and fluid.
- All cultures have their own measures of what is valuable.
- Do you have to be Chinese to use a compass or gunpowder?

- Powhiri are part of Māori manaakitanga - welcoming and hosting other people - as tangata whenua.
- Industrialised Western cultures are environmentally and socially unsustainable.
- Māori and indigenous cultures retain valuable knowledge about sustainable existence.

Positive example: Kura Kaupapa Māori academic results compared to mainstream (to come).

9. 'Māori inheritance'

Because of intermarriage there are few 'real Māori' left; so they are no longer a distinct people and shouldn't claim any benefits.

Cues

Blood, blood fractions (half-Māori, quarter-Māori, half-caste, part-Māori), intermarriage, miscegenation, pure, genes, drop of Māori blood, born-again Māori, Christian Cullen, Māori All Blacks, plastic Māori, fingernail of Māori blood.

Examples

- "Where could we be in 100 year's time when, because of further intermarriage, an ever larger share of the population, say 30 percent, has a drop of Māori blood." Paul Goldsmith column, *New Zealand Herald*, April 2009.

Assumptions

- A valid Māori identity is primarily genetic or biological.
- Racial purity is linked to cultural validity; mixed ancestry dilutes cultural identity.
- 'Real Māori' have more than half Māori 'blood'.
- Fifty percent Māori 'blood' is a magical dividing line between authentic and fake.
- Māori and European are mutually exclusive categories.
- Māori identity is claimed falsely by individuals wanting benefits supposedly granted to Māori.
- Māori are continually required to define who they are.
- Only Māori have to prove their Māoriness; Pākehā do not face the same requirement.
- Racial purity is more highly valued than mixed ancestry.
- Assimilation is facilitated in the bedroom.

Effects

- Invalidates self-selected Māori identity
- Undermines legitimate claims by tangata whenua.
- Validates assimilation of Māori as inevitable.
- Creates confusion between race, ethnicity and culture.
- Reduces the size of the Māori population and hence any claims on public resources.

- Creates a fear among non-Māori that Māori identity fraud is rampant.
- Reinforces certain cultural markers as valid indicators of Māori identity, and therefore excludes many people with Māori ancestry.
- Only Pākehā identity can't be fake.
- Maintains the invisibility of Pākehā culture.

Alternative frames

- Social identification is valid; it has been the basis of Census ethnicity counts and voter registration since 1975.
- Whakapapa describes an integrated relationship between Māori ancestry, ethnicity, culture and identity.
- Talk in terms of ethnicity and culture rather than 'race'.
- Intercultural inheritance is the norm in Europe and many other countries, so why are we so concerned about it here?
- People live within multiple cultures.

10. 'Māori resources'

Potential or actual Māori control of significant resources, for example, land, fisheries or money – is portrayed as a threat to non-Māori.

Cues

Threat, fear, rich iwi, privilege, Māori land, fisheries, customary rights, public access, Māori charges, Pākehā missing out.

Examples

- "TV3 implied that Ngai Tahu were to blame for David and Morgan Saxton being imprisoned for stealing the pounamu." *Press*, April 11, 2008.
- "Tribe: Pay us for air rights" *New Zealand Herald*, October 7, 2004
- "Māori want to charge for use of airspace above Lake Taupo..." *Prime News*, October 7, 2004.

Assumptions

- The audience is non-Māori.
- A Pākehā audience will feel threatened.
- Māori control of resources is offensive because it excludes the resources from open exploitation and use.
- Limits opportunities for non-Māori through 'locking up' resources for cultural reasons.
- Creates costs and inconvenience for non-Māori.
- Anti-democratic.
- Anti-capitalist.

Effects

- Makes Pākehā control of New Zealand wealth invisible; for example, by focussing on Māori-controlled ITQ and ignoring the 80% in non-Māori hands.

- Demonises Māori who want to develop their own economic base in line with Māori values.
- Undermines Māori efforts toward economic self-determination.

Alternative frames

- Māori control and use of resources generates taxes, jobs and services.
- Māori resources are less likely to be sold overseas.
- Kaitiakitanga promotes conservation and sustainable development.
- Land is Papatuanuku, our earth mother; it has wairua.
- Treaty settlements have returned less than one percent of the resources taken during colonisation.

11. 'Financial management'

Māori are represented as financially incompetent or corrupt.

Cues

Fraud, forgery, inappropriate use of money, allegations, incompetence, mismanagement, financial disarray, fake, Treaty settlement, audit (of Māori organisation), conflict (within Māori organisation).

Examples

- "Iwi Services investigated by police" *Northern News*, Page 1, February 7, 2007
- "Senior officials of the Kohanga Reo National Trust have been accused of failing to act on serious complaints about misuse of a preschool's money." *New Zealand Herald*, March 1, 2007.
- "Māori drug and alcohol service Te Rito Arahi faces a torrid time after a devastating audit and a staff rebellion" *Press*, March 17, 2007.

Assumptions

- Māori are not accountable for money they receive.
- Business can be separated from worldview and culture.
- Māori handling money is a new thing; accounting is not part of Māori culture.
- Māori have a laissez faire, 'spend it today' approach to money.
- Māori employ their family members – nepotism.
- Family businesses are more popular among Māori; family businesses are less accountable.
- Financial incompetence is the exception, not the rule.
- Māori shouldn't have this money in the first place.
- Māori don't generate wealth.
- Māori are lazy and don't want to work.
- Māori are like children and Pākehā have to look after them.

Effects

- Māori groups feel under constant scrutiny by the state about how they deal with their money.

- Māori have to meet Pākehā criteria for funding and these criteria are more stringent for Māori organisations.
- Māori have difficulty getting loans and development finance.
- Undermines Māori Treaty claims and Māori provision of health and social services.
- Provides ammunition for those opposing Māori initiatives.
- Stigmatises Māori as a people; Māori become whakamā about being Māori.
- Turns Māori against each other; creates Māori distrust of Māori leaders.

Alternative frames

- Māori are entrepreneurial (Global Entrepreneurship Monitor 2005, www.lulu.com/hfrederick)
- By the time of the Treaty, Māori were supplying Auckland and Sydney with food transported in their own ships.
- Māori ethical values are built into Māori business.
- Financial failure is normal; x percent of business start-ups fail (check).
- When Pākehā are incompetent, it is one bad apple but the barrel is sound.
- There are bad apples in every population group; the Māori barrel is sound.
- Corruption is common in Pākehā corporate business (ref)
- Focus on where Pākehā wealth comes from, and the head start Pākehā society got from obtaining Māori land cheaply or for nothing.
- Māori do things for others for free; Pākehā often charge.
- Family businesses are a Pākehā institution; why are family businesses a bad thing when they're Māori?
- Māori do a lot with little.
- The BNZ, Hanover Finance, etc, etc were all run by Pākehā, yet no one says that Pākehā are financially incompetent.

Positive examples: Te Wananga o Aotearoa Mike and Doug Tāmaki, tourism entrepreneurs (to come)

12. 'Māori success'

Particular forms of Māori economic development in the arts, business and education are celebrated, especially those using aspects of Māori culture for branding.

Cues

Young Māori, starting business, exhibition, show, first

Examples

- "A new 'cybertribe' of Māori artists is harnessing the web to take paintings, sculpture, mixed media, weaving and glassworks to the world art market."

New Zealand Herald, Business page 12, September 10, 2004

- “Seven marae in the Feilding and Halcombe area are banding together to jointly develop their resources and open future business opportunities.” *Manawatu Standard*, page 4, February 7, 2007.
- “Papatoetoe business testing the waters in the global economy” *Manukau Courier* profiles a florist whose flax weaving gained a Canadian order, December 4, 2007

Assumptions

- Māori can succeed.
- Success is defined in Pākehā terms (All Blacks, small business growth).

Effects

- Divides Māori from one another
- Gives those criticising other Māori for their lack of success an example to point to.

Alternative frames

- Māori may define success differently – for example, the survival of Māori culture after almost two centuries of concerted attempts to stamp it out.
- Kahore te kumara e korero mo tona reka – The kumara does not say how sweet it is; self-promotion is discouraged.

Report on Workshop: Response to Anti-Māori Themes in the Media

After a brief outline of the purpose and process of this study undertaken by Kupu Taea, a summary paper of some findings so far was passed around among participants*. It set out ten significant headings under which negative themes could be grouped (e.g., One People; Rights; Māori Privilege etc) and set out some words/phrases which were indications of anti-Māori themes.

The paper then treated a selective sample of these words/phrases under three headings:

Assumptions

Effects

Alternative frames.

Those taking part in the workshop were asked to consider whether this was a useful way of presenting a theme and to give some feedback on the process as presented.

Some of the initial feedback indicated:

- that it would be useful to consider antonym as well as synonym words
- there is a need for a paragraph to introduce the history of the study
- perhaps the Treaty itself is the key negative issue.

The workshop then focussed on some selected issues among the phrases:

1. financial probity

2. Māori culture
3. Māori resources

It was noted here that Māori perceive they have responsibilities as first nation people. Manaakitanga (to host) guides many aspects of culture and behaviour – this needs to be in the introduction.

1. Financial probity (is there a more understandable word?)

Much of the discussion focussed on alternative frames to those in the paper:

- There should be a list of big companies which have folded (not only Māori struggle in the business world)
- Māori have to ‘jump through bigger hoops’ than Pākehā
- Perceived Māori failure induces ‘whakama’ and turns Māori against Māori
- To see business acumen as a Pākehā virtue is one-eyed. There is a history of successful Māori entrepreneurship which needs to be recognised
- An holistic world-view can bring a greater richness to many areas of business
- Management/governance covers much more than money
- There is resentment that money is given specifically to Māori
- Māori operate well in the informal economy
- The impoverished have different attitudes to money
- There is a danger of stereotypes developing and holding sway

These ideas were noted by the facilitators and participants were thanked for them.

2. The process was briefly applied to Māori Culture

- It was noted that there is a tendency for the selective appropriation of aspects of Māori culture for commercial or similar purposes
- ‘Modern’ is seen as a euphemism [‘synonym’?] for ‘Pākehā’.

The workshop closed at that point. Jenny and Tim thanked participants for their response and said that it had been very helpful.

Notes by Kevin McBride