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Submission to the independent review of the
New Zealand Press Council

Kupu Taea: Media and Te Tiriti Project

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Thank you for the opportunity to make a submission on the future of the New Zealand Press Council.

1 Ko matou enei/About Kupu Taea: Media and Te Tiriti Project

We are an independent group of Maori, Pakeha and Tauiwi media, public health and film researchers some of whom are affiliated with Massey University. Collectively we have experience in newspaper journalism, video production, alcohol and social research, and have published several academic papers about media and Treaty issues. A list of our members is on page 11.

Our name, Kupu Taea, means the power of the word. We call ourselves the Media and Te Tiriti Project because we focus on media coverage of Treaty of Waitangi issues. As it is the Maori text of the Treaty which is recognised in international law, and which was signed by more than 500 rangatira, we use te reo in our title.

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

Kupu Taea analysed newspaper and television news coverage of Treaty-related issues from August, September and October in 2004, and published a report of our analysis in 2005. Called *Media & Te Tiriti o Waitangi 2004*, it is available online at <http://www.trc.org.nz/resources/media.htm>

Our submission will focus on suggestions arising from our analysis of media coverage of Treaty issues in newspapers, as well as our experience with regulation of alcohol advertising.

2 Mai te timatanga/Context

Introduction

Research about press coverage of Maori and the Treaty paints a damning picture. This brief summary includes only some of the studies which criticised media performance in this area.

Lay themes about "race"

In 1989, Tim McCreanor clarified major themes in Pakeha ideas about Te Tiriti and relations with Maori in submissions after the Haka Party incident at the University of Auckland in 1979. While this was not a media analysis, it contributed to later analyses of press coverage. The themes assume and naturalise Pakeha

control and deny or ignore the colonial process that has determined our social order.

Themes included -

- "Stirrers", which was used to depict anyone challenging the status quo, whether Maori or non-Maori, as troublemakers who mislead others for their own ends
- "One People", used to argue that New Zealanders should all be treated the same
- "Privilege", in which Maori were portrayed as having rights or benefits denied most others in a way that is unfair and racist
- "Good Maori/bad Maori" depicted Maori who 'fitted in' to Pakeha society as good, and those who resisted, sought restitution or demanded sovereignty as bad
- "Maori culture", which described the culture as primitive and inadequate for modern life, lacking in conceptual and practical knowledge and dependent on a limited language.

In 1989 and 1993, social scientists like Robert Miles and Paul Spoonley described how the word "race" with its modern political meanings entered our vocabularies. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries it was widely accepted that there were different "races" that were biologically distinct, and that this biological inheritance shaped people's personal and social behaviour. Subsequent scientific work has discredited these ideas. Nonetheless, this biological framing of cultural difference lives on in the names of Government agencies, and in newspaper use of the term "race" to refer to cultural and Treaty issues.

Media research about Maori coverage

Tremewan (1986/87) and Morrison and Tremewan (1992) described the monocultural nature of media constructions, where Pakeha norms are rarely scrutinised because they are entrenched in the definitions of news. Pakeha assume that the adversarial Pakeha model of debate between two opposing viewpoints ensures objectivity. This ignores Maori models such as hui, where issues are discussed through to consensus or resolution. The researchers identified the Pakeha focus on the present and the urgent as another monocultural limitation, in contrast with Maori viewpoints.

In 1990, Cochrane found that coverage of Maori issues in two city newspapers in 1989 was negative; that background explanations were significantly absent.

In 1990 Kernot described the way media crime reports use race labels such as Maori, Polynesian or Pacific Islander up to four times more often than labels such as Pakeha, European or Caucasian. Through a

combination of over- and under-description, this creates an inaccurate association between crime and ethnicity.

In 1990, Hirsch and Spoonley's landmark book, *Between the Lines*, provided acute observation and descriptions of media frameworks about Maori. For instance, on media coverage of Maori land claims Ranginui Walker said:

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

John Saunders reviewed the underreporting and misreporting of Maori political issues and concluded in 1996 that issues affecting Maori were under-reported and misreported by mainstream journalists and that most journalists were ill-equipped to report Maori news.

Kernot (1991) examined coverage by two Wellington newspapers in 1986-7 of the so-called Maori Loans affair. He questions the motivation for the prolonged media attention, reflected in more than 200 items in each paper. The writers defined the issue in ethnic terms, portraying the interests of taxpayers and the public as opposed to Maori interests.

He concludes that media coverage of the issue maintained Maori economic subordination. Rice (1990) also identified bias in headlines, placement of news stories and the tone of news items about the issue.

In 1991 Dawson found that Maori news as a proportion of news in two Wellington daily newspapers from 1975 to 1989 was about 1%.

In 1995, Russell's analysis of the Daily News concluded that Maori who protested at the paper's coverage were justified in asking for the journalistic principle of balance to be applied.

Sue Abel described four themes that 1990 TV coverage ranked hierarchically in her 1997 book *Shaping the News: Waitangi Day on Television*. TV news treated the dominant "one people" theme as "common sense" while the "Maori-centred" point of view was scarcely heard and described as "separatist". The coverage also positioned Maori as either "wild" or "tame", masking the breadth of Maori support for protests about Treaty grievances. News items focussed on protest tactics rather than the underlying injustices. While she did not analyse print coverage, similar treatment of themes can be identified in press coverage of Waitangi Day.

Keenan in 2000 analysed newspapers' tendency to report cases of domestic violence involving Maori by emphasising predetermined ideas about Maori people's behaviour, sustaining simplistic racial dichotomies. He gives the example of a child abuse case where the 'Once were warriors' headline injects a racial element, encouraging readers to connect the child's death with the intensely negative portrayal of Maori in this fictional movie.

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

An analysis of 10 articles and editorials about governance and resource management issues, five about Maori and five not, found fundamental differences between the two groups of articles (Crombie et al, 2002). These were due to an underlying paternalistic stigmatisation of cultural difference, which supported external controls on Maori resource management and thereby the undermining of Maori self-determination.

Barclay and Liu's analysis in 2003 of Moutoa Gardens coverage by two city newspapers found that Maori occupiers were quoted less than any other group and Maori quotes were shorter. The accounts of occupiers were matched with alternative accounts more often than those of other groups. They found that on this Treaty issue Maori voices were accorded minority status, and argued that media fairness should be assessed on the basis of biculturalism.

Fiske said of news values in 1987: "The state of equilibrium is not in itself newsworthy, and is never described except implicitly in its opposition to the state of disequilibrium, which typically is described in detail." Ian Stuart (2002) used this model to show the difference between Pakeha and Maori narratives about Moutoa Gardens. Pakeha would see the equilibrium of Council control of the gardens disrupted by the arrival of Maori protesters, and restored when they left. This was the pattern followed by print and broadcast media.

Maori, on the other hand, would see equilibrium as Maori control of Pakaitore, disrupted by its takeover and renaming by the Council, and the exclusion of Maori from the management of their ancestral land. In this narrative, equilibrium would begin to be restored when in 2001 the land was vested in the Crown and iwi were again represented in its management board. This agreement did not receive the intense media focus of the previous "occupation".

In 2004 a group of Waikato University researchers led by Darrin Hodgetts showed that media coverage of the 2003 *Decade of Disparity* report supported views that blamed individual Maori and Maori health services for Maori health status. Media commentators did not hold mainstream health services to account for this persistent inequity. The coverage also challenged the structural explanations for health disparities advanced in the report and was dismissive of Maori models of health.

Rankine and McCreanor, also in 2004, showed that media coverage of a stomach cancer gene discovery by a Maori-Pakeha research partnership credited the Pakeha genetics team with the breakthrough. That coverage depicted the whanau, who had initiated the project and managed the screening, mostly as diseased and passive objects of Pakeha help.

Abel (2006) describes the way in which the Maori narrative of Fiske's equilibrium and disruption goes much further back in time than the Pakeha narrative, which focuses on the very immediate past and thus evacuates history and its meanings from news coverage. She describes the outraged response of television news executives to the Ngapuhi media ban as revealing the medium's continuing underlying monoculturalism. She concluded that news coverage of the ban contributed to "reproducing the dominant position of the white majority in a racially divided society".

3 Kupu Taea research about newspaper coverage of Maori news

We studied newspaper news items about Maori issues during one randomly chosen consecutive week in August 2004 and two randomly chosen constructed weeks in September and October 2004. This is international best practice for obtaining a representative sample of stories. We received a total sample of 353 stories containing at least one of our key words. We analysed use of te reo Maori for this sample. For the rest of the analysis, we identified 260 stories where Maori issues were central and called these Maori news stories.

Themes

Rather than taking a neutral position, a significant minority of items were framed by the reporter and/or sub-editors to support Pakeha themes which undermine Maori. Writers of 24 stories used the terms "race-based", "race war" and "race debate" in ways which drew on and reproduced the "Privilege" and "Maori Inheritance" themes identified by Tim McCreanor in Pakeha talk in 1989. Many of the 24 stories about

powhiri reproduced or left unquestioned assertions from the "Maori culture" theme which position Maori culture as backward. Other uses of these Pakeha themes are mentioned below.

None of these stories used the term "Treaty-based", although the Treaty underlay most of the resource issues being reported. The media's use of "race" descriptors shows a persistent refusal to acknowledge the Treaty rights of Maori.

We identified three new themes in the coverage. The "Maori resources" theme (35 items) enabled speakers to be strongly critical of moves, especially when based on the Treaty, which could return significant resources to Maori control. Sources and journalists using this theme implied that Maori have gained enough resources and been reimbursed generously by the Government.

Another new theme was "financial probity" (36 articles). In this theme Maori were depicted as having unfair access to diverse funding sources and support for projects that did not deserve it. Items expressing this theme also constructed Maori as corrupt or economically incompetent. This theme was expressed in reports about management of Waipareira Trust finances and hapu assets, Community Employment Group (CEG) funding, and a waiata-based polytechnic Maori language "singalong" course.

Pakeha organisations or individuals who are the focus of fraud investigations are not described by their ethnicity, or implied to be representing Pakeha people as a group. This treatment is reserved for Maori and other social minorities.

The other new theme we identified was "Maori success" (21 articles), in which particular forms of Maori economic development were given very positive coverage. Reporting about Maori in tourism frequently gave positive descriptions of businesses led by Maori which incorporated Maori culture into tourist activities. Maori products and business ideas were described as innovative and successful, and Maori entrepreneurship was commended.

Marketing a product as "indigenous" and "authentic" Maori culture was encouraged as a business strategy leading to success, especially in overseas markets. The theme included a small number of positive articles on Maori education. We acknowledge and applaud these positive depictions and want to make it clear that we don't expect and wouldn't wish Maori news items to be a parade of positivity. However, these positive items were overshadowed by the negative themes we identified.

Many articles were written from a persistent colonial framework, which assumed that "the public" was

synonymous with non-Maori. These included 24 articles about the lakes Treaty settlement with Te Arawa, 23 foreshore and seabed items and other Maori resources items.

Coverage of the foreshore and seabed issue focused not on whether or not it was another Crown breach of the Treaty, as many Maori claimed, but on the potential for disruption. This followed Pakeha narratives of Fiske's equilibrium mentioned earlier.

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

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

Marine farming case study

One journalist in the *Independent* used the "Maori resources" theme extensively in an August 25 article on marine farming legislation. This article was headed "Maori strike gold in marine farms" and used metaphors from lotteries and gold mining in a way that portrayed legislative processes as chancy and random, and implied equal odds for all participants.

The article presented the decision to settle Treaty claims by allocating 20% of retrospective and future marine farm licenses to Maori as unreasonable and disproportionate.

After saying that Maori "already control about 60% of the nation's 1,200 marine farms" it claimed that "Maori interests [...] will effectively be handed the equivalent sea space for 240 new marine farms – for nothing". This strongly suggested that an injustice was being perpetrated against public, that is non-Maori, rights.

The author also explicitly constructed Maori as a threat to resources owned by non-Maori, saying that the Bill "...at least gives marine farmers the certainty they can run their business without the threat of Maori claims." The item had already said that Maori make up the majority of marine farmers and was thus clearly advocating and writing for minority, non-Maori interests.

Lake Taupo airspace case study

One set of eight major news stories about Lake Taupo airspace on October 10 was also particularly unbalanced and broke the basic journalistic rule that assertions are verified. Initiated by the *New Zealand Herald*, it used an unsupported assertion that "Maori" or "a tribe" were "threatening" to charge for commercial use of the airspace. The story relied on quotations from politicians and local business people who responded as if the claim were true. No such claim has since been made.

The article reported that two iwi representatives declined to comment, without mentioning the restrictions on media comment imposed on iwi as part of Treaty negotiations, which the stories said were imminent. None of the papers included any information about the legal status of property rights to airspace.

Headlines and leads used generic labels that implicated Maori as a whole. Ngati Tuwharetoa were portrayed as privileged - they "make about a \$1 million" – and claimed to "[have] long been unhappy with the amount". The stories as a whole conveyed a strong sense that Ngati Tuwharetoa were avaricious protagonists uncompromisingly seeking to make money from part of their Treaty settlement that the public (again, only non-Maori) are in no way accustomed to paying for.

The lack of historical context allowed agreements about the lake to be understood as generous, unilateral acts of the Crown that the recipient was now disputing. This large and sensationalised story ran on the front pages of four newspapers. It denigrated Ngati Tuwharetoa and Maori more generally, and resonated with deeply entrenched Pakeha depictions of Maori as privileged and aggressive.

Use of te reo

Newspapers in our representative sample were parsimonious in their use of Maori words for which there are English alternatives. For example, we counted names such as Maungawhau (Mt Eden) but not Rotorua; and terms such as kai moana but not pipi. Just under half of the 353 items in our total sample had no words of te reo Maori for which there was an English alternative.

We selected articles because they were about Maori issues or because they contained words such as iwi or Tiriti. They were therefore more likely to contain words in te reo Maori than newspaper articles in general.

A total of 151 different words, phrases, sentences and proper names, including place names and iwi affiliations were used. Spelling and use of te reo Maori was inconsistent, with some simple errors in NZPA stories going unnoticed by sub-editors on several

papers. Journalists occasionally combined Maori with English forms to make inept combinations such as “whanau’s” or “powhiris”. Michael King’s *Kawe Korero* recommended 20 years ago that journalists avoid some of the sloppy use of te reo Maori that we found in our sample.

Newspapers’ minimal use of te reo Maori, as well as showing a lack of support for an endangered official language, also meant that Maori concepts about resources were poorly represented. The complex meanings of terms such as kaitiakitanga, rangatiratanga and mana are only partly translated by English words such as guardianship, chieftainship and status.

When the media uses te reo Maori terms like these, it acknowledges the existence of these Maori ways of seeing the world, and make clear that Maori views about property and resources are often very different to Pakeha concepts.

The items we studied seldom did this. Only five of the 353 newspaper articles, two by Maori writers, mention or explore these Maori concepts as they apply to ownership of resources. When Maori who used these concepts talked about ownership, it was as a legal means to secure kaitiakitanga and ongoing ancestral connection. These stories contrasted with the monochrome viewpoint of the vast bulk of stories, and highlighted how much the coverage reports from within a Pakeha cultural paradigm.

Sources

We found that Pakeha sources outnumbered Maori sources in the 260 Maori news items. Forty-five percent of newspaper sources in stories about Maori issues were Pakeha and 37% Maori. Pakeha men made up the biggest group of sources by ethnicity and gender (37%). Stories cited Maori men twice as often (25%) as Maori women (12%).

Pakeha sources were also quoted earlier, on average at the fourth sentence, compared to Maori who were quoted on average at the seventh sentence.

As would be expected in a sample focusing on Maori issues, a minority of stories (76 or 29% of the Maori news sample) used Maori sources only, drawing on a range of different organisations and contexts. A slightly smaller proportion (61 stories, 23%) used Pakeha sources only, largely MPs or local body politicians debating Maori issues. Five of the 26 stories categorised as about Maori-Pakeha relations used Pakeha sources only, whereas none of that category used Maori sources only.

We believe the preponderance of Pakeha male sources

in Maori news items reflects the small proportion of the stories that originated with Maori as well as media over-reliance on MPs as sources on Maori issues.

For some of the stories in our sample, iwi representatives could not comment because they were bound by Treaty negotiation agreements not to say anything publicly. While this is one explanation for a lack of balance, we believe this situation was exploited by many journalists because they could indicate that they had tried for balancing comment in their “Maori threat” stories and failed. However, none of those stories mentioned the agreements that prevented iwi sources from commenting.

Conflict

Sixty percent of the Maori stories (155) were about conflict or disagreement, a common focus in media news. Stories generated by NZPA were nearly twice as likely to be about or to refer to conflict (80%) than stories generated by the paper in which they were published (46%). The language and imagery used to describe disagreement between Maori and non-Maori - “battle”, “war” “machine-gunning”, for example - tended to be more violent than those used to describe disagreements among non-Maori or among Maori.

Reporters used disparaging terms - “wrangling” and “squabbles” - to describe disagreements among Maori in four items,

Silences

One of the silences in our items was about Pakeha colonisation of Aotearoa. Colonisation as a process that disrupted Maori culture, health, education, legislation and social fabric was barely mentioned. Despite more than 100 references to the Treaty in our items, there were only a handful which included any reference to what it actually says.

Very few items that mentioned the Treaty had any detail of systematic breaches by the Crown or the New Zealand government, and tangata whenua rights to redress. More space was given to items that implied or quoted sources who said that Maori have gained enough resources already and been reimbursed generously by the Government in Treaty settlements.

Surveys about public understanding of the Treaty indicate that the public overestimate their knowledge of our founding document, and are jaded with its prominence in public debate. Poor public understanding of the Treaty and these patterns of coverage in our items form a very tight loop.

The media includes very little context but frequently frames Treaty settlements as threats. The public knows and learns little and is tired of it all. We believe that the

constricted and superficial description of Treaty issues in our sample, when consumed repeatedly by media audiences, supports one Treaty partner at the expense of the other.

4 Conclusions

Over the last two decades, researchers from many different organisations and backgrounds have found newspaper news items and mass news media coverage in general to be focused on negative news about Maori and sensationalised reports of individual incidents; to frame news items assuming Pakeha control of resources and ignoring Maori claims or world views; to reinforce Pakeha arguments that undermine Maori and the Treaty; to produce regular examples of poor-quality journalism; and to give inadequate representation of Maori voices on Treaty and resource issues.

Newspaper editorials about Maori resources regularly support these settler perspectives. This lack of balance and objectivity has been persistent over time, especially in stories about Maori initiatives to use or claim the resources and tino rangatiratanga guaranteed them by the Treaty.

Mass media models of what news is and basic assumptions of how it should be reported have repeatedly been shown to be monocultural. This weight of research evidence indicates that the New Zealand press fails to operate "in accordance with the highest professional standards" when it comes to Maori news.

This poor performance is increasingly thrown into contrast by the distinctly different stories produced by Maori news media.

In 2006, the UN Special Rapporteur on the human rights and fundamental freedoms of indigenous peoples, Professor Rodolfo Stavenhagen, assessed indigenous issues in New Zealand following the passing of the Foreshore and Seabed Act. The UN Committee on the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination had previously concluded that the legislation breached the convention, to which New Zealand is a signatory.

Professor Stavenhagen concluded that the "systematic negative description of Maori in media coverage" should be addressed through the Human Rights Act and through the establishment of "an independent commission to monitor their performance and suggest remedial action" (UN, 2006: recommendation 104).

5 Recommendations for structural change

1 Self regulation is ineffectual

The NZPC has often faced criticism for its lack of initiative about ethical issues in press reporting, the perceived weakness and omissions of its Statement of Principles, and the conflict between its objectives of promoting press freedom and promoting ethical journalism (Eg, Kernot, 1990; Tully & Elsaka, 2002; Elsaka, 2004).

One summary of the international research on self-regulatory media bodies concludes: "There is an inverse relationship between the effectiveness and independence of self-regulatory bodies themselves, as their ability to act depends on the consent of regulated firms" (Collins & Muroi, 1996: 176).

Self-regulation in the related fields of advertising and marketing has failed to preserve the public good in the face of commercial interests in diverse product domains (Casswell, 2004; Hoek and Maubach, 2006). Monitoring of the semi-independent advertising complaints process through the Broadcasting Standards Authority shows large time lags and low levels of successful actions, which render the process highly unsatisfactory (Coney, 2002; Jones and Donovan, 2002). This is despite pre-vetting of ads to prevent the worst excesses coming to public notice and generating complaints about advertising, obviously an impossibility for media journalism.

In both media and advertising, self-regulation has been used by industry to avoid the threat of legislative control (Hoek et al, 1995; Elsaka, 2004).

Abel (2006) cites Derek Fox and Maori informants, who say that the combination of persistent negative constructions of Maori and monocultural news models has discouraged many Maori from complaining to editors and bodies such as the NZPC.

Australian sources have highlighted the amount of community time and energy it takes to make a media complaint, and the inability of the regulations to combat anything but the most extreme examples of racial vilification in reporting (Jakubowicz, 1994).

We believe that self-regulation has persistently failed to promote ethical journalism in the creation of Maori news, and that a separate and completely independent body, with the promotion of ethical journalism as its sole focus, is needed. In the absence of such a body, we believe the following recommendations are essential to improve the ethical environment in which Maori news is produced.

2 NZPC should be completely independent and include representatives of media consumer organisations

Current public attitudes view an organisation or industry which investigates itself as compromised and unreliable. This is evident in the public response to complaints about Police behaviour and the report which investigated it.

If the NZPC is to continue to regulate ethics in print media, it needs to be formally separated from the media industry in the same kind of arrangement that exists for the relationship between the gambling industry and the Problem Gambling Foundation (PGF).

The gambling industry is levied by Government and funds are made available to PGF to fund harm reduction, community action, advocacy, treatment and other programmes under the guidance of an independent board of directors. The PGF has a strong relationship with the Centre for Gambling Studies at Auckland University so that its work can be based on research evidence, some of which is funded from the industry levy via government ministries.

Research into the participation of health consumers in health organisations has found that ordinary members of the public who are not part of consumer groups prefer time-limited methods which are at the low end of participation (Coney, 2004). Members of consumer organisations are more likely to participate actively and to advocate for disadvantaged groups.

For this reason we believe it is ineffective to include non-aligned lay people on organisations such as the NZPC.

We believe a Government levy on newspaper companies to fund a completely independent NZPC is essential to ensure public trust in the NZPC as an independent body.

NZPC membership should include representation from Maori media and journalism organisations, and lay people on the board should represent media consumer organisations.

3 NZPC Statement of Principles should be rewritten as standards and take into account the Treaty of Waitangi

Research has shown that mass media editors define "news" in a monocultural way and that these news values have remained static despite the dynamic and evolving social context (McGregor, 1991b). Research into Maori media has also shown a distinctly different style of reporting and set of news values (eg: Te Awa, 1996; Hodgetts et al, 2005; Te Kawa a Maui, 2005). These included respectful, lengthy and courteous

interviewing, a focus on the positive, a greater diversity of sources with less reliance on institutional sources such as MPs, and a detailed knowledge of te reo and tikanga Maori.

A 2005 report on coverage of the foreshore and seabed issue in broadcast media found that broadcast standards are embedded in a Western legal framework, intended for the population as a whole but not necessarily fitting with a Maori worldview (Te Kawa a Maui, 2005). "In general, notions of universalism work against minority groups ... The broadcasting standards at present are 'one size', and as such do not take account of existing unequal power relations in New Zealand or Maori cultural values." This criticism applies equally to the NZPC's SoP.

We believe that the NZPC SoP is inadequate for the contemporary media environment and should be rewritten into a more specific and definitive set of media standards, similar to those regulating broadcast media. The working panel which does this should include representatives of Maori media and journalists.

The rewritten standards should start with an acknowledgement of the Treaty of Waitangi, and include Maori as well as Pakeha perspectives on balance, fairness, accuracy and other standards.

4 Systematic bias should be included in **definitions of balance**

The NZPC's current SoP clauses about accuracy and discrimination are completely inadequate to deal with the existing systemically inaccurate and unbalanced reporting about Maori in New Zealand newspapers.

The Statement of Principles should be rewritten as Standards, including separate and more detailed description of what is meant by balance and other standards. The standard about balance should be written to include not just the inclusion of the different facts and opinions on an issue, but a balance in the underlying frameworks and assumptions used in articles. It should specifically require an absence of systemic bias against any population group, and the existence of balanced reporting of both Maori and Pakeha perspectives.

5 NZPC should be required to be proactive and conduct research

NZPC has been reluctant to be proactive on media ethical issues. The media environment is changing rapidly and regulatory bodies need to be proactive to maintain and promote the public interest in ethical reporting in this environment.

We believe that the NZPC should be required to investigate emerging ethical issues and issue advisory opinions relating to print media standards and ethical conduct. To do this, it should commission regular research about media performance on existing and emerging ethical issues.

6 NZPC decisions should be enforceable
A regulatory body that relies on the consent of its industry to publish its decisions is increasingly viewed as an inadequate regulatory body. Current public attitudes are impatient with such processes, perceiving them as protective only of the industry involved and not of the public interest.

We believe that the NZPC must have the power to have its decisions published in every member publication, and to levy financial and other penalties on publications when complaints against them are upheld.

6 Kupu Taea members

Members include -

Angela Moewaka Barnes (Ngapuhi)

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

Belinda Borell

Belinda (Ngati Ranginui, Ngai Te Rangi, Whakatohea) is a Maori researcher in Te Ropu Whariki with a particular interest in rangatahi Maori. Her Masters thesis focused on the cultural diversity of young people from South Auckland. She has worked as an evaluator for community action projects on youth, alcohol and drugs and is managing two research projects.

Mandi Gregory

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

Hector Kaiwai

Hector (Ngati Porou/Ngati Maniapoto/Tuhoe) is a researcher and evaluator with Te Ropu Whariki, with expertise in alcohol and social marketing, gambling and positive youth development. He has a Masters degree and skills in qualitative research methodologies, focus group interviewing, analysis and project co-ordination.

Dr Tim McCreanor

Tim carried out a major analysis of submissions to the Human Rights Commission on the 1979 Haka Party, which identified

enduring Pakeha patterns of ideas about relations with Maori. He is involved in several health and social research projects at Te Ropu Whariki, Massey University, and is also an honorary Research Fellow at the University of Auckland Department of Psychology.

Dr Raymond Nairn

Consultant, Media Meanings, Kingsland, Auckland. Raymond has studied and published on race discourse and media analyses for more than 13 years, and more recently has extensively analysed media depictions of mental illness in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Frank Pega

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

Jenny Rankine

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

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