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The Maori Perspective of the News

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ABSTRACT

The Maori perspective of the news has been identified by Fox (1998, 1992, 1993) and Walker (1994), but the dynamics of the presentation and construction of the Maori perspective of the news had not been well defined.

This research attempted to define and distinguish the differences between the news produced by Mana News from the news produced by mainstream organisations. In particular the selection of what issues and events became news and how they became news was examined, as well as a study of the end product heard by the listeners. Two methodologies were employed; participant observation and content analysis.

Participant observation explored the decision-making process in the manufacture of news. This methodology gives the research an "insider" nature. The participant observation identified the news values used in the selection of news and contrasted these values applied in Mana News to those identified by Galtung and Ruge (1965) and Masterton (1994). The inter-play between the journalists and sources was also explored.

Content analysis methodology complements the participant observation methodology. Essentially content analysis is a research that focuses on the finished product, and examines what is published or broadcasted after the complex inter-play of relationships between the source and journalist which influences news creation. The content analysis examined numerous theories that may help identify the difference in the construction and presentation between the Maori perspective and the traditional mainstream perspective of the news. Journalism development identified by Loo (1994) was explored, as was the dialectical story model, the tone and nature of the stories and the diversity of sources.

Overall the results identified some fundamental differences in the application of news values, the utilisation of sources, the types of sources used, and the nature and tone of stories. The findings also have revealed a journalistic genre that appears to be a more appropriate way of categorising the writing style used in Mana News, as opposed to the traditional 'hard' and 'soft' news categories which characterises conventional journalistic writing. The research moved beyond saying that there is a difference between Mana News and mainstream news media and identified how it is different.

Finally, considering this defined difference in perspectives, the socio-political and legislative implications and the commitment broadcasters have to race relations was explored. Change to New Zealand broadcasting policy and legislation was recommended.

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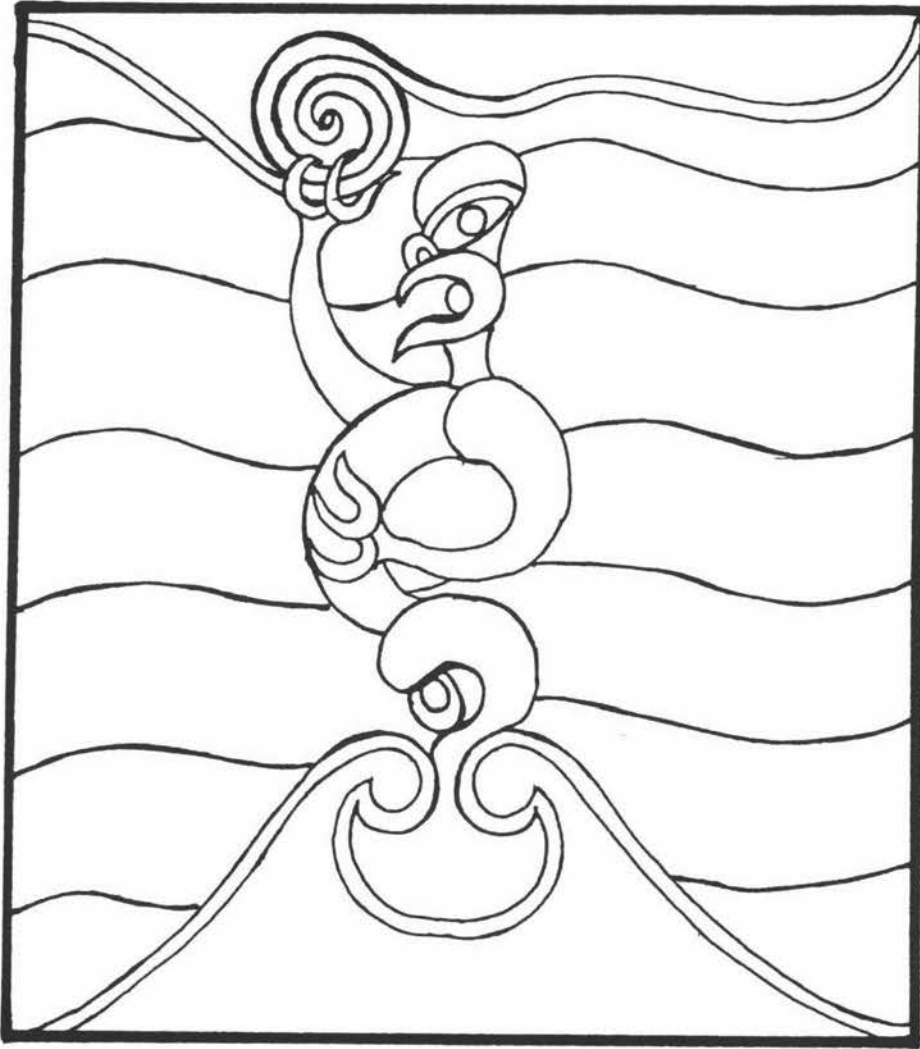
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PREFACE



*Ka mohio koe ki te putaio
Ka mohio koe ki nga take horororo*

This picture depicts mankind trying to come to grips with the environment created, when Papatuanuku and Ranginui were rendered apart by their children. It is only when you understand the environment will begin to understand each other.

Naku na Manu TeAwa.

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CHAPTER ONE SCOPE OF THE RESEARCH

1.1 Introduction

Conceptually the role of the media is to be the fourth estate in relation to government and society. However, the central question posed by John Henningham (1982) 'should the press reflect the world or reform' it is an ideological battle that will always remain. But whichever view is held, the media still have a responsibility to represent all people fairly and justly and this is reflected in statutory requirements for New Zealand's electronic media. In New Zealand some feel that the media also have a responsibility for race relations in New Zealand (Spoonley, 1990). But this is not happening (Fox, 1992; McGregor, 1991; Walker, 1994). That in fact the New Zealand media emphasises conflict, "bad news" and defines Maori people in "problem terms" (McGregor, 1991).

The dilemma may lie in the intrinsic news values that are at play in the media. There is an emphasis on the negative. These news values are apparently not appropriate for covering Maori issues and events. There is an abundance of literature and research on mainstream media and news values. The most significant and prolific being that of Galtung and Ruge (1965). They came up with a typology of news values that western news media use to judge the newsworthiness of a story. These values have held true for a number of years for the majority of western nations. But these generic values may not hold true for minority groups or at least the application of these news values.

In the pilot study for this thesis it was established that Maori media cover the news with a different agenda to the mainstream media. However, there has been little research and commentary about the Maori media and the Maori perspective of the

news.

This study intends to examine the Maori perspective of news and make a distinction between Maori news and mainstream news.

1.2 Legislation

The law surrounding broadcasting in New Zealand does require media to adhere to this call to give race relations a "fair go", but it is contentious to whether or not this is actually happening as the body enforcing the broadcasting policy has no "teeth". Legislation only requires radio and television to establish their own code of practice.

Deregulation and restructuring in broadcasting has brought about a new method of regulation of the media. The Broadcasting Tribunal, the old watch dog of the media, was replaced by the Broadcasting Standards Authority. The Broadcasting Act 1989 sets out provisions for television and radio to establish their own codes of practice.

According to the act "Every broadcaster is responsible for maintaining in its programmes and their presentation standards which are consistent with-

- (a) The observance of good taste and decency; and
- (b) The maintenance of law and order; and
- (c) The privacy of the individual; and
- (d) 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; and
- (e) Any approved code of broadcasting practice applying to the programmes.

It is important to note that the statute does specifically require television and radio to give both sides of a controversy an equal say. However, in the literature reviewed on Maori in the New Zealand press many feel an equal voice for minorities does not happen and Maori are often marginalised in mainstream news (Fox, 1993; McGregor,

1991).

There is also a provision in the Broadcasting Standard Act to ensure the Maori language and culture is preserved, a cultural safety net provision in the legislation. In relation to the Broadcasting Commission, s.36(a)(ii) states the functions of the commission are to reflect and develop the New Zealand identity and culture--promoting Maori language and Maori culture.

This statutory requirement led directly to the funding of the first national Maori news service, Mana News, which is the subject of this research.

1.3 Maori Media and Mana News

Television produces two Maori news programmes, *Te Karere* a 15 minute news bulletin and *Marae* which has a more television magazine format. But both of these shows are limited in that neither are aired during prime-time screening. *Te Karere* which is fully broadcasted in Maori is screened at 4.45pm daily, and is frequently taken off air in preference to many other sporting events, *Marae* is screened on Sunday mornings another low rated time for view watching.

In response to the marginalisation of Maori in the mainstream, Maori media has developed to overcome this inadequate and often unfair representation of themselves. In the year beginning January 1995 there were four tribal newspapers; *Kia Hiwa Ra*, *Te Maori News* and *Kahangunu*, *Pu Kaea*, 22 iwi radio stations, and Mana Maori Media operating. *Mana* publish a bi-monthly magazine and Mana News supply a news service to Radio New Zealand and all the iwi radio stations. Mana news deliver hourly bulletins to the iwi stations in both Maori and Pakeha and supply Morning Report with a seven minute bulletin at 6am and a twelve minute bulletin at night.

Mana News is the only Maori news voice on the radio airwaves. It appears that only through Mana News is the Maori voice, in all its variety, heard. Previous research has found that in the mainstream media, Maori suffer from invisibility (McGregor and

Comrie, 1995; TeAwa, 1993). In a country where many feel that the media have a responsibility for race relations (Fox, 1992; Spoonley, 1990; Walker, 1990) Mana maybe the only medium taking a positive approach.

1.4 Maori Perspective

Derek Fox is one of the few writers in this area, and he believes that there is a Maori perspective. Both Fox(1992) and Walker(1994) state there is a Maori perspective of news distinct from the traditional reportage of Maori news. But to date this Maori perspective has remained undefined.

The results from the ten interviews with journalists and the editors working in Maori media which comprised the pilot study also confirmed that there is a difference between mainstream news and Maori news. However, when asked to define why the difference exists, difficulties occurred, because the difference was more an intuitive "feeling" rather than a specific incident providing for empirical scrutiny. The journalists themselves could not say what made a good story or what made a story newsworthy, except to say any story on Maori, a "people" story and positive stories about Maori are good stories.

It became apparent from their responses some of the areas that these differences appear in, is undoubtedly in the stories that they cover, how they are reported and perhaps in the sources that they use and how they are used. It is evident from the interviews and literature that the most significant reason for the difference between the mainstream news and Maori news was the way in which the news is told.

Further research is necessary to establish an understanding of the how and the why there is a difference in news perspectives. To get this wider perspective of Maori news, there is a need to examine the selection process Maori media use for the news and to examine the difference if any in the presentation of the news. This led to the central question of this research.

1.5 Central Questions

The distinction between Mana News and mainstream news can be defined and explained through answering the following:

- 1) what is the selection process used in Mana News
- 2) who are the sources used and how are they presented
- 3) and what is the form of journalistic writing and focus used in the stories, as compared to traditional news selection and reporting?

Then a final question that needs to be contemplated is what are the legal and socio-political implications relating to broadcasting policy and the commitment all broadcasters have to race relations in New Zealand considering this defined difference between Mana News and mainstream news.

The two different methods of examination of the Maori news will give the research both quantitative and qualitative results.

1.6 Methodology

The two different methodologies will be used to define and explain the differences between Maori news and mainstream news. They will give the research both quantitative and qualitative results. The scope of each methodology employed is examined in turn.

1.6.1 Participant observation

The focus of this research method was on (1) what influences the journalist and the editor in their decision process and (2) how this in turn influences the news they cover and the approach taken to each story.

Participant observation allows the researcher to examine the relationship between the source, the journalist, the news executive, and the final product. There are a series of decision made at different levels of the news making process, and each decision will effect the final product. All decisions need to be noted to answer the question put

forward by the research:

- 1) what is the selection process used in Mana News.

1.6.2 Content analysis

Content analysis methodology complements participant observation methodology. Essentially content analysis is a research that focuses on the finished product, and examines what is published or broadcasted after the complex inter-play of relationships between the source and journalist which influences news creation.

As a research process content analysis typically describes the content of the news media against prescribed categories to determine the adequacy of the news media's account or version of the mediated reality (McGregor, 1995).

The content analysis employed in this research also investigates the way in which a story is recounted. It was necessary to examine not only the news values at play but also the journalist writing style.

The research questions of the content analysis section are:

- 1) who are the sources used and how are they presented
- 2) and what is the form of journalistic writing and focus used in the stories, as compared to traditional news selection and reporting?

1.7 Research Structure

The research is reported so that both methodologies are examined in general terms before a discussion of the specific results and implications in this study. The intention is to first explain the width and breadth two methodologies give a research report (Fielding and Fielding, 1986) and to provide some explanation to why each methodology was used, and what sort of information they obtain.

Following the discussion of the each methodology the participant observation results produced will be reported in Chapters Five and Six. These results will be evaluated in turn in the next chapter. Then the results from the content analysis will be

examined and evaluated in Chapters Eight and Nine. Chapter Ten is the overall interpretive dimension of the research. This is where the combined results are evaluated, and interpreted and the implications reviewed.

The next chapter is the literature review. It gives background to why Maori media has developed and how, by examining the coverage minorities have received both overseas and in New Zealand.

CHAPTER TWO LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Globally there is a vast body of literature written on minorities and the mass media. The main focus of this literature review will be to examine writings on minority influence in mainstream media and minority media itself, in particular Maori media.

To give context to why there has been a development of minority media and especially here in New Zealand with Maori media, there is a need first to critique mainstream media and its coverage of minorities. The literature review will begin by covering writings from leading authors on the coverage the mainstream media give to minorities in the United States, Britain, Australia and New Zealand. The general theme from these writings on the representation of minorities in the mainstream may shed light on to why minorities have turned away from the mainstream media and developed their own media.

In New Zealand it is believed that Maori media have their own perspective of the news. However, very little has been written on the Maori perspective of the news. To understand this perspective it is essential to examine the Maori culture in relation to the reporting Maori news. From exploring writings on Maori culture it may be possible to shed light on what the Maori perspective entails. Various theories on journalistic genre, dialectical story model and the development of stories need to be explored. Various theories of development journalism (Loo, 1994) and others may coincide with the way Maori write news stories.

Lastly the presentation and construction of the news in relation to the use of sources in the news also needs to be examined because it is through this process that an image of the world is shaped by the media. It appears that Maori and Pakeha often

have a different conception of the world and maybe this can be seen in the use of sources. This review will also need to encompass writings on the sources used in the media and in particular the role sources play in the presentation of the news.

2.2 USA, Britain and Australia.

The general theme that has tended to come out of the writings on minorities and the press, is that the press emphasize aspects of a situation that portray minorities as either a threat or a problem. This in its varying degrees reinforces stereotypes and prejudice about minority groups (Hartman and Husband, 1974; Meadows, 1990; Shaw, 1991; van Dijk, 1991).

Wilson and Gutierrez (1985) see the coverage of minorities by the press in stages.

News about ethnic minorities in White news media has been characterized by developmental phases. Five stages can be identified historically: (1) exclusionary, (2) threatening issue, (3) confrontation, (4) stereotypical selection, and (5) integrated coverage phases (p.135).

The exclusionary phase referred to the systematic exclusion in the reporting of public affairs by individual ethnic minority groups despite their levels of social presence and contribution to the development of American life. The threatening-issue phase shows different ethnic minority groups appearing as subjects in news reports because they have been perceived as a threat to the existing social order, state Wilson and Gutierrez (1965). Then once the news media have brought the threat to society's attention they then move to cover the response as confrontation. Wilson and Gutierrez (1965) state the stereotypical selection phase sees the news media representing members of ethnic minorities in ways which conform to existing White attitudes towards minorities. These representation are given repeated emphasis until they reach thematic proportions.

However, Wilson and Gutierrez (1965) believe that the first four stages have been so consistently used by the news media as to become covert policy and that the last

stage mentioned at present is still largely a vision. They are not alone in their belief that media are yet to move beyond negativity. van Dijk (1991) also believes that newspapers still remain focused on stereotypical and negative issues such as crime and conflict.

Husband and Hartman (1974) blame the negative focus on the newsframe work of the press. They say newsframe work in place tends to give the perspective where the presentation of coloured people as ordinary members of society is overshadowed by a news perspective in which they are presented as a problem (p.144). There is an emphasis on bad news and it could be said to be the same on coverage of whites. News is about extremes (Shaw, 1991). The more negative the event, the more likely it is to become news, and the more unambiguous the event, in the sense of fewer interpretations of it available, the more likely it is to become news (Husband and Hartman, 1974, p.10).

The difference is that as well as "whites" being in bad news, they are also covered in a variety of good news stories. Shaw (1991) found that press will cover a much broader range of white life than of minority life. The result being that there is a narrow and distorted view of ethnic minorities in the press, whereas race earns its place in the news to the extent that it is bad (Young, 1971). Entman (1994) states in his study of the portrayal of blacks on American network television news that, "more importantly, over time, the specific realities depicted in single stories may accumulate to form a summary message that distorts social reality".

However, ethnic minorities not only suffer from being portrayed in bad news stories but they also endure the media's inability and unwillingness to examine the background of racial stories. According to Husband and Hartman (1974) one of the media's main flaws on coverage of minorities is its failure to provide any background.

While paying extensive attention to these racialized or ethnicized forms of problems or conflict, it failed to pay attention to the deeper social, political or

economic causes and backgrounds of these conflicts (van Dijk, 1991, p.21).

Meadows (1990) found the same to be true of the media treatment of the Aboriginal in Australia. He said that media treatment of the Aboriginal is seen to be bad because of the lack of understanding, the media's need to focus on negative issues and their tendency to sensationalise issues. But it is not only the Aboriginal of Australia that the mainstream ignore. As Loo (1994) quite aptly states when commenting on Australian journalism,

Mainstream journalists have shunned minority reaction to issues because of a higher value that journalists place on prominent mainstream actors compare with minority ones. Ethnic minority groups do not appear to be part of the discourse reflected in the media (p.1).

van Dijk (1991) also links the bad press coverage to the discriminatory hiring practices in the press. Hartman and Husband (1974) maintain that because the media are largely staffed by whites, that it is a white perspective that is provided by the media. Lawrence (1991) links the need to produce newspapers that are meaningful and diverse to its readers to the need for minorities on staff.

In the United States and in particular to the blacks Johnson (1987) found a scarcity of news stories that would even challenge racial stereotypes which he links to the white editors.

Perhaps [the scarcity of news stories is] because, white news-makers are more likely to report stories that align with their preconceptions of blacks, such as being drug pushers, thieves, dirty, trouble makers, violent or failing students, on the one hand, or involved in sports or entertainment, on the other hand (p.4).

However, most writers believe that the reports on minorities are not deliberately racist, in fact racism in the press is rare. (Shaw, 1991). Meadows (1990) puts it down to 'institutionalised racism' rather than overt racism. As van Dijk (1991) puts it

racism is a structural and ideological property of the white group dominance and therefore characterizes the press as a whole rather than the ideology of individual journalists and editors (p.22).

2.3 New Zealand

Until recently there has been a lack of critical scrutiny of New Zealand's press and scant research to spark debate (McGregor, 1991). Lealand (1988) says:

Prior to the early 1970s there had been no systematic research at all into the role of the press in New Zealand life. As in other areas of New Zealand life where enormous powers are ascribed (to the role of television, for example), there has been a puzzling reluctance to investigate the consequences of such alleged ability to influence the social, economic and political fabric of New Zealand life (p.23).

However, McGregor (1991) notes that there are signs of improvement in the critical analysis of the press such as the slow development of a body of literature. Indeed recently there has been many authors making critical comments and research about the press in relation to the coverage and representation of Maori in the press.

There has been publications such as *Between the Lines* edited by Paul Spoonley and Walter Hirsh (1990). This book is a critical review of the media's performance in New Zealand and it has one chapter devoted to the issue of race relations. There are also Judy McGregor's (1991) & (1992) *Te Orenga Waha Ki* publications and Judy Cochrane's research on the media treatment of Maori issues published in *Sites*(1990). There is additional comment on news values in a working paper by Judy McGregor entitled *News Values and the reporting of Maori News*, published by the Department of Human Resource Management, Faculty of Business Studies, Massey University, in 1991. Maori broadcaster Derek Fox (1992) has also explored the Maori perspective of news in a recent collection (Comrie and McGregor, 1992) of critical issues in New Zealand journalism. More recently Fox (1993) comments on the state of Maori news in New Zealand were in *Channels of Resistance*. In 1994 the New Zealand Broadcasting Summit

has held and Walker (1994) spoke about *Maori TV and radio- where is it at?* The extensive research that has touch of the coverage of Maori news by both mainstream media and Maori media, as well as the coverage of health, crime and politics was the research conducted by McGregor and Comrie (1995), *Balance and Fairness in Broadcasting News (1985-1994)*. Recently two more books, one just about to be published and another just published have chapters on racism in New Zealand media. One by John Saunders (1996) in *Dangerous Democracy*, edited by Judy McGregor, and one by McGregor and TeAwa (in press) in Paul Spoonley's *Nga Patai*. Both cover the issues of Maori in the media today. However, these writings are still few and far between, and tend to be written by a small selection of authors.

All the writings suggest that there tends to be a misrepresentation and under-representation of the Maori in the media, not unlike the findings of the overseas authors previously mentioned. Fox (1993) quotes that by some current estimates Maori make up 25-30 per cent of the total population. However, the number of Maori or Maori related programmes on television is less than 1 per cent of the total broadcast time, and the total extent of Maori language heard on New Zealand national radio ... is under an hour a week (p.126). Walker (1994) adds that not only is the broadcast time limited but, these Maori programmes are also *ghettoised*. Where there are Maori news programmes on television such as *Te Karere*, they are positioned in dead time, and become a moveable feast in deference to cricket or other sporting events (Walker, 1994).

McGregor and Comrie (1995) in ground breaking research into Fairness and Balance in broadcasting news (1985-1994) had similar results of Maori news being marginalised and spoke about the invisibility of Maori. Of the total 915 stories sampled across four broadcasters (TVNZ, TV3, Morning Report and Mana News) 19.2% were Maori stories. But Mana News made up 126 of the total 176 Maori stories recorded. Only 50 Maori stories were broadcast by the other three broadcaster taken together (McGregor & Comrie, 1995). This invisibility of Maori as news is not confined to the broadcast media (McGregor & TeAwa, in press).

The results from a content analysis of two New Zealand newspapers; *The Dominion* of Wellington and the *Evening Standard* of Palmerston North showed similar results (TeAwa, 1993). Maori news in these two newspapers in June 1993 totalled 7,903 square centimetres, 1.6% of the "total" news content. Maori news in the month of July 1993 totalled 9 642 square centimetres, 1.9% of total news. The amount of news coverage Maori reflects a very bleak outcome when compared to the statistical incidence of Maori in New Zealand. The Maori population make up 14% of the New Zealand population, but the Maori news in the two newspapers studied was only 2%. The results once again show that the amount of news coverage Maori received was negligible (TeAwa, 1993).

But not only are Maori under-represented in the media they are also subject to misrepresentation. Spoonley and Hirsh (1990) voice concern about the way in which the media report race relations in New Zealand. They draw attention to the misinterpretation of Maori issues and views in the media.

McGregor (1991) said that the New Zealand media emphasises conflict, "bad news" and defines Maori people in "problem terms". However, not only are bad stories emphasised but Fox (1993) also believes that the Maori element in success stories are liable to be played down.

Cochrane (1990) made the following findings in her research on the treatment of Maori issues by the media:

1. Maori issues were treated in a negative manner, though this was not overwhelmingly so.
2. The media over-represented certain aspects of the Maori presence
3. Maori issues of culture, housing, education were under-represented, while there was a significant absence of background exposition.

Webber (1990) a writer in the book (Spoonley and Hirsh, 1990) goes on to say why she believes this misrepresentation is occurring in New Zealand. She notes that Maori

news in the newsroom is held in "low regard, except where there is scandal.... The result being another round of Maori bashing" (p.148). Fox (1988) in a report to the Commission of Social Policy said very much the same thing. He believes:

A regular part of the media's message is that Maori does not matter unless it intrudes on the Pakeha world (p.483).

However, not only are Maori issues not reported, but when they are, it is often not done well. According to Wilson (1990):

They [the New Zealand media] bungle Maori news in all sorts of ways - playing down big issues, missing the implications in other issues, ignoring stories completely, quoting people who aren't authorities and neglecting those who are, blowing up negative stories and getting them wrong, then denying they got them wrong (p.49).

All of which he says adds up to Maori bashing. Wright, a journalism tutor at Waiariki Polytechnic, agrees and said recently in an article in *Kia Hiwa Ra* written by Lafaele (1993):

Minority cultures, fringe groups and special interest groups have all suffered at the hands of the media. Over the last 150 years the mainstream media have done a poor job to fairly and accurately tell the Maori point of view (p.6).

There has been many examples of misrepresentation of Maori throughout the history of New Zealand media. Walker (1990) gives the example of the "kill a white " row as well as many others of how the media distort events. He says:

The news media dwelt at length on the issue of race relations. But the subject was treated in a sensationalist way that emphasised racial antagonism, as exemplified by the 'kill a white' row. Little weight was given to the economic and social context.

Some writers such as McGregor (1991), Tremewan (1987) in the *Te Tangata* magazine editorial and Spoonley (1991) and Tully (1990) put this misrepresentation down to the

news values used while others such as Shortland (1990) see it happening because: Many Pakeha journalist are out of their depth as soon as they start a Maori story (p.132).

Lealand (1988) in a survey of journalists in New Zealand also found that the journalists feel inadequately prepared to cover Maori news, because of the lack of training in *taha* Maori. In the more recent survey conducted by Lealand (1994) showed there was a slight increase in the number of journalists who have some familiarity with the Maori language (162 in 1994, compared with 100 in 1987) but only 28 journalists regarded their work as being directed primarily at a Maori audience. He says, 'there was, however, an increase in the proportion of journalists who regarded themselves as thoroughly or adequately prepared for covering news related to Maori issues or interests' (29.4% in 1994, compared to 17.4% in 1987). But McGregor and TeAwa (1996) state caution needs to be exercised in relation to these figures which could reflect a response in the sample from journalists working in separate Maori news organisations. In 1987 few Maori news media organisations existed. For example, Mana News did not come on air until 1990, the first iwi station began broadcasting in 1988, and Maori newspapers such as *Kahangunu* and *Kia Hiwa Ra* began publishing in 1991 respectively. The New Zealand Journalists Training Organisation confirmed that the second survey questionnaire was distributed among the new, Maori media organisations (McGregor and TeAwa, in press).

There is a total lack of understanding by the mainstream media of the Maori world. This lack of understanding and ignorance of the Maori perspective is also reflected in the sources used in mainstream media. In the recently conducted research by McGregor and Comrie (1995) the study showed three of the four broadcasters relied overwhelmingly on Pakeha sources (Morning Report news 92% to Holmes 75.9%) and Maori sources varies from 5.3% (Morning report) to 19.1% (Holmes). Pacific Island sources were almost invisible. McGregor and Comrie (1995) believe that this relative invisibility of both Maori and Pacific Islanders as sources in the news and newsmakers raises serious issues about diversity in television and radio news.

Accuracy and social responsibility in the news are not served by invisibility which promotes what Entman (1994) has called "modern racism." Although some may argue that the lack of Maori sources in the news may be due to the under-representation of Maori in institutions which are relied on for news.

But it is news values as well as the use of Maori sources that seem to be at the heart of the issue and the reason why Maori are not represented in the mainstream media. Pakeha journalists are generally not aware that in their work they are drawing on their own cultural perspective, since they assume it is universal (Fox, 1993).

2.4 News Values

So while some commentators point to the inability of Pakeha journalists to cover the "Maori round" well, the main issue to why there is no Maori perspective in the news and why the press do not fairly represent Maori seems to be because of the news values used.

News values are the values which journalists used to judge whether an issue, or event is newsworthy or not. The problem is that, nowhere are news values formally codified (McGregor, 1991). Stuart Hall (1973) has written:

News values are one of the most opaque structures of meaning in modern society. All "true journalists" are supposed to possess it: few can or are willing to identify and define it. Journalists speak of "the news" as if events select themselves. Further, they speak as if which is the "most significant" news story, and which "news angles" are most salient, are divinely inspired (p.181).

News values are learnt by journalists through a process of newsroom socialisation: reading newspapers, talking to more experienced colleagues and observing the selection procedures of sub-editors (Chibnall, 1977). So, if the environment in which these news values are learnt is monocultural so then will the reporting of the news be monocultural. Often these news values heighten racial tension. Braham (1982) makes the comment that in Britain if journalists adhere to normal news values this

exaggerates the extent of racial conflict and will enviably make race relations worse, simply because of the tendency only to cover conflict in race.

McGregor (1991) said that the reason for the discrepancy between journalistic intention and the news coverage eventually produced is grounded in news values, grounded in the way they judge the newsworthiness of a story. McGregor(1991) goes on to say:

News values are central to the distortion of Maori aspirations, to the lack of explanation of issues affecting Maori, to the absence of positive news about Maori, and the stereotyping of Maori people by the mainstream media (p.16).

The media's preoccupation with conflict, highlights the news values of the media (Spoonley, 1990). That is the monocultural news values largely dominate the mainstream media in New Zealand. (McGregor, 1991). While news values have not been formally codified, and are acknowledged to be subjective in their application by journalists, there is some consensus among commentators about what constitutes news values and the criteria of newsworthiness. Many commentators follow the seminal work of Galtung and Ruge (1965). Galtung and Ruge (1965) in their analysis of foreign news in four newspapers, identified a number of factors which operate in the structure of the news. They said events become news to the extent they satisfy the conditions of;

1. frequency
2. threshold
3. absolute intensity
4. intensity increase
5. unambiguity
6. meaningfulness
7. cultural proximity
8. relevance
9. consonance
10. predictability

11. demand
12. unexpectedness
13. unpredictability
14. scarcity
15. continuity
16. composition
17. reference to elite nations
18. reference to elite persons
19. reference to persons, and
20. reference to something negative.

More recently the commercialism of the news has also impacted on the judgement of what is newsworthy. The commercial value of a story is now a news value, in itself. The commercial potential of a story is why a story is written. The economic pressures of earning rating points have made the practice of delivering the news a vehicle by which to insure profits, so instead of covering stories audiences need to know, the media series up a diet of stories that titillate rather than inform (Scott and Gobetz, 1992).

However, one commentator (Masterton, 1994) on news values and the cross cultural perspective believes that news values are truly international and intercultural. The suggestion that news values may not change between cultures is not new, in spite of the often repeated statements to the contrary (Masterton, 1994). From his research emerged 'six truly international news values':

- Consequence
- Proximity
- Conflict
- Human Interest
- Novelty
- Prominence

For each news value there are broad definitions of what is meant by them. Some of which coincide with the news values identified by Galtung and Ruge (1965) some of

which have much broader definitions. The values of proximity and prominence are identified as news values by both Masterton (1994) and Galtung and Ruge, a story is news worthy because of who said it or did it, not the action. Masterton (1994) said that novelty is news on the rare and unexpected events which coincides with Galtung and Ruge's (1965) unexpectedness. The others have elements of Galtung and Ruge's (1965) seminal work but are broader in scope and meaning. Conflict includes any disagreement or opposition between people, be it sport, or the eccentric opposing authority. Human interest refers to interest people have in other people and consequence refers to the number of people the story affects.

This research conducted by Masterton (1994) surveyed a variety of cultures and countries. The journalists surveyed were the dominant culture in their respective country. The research did not appear to have surveyed minority groups and the news values they use in their respective medias. It would be interesting to see if six truly international news values' identified are applicable to minority cultures. It is difficult to judge whether these values as identified by Masterton (1994) would be applicable to Maori news, a minority group, without research and surveying of Maori journalists.

And according to the *Te Tangata* magazine editorial these news values (current news values used by mainstream media) do not take into account the Maori perspective. In addition in a survey of Maori journalists by McGregor (1992), Maori journalists also felt that the Maori perspective is different from the Pakeha perspective and deserves representation, which it does not have at the moment.

Some of the news values Maori journalists use may be the same, yet because the news values are used to judge news in the Maori world the stories will be different. The application of news values in Maori media may see them placing emphasis on different news values to mainstream. Traditionally bad news and violence have been dominant news values in the media. Hall (1973) found that the most salient, operational news value is certainly that of violence. Violence in crime news Hall

(1978) suggests is the supreme example of news values "negative consequences" (p.68). There is room for research to compare how mainstream apply news values as compared to Maori media. Maori may place a different emphasis and priorities on the same news values used to mainstream, as well as use other news values not mentioned by either Galtung and Ruge (1965) or Masterton (1994).

Whatever the outcome of research into what news values are used by Maori media, the current news values used in mainstream media have seen Maori unfairly represented in the mainstream media. Maori are now producing their own media services which does cater for their perspective. Mana News is an example of Maori producing their own media and are providing New Zealand a window on Maori reality that is positive and optimistic (Walker, 1994). Walker (1994) adds that it is an antidote to the prevailing negative images of Maori hitherto promulgated ad nauseam by the Fourth State. This explosion of separate Maori media development occurred in spite of and partly because of the bleak outlook for Maori news reporters within the mainstream news media (McGregor, 1993, p.18). Walker (1994) notes that from this struggle for equality and emancipation from Pakeha control and domination in the media three models in Maori broadcasting have emerged.

1. The control model whereby concessions are made within existing structures and then ghettoised by dead time scheduling.
2. The separatist model, whereby Maori run their own broadcasting outlets but with financial sword of Damocles overhead held by a brown thread to a Pakeha roof.
3. The integrationist model whereby Maori programmes are alongside their Pakeha equivalents.

The first two models are all that exist at the moment in New Zealand, where New Zealand needs to move to is the third. Walker (1994) believes radio is in the vanguard with the integrationist model, and points a possible way to the future Maori programmes in television.

2.5 Maori perspective of the News

There has been little written on the Maori media, and the Maori perspective of the news. Fox (1988, 1992, 1993) and Walker (1994) appear to be the sole writers/commentators in this field.

But there is a Maori perspective of the news. Fox (1992) believes that there is a Maori perspective but does not define a typology of news values for the Maori perspective of news. Rather he notes that it is different and it can be seen in the way Maori news services report news to that of the mainstream.

we've noticed since Mana News got going, [is] the terrific difference between our stories and those of the mainstream media (p.170).

However, Fox (1992) does note that the Maori perspective in the news cuts across conventional news values such as negativity. The Maori perspective of the news incorporates a positive profile of Maori people. That is not to say that journalists go rushing out to develop a false positive image, but rather there is a commitment to covering the issues, and reporting positive news where it exists (Fox, 1992). Maori media are there to cover a number of important Maori events around the country (Fox, 1992).

A feature story in *The Dominion* by Mannion (1993) covering the *Te Maori News* newspaper found that this Maori newspaper had the same idea. The paper (*Te Maori News*) has sought out Maori success stories.

The Maori perspective of the news should be different to the mainstream because of the many cultural differences. But the opaque nature of Maori tikanga makes it difficult to make a direct link to news values in Maori media. However, some general observations and connections have been made. It must be remembered that each tribe is distinct in their own tradition and beliefs and what is said here about Maori tikanga cannot be applied universally to all Maori people. It is only because of time, the urban drift of Maori, and inter-mingling of different tribes that some

common values have emerged.

The Maori view of the world is different, they view the world as a whole. All things are seen to have an effect on the world in both a physical and spiritual sense (Pere, 1982). For the Maori the world is a different world, with a spiritual dimension unknown to many Pakeha. In a real sense the spirits of ancestors are always there guiding and sustaining (Pere, 1982).

Stories written in Maori media are stories that often do include some background. Stories will not only encompass the background to the situation but the background of the subjects, that is their *whakapapa* (genealogy). One distinction of Maori journalism is that readers will look for reference to a subject's tribal and family connections (Mannion, 1993). In a Maori programme a person is likely to be captioned with their tribal affiliation or tribal area. These things are important, because Maori people need to know someone's tribal affiliation in order to properly consider what they are saying in public (Fox, 1993).

Past events and the history are important to Maori. You cannot go forward without knowing the past, and you cannot understand the present without first understanding the past. That is one of the reasons *Te Maori News* finds for Maori readership the focus will be on the progress and the history of a particular issue, rather than just the controversy surrounding it (Mannion, 1993).

Maori *tikanga* (ways) are of the heart, not just the head. As a Ngati Porou elder, Ngoi Pewhairangi (1985) puts it, many Pakeha want to not only learn Maori language but the Maori heart. But it's a thing one can never teach. Because Maori think with their heart, stories in Maori media will portray this. Many stories in the Maori media will be human interest stories categorised as soft news rather than hard news.

Also when examining Maori culture you need to look at the role of the *iwi* (tribe).

Maori are not just the one people. Maoridom is made up of *iwi*, each with their own *tikanga* and ancestral background and stories. To many Maori they are first their *iwi*, say Ngati Porou, Nga Puhi, then Maori. Stories will have a cultural proximity, as identified by Galtung and Ruge (1965) to *iwi*, rather than just their ethnicity of Maori.

From this limited source of writings it is possible to see that the Maori perspective of the news encompasses a different way of writing the news as well as what news will be covered. News values used in judging what is newsworthy are just a part of the Maori perspective. The way in which news is written is also part of this Maori perspective. However, there is no writing to back this theory, or to say what the news values used by the Maori media are. This area of the media is open for research; the writing style employed.

2.6 New Typology for Journalism Writing

New typologies for writing and reporting news have been explored by Wyatt and Badger (1993). Wyatt and Badger (1993) have devised new divisions for journalistic genre and move away from the traditional news/editorial/feature trichotomy or news-opinion continuum. Their model divides the types or mode of composition into five categories, according to their method of discourse (or form) and intended purpose (effect), corresponding to Aristotle's formal and final causes (p.6).

The first mode is *description*, its purpose is to depict a scene and convey other information about news occurrence. Then there is *narration*, closely aligned to description, but rather than organising facts to convey information effectively, narration presents the structure of an event through the use of a plot. The third is *exposition*. Exposition is a form of composition that mainly operates through logical and explanatory devices to provide a heightened perspective on or understanding of its subject. Then there is *argumentation*, its primary purpose is persuasion. Lastly there is *criticism*, where critics write their personal judgement or taste in arriving at an assessment of an external object of event (Wyatt and Badger, 1993).

Perhaps these division of journalistic writing styles will give a clearer picture to the writing style used in *Mana* rather than and perhaps in addition to the traditional trichotomy of news/features/editorial. Other writers (Aggarwala, 1981; Loo, 1994; Sinha, 1981) have explored development journalism, and opportunities that this type of journalism provides to close the gap between professional news values in the newsroom that ignore minority groups and a journalists style that is more inclusive (Loo, 1994). Development journalism is based loosely on the model promoted by UNESCO in the 1970s.

The essence of Development Journalism can be seen from the following definitions:

Development journalism is an in-depth reporting of events and situation impinging on the development of individuals, societies, communities and nations. It dives deep into the entire process and patterns of events in order to be able to come up with a reliable, accurate and effective story. The main essence of investigative journalism is "why". Development journalism attempts to highlight the "what, why and how" of the process of events (Sinha, 1981:1).

A developmental journalist looks at a development process at any moment, kind of stops the clock and takes a look backward and forward to convey to the reader the continuing and long-term nature of the process of economic and social change. In this, development news is significantly different from the so-called spot or action news (Aggarwala, 1981:1).

Loo (1994) believes that development journalism provides a way for journalists to report on the ethnic and cultural diversity in Australia. In New Zealand, separate Maori organisation already are reporting on New Zealand's cultural diversity, perhaps it is because there are some elements of developmental journalism at play in their newsrooms.

2.7 Sources

Another possible way to examine the difference between Maori media and

mainstream is through the sources of the news. There is a vast amount of writing and research on sources. The main area of research this literature review will explore are writings on who are the sources used and the representation of the news through sources. The vast majority of the authors tend to all agree that the newsroom rely heavily on a few official and institutional sources (Brown, Bybee, Wearden and Straughan; 1987; Gandy, 1982; Gans, 1979; Hall, 1978; Leitch, 1992; McGregor 1993; McGregor and Comrie, 1995; Sigal, 1973; Stempel and Culbertson; 1984).

However, the ideal role of a journalist is not to rely on dominant sources but to actively seek out stories using variety of sources for a range of opinion. Ericson, Baranek and Chan (1989) identified this ideal role of the journalist with their sources as; the journalist being interdependent with their source organisation regarding both knowledge production and its various uses inside and outside the organisation. Basically it is referring to what is sometimes called the Commercial Laissez Faire picture of the media, that is this common conception of news as an autonomous, independent body of fact waiting to be uncovered by a reporter.

This view has been found to be in contradiction to research literature (Hall, 1978; Roscho, 1975; Sigal, 1986) The common theme in research has been that the news is reliant on sources for news, as represented by Roscho (1975) who states "... the nature of news as a form of knowledge makes the reporter dependent upon news sources for most of the knowledge he will transpose into media content" (p.63). News is not what happens, but what someone says has happened or will happen (Sigal, 1986,p.15). Reporters are seldom in a position to witness events first hand. That is why Hall (1978) as part of his theory on the presentation and construction of the news found that one of the major influences shaping the news were sources; the use of accredited sources, the overaccessing of sources and sources as 'primary definers' of the news. He found that frequently the media had a secondary role to the source and were "in a position of structured subordination to primary definer of the news". Primary definers being the sole accredited spokespeople on a certain area of the news, such as the police in the area of crime (McGregor, 1993). Schlesinger (1990)

however argues that by focusing on the primary definer we fail to examine source competition and the activities of other sources that are not dominant. However, he still agreed that dominant sources do enjoy privilege access to the media.

Important to the presentation of the news, is the way in which news is sourced. Material must always be sourced, which results in a reliance on "reliable" accredited and legitimate sources (McGregor, 1993). Gandy (1982) points out that reporters "favour bureaucratic sources who provide a regular, credible and ultimately usable flow of information, insight and imagery with which to construct the news" (p.13). Gans (1979) identifies two criteria "elite" sources have in source selection; availability and suitability. "Elite" sources are more likely to meet standard definitions of reliability, trustworthiness, authoritativeness and articulateness (Brown et al, 1987).

The media are heavily reliant upon a few dominant sources as their sources of the news, that is why Hall (1978) believes there are these primary definers of the news. A survey carried out by Sigal (1973) in the States found that nearly one-half of the sources cited in the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* were officials of the US government. When Stempel and Culbertson (1984) examined news stories in Ohio newspaper medical coverage they found a similar lack of diversity. In a similar study to Sigal's, Culbertson found that 54% of all stories in the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* used at least one unnamed source. The two words most frequently used to veil sources were "officials" and "spokesman". More recently research conducted by Brown, Bybee, Wearden and Straughan (1987) on news sources and diversity found that in their analysis of channels of information there was a heavy reliance on routine reporting. These findings lend credence to Sigal's (1973) and Gandy's (1982) suggestion that newspapers have relinquished control of news to their sources.

Leitch (1992) also believes that sources used in New Zealand media is dominated by the use of official and institutional sources. The minority voice is not heard, is not sought after. Altheide (1987) presents an example of this in the United States in his

study of the hostage situation in the Middle East. He noted that network journalists relied on official news sources and commonly turned to officials having a western appearance who spoke English, rather than seeking out their more indigenous appearing and speaking counterparts.

The problem with this is that most spokespeople used by the media are not the minority voice. Minority groups are not seen as "reliable" accredited and legitimate sources. Research has shown that the voices of dissent minorities, of trade unions and small political groups, are only heard when they are raised sufficiently high in anger to cross the threshold of newsworthiness (Galtung and Ruge, 1965). This means that minorities as a source of news, and therefore their representation in the news media is limited and biased.

Research by Ericson, Baranek and Chan (1989) found that the lack of minority voice in mainstream media also because of differences in cultural values between the minority group and the dominant culture present in mainstream news. Ericson *et al* (1989) state sources wishing to communicate in the news media must share values with journalists, including core values of the dominant culture, which of course many minority groups do not. According to Ericson *et al* (1989) that is cause for many to complain of bias in the news. These complaints are envious since news text is not formulated in terms of the source's context, but reformulated to meet and contexts of news discourse (Ericson, 1989).

However, Ericson (1989) did note that minorities and those who believe they were portrayed in the mainstream media inaccurately, spoke more positively of alternative media. Obviously alternative media use different sources, and use them differently, for there to be a more positive reaction from minorities to that media. Little significant research has been done on alternative media and sources. However, a recent research report on fairness and balance in New Zealand broadcasting did come up with some interesting statistics that are worth investigating. They found that the sourcing of Maori news stories revealed a fundamental distinction between traditional

broadcasters and Mana News. The results showed Mana news used a more diverse source base for stories about Maoridom. Mana News tended to use fewer institutional sources, but more informal sources such as iwi spokespeople, researchers, Maori interest groups, education spokespeople, individual Maori, public servants and administrative officers (McGregor and Comrie, 1995).

There is a need to examine the sources alternative media do use, that is to examine whether alternative media rely on official and government sources or use a wide variety of sources, and what sort of differences it makes to the news they cover and how it is presented.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGIES: theory and background

3.1 Introduction

The Maori perspective of the news (Fox, 1992) has not been well researched. Nor have the characteristics of the Maori perspective been closely identified. The news values used in Maori news, the journalistic genre that is employed and sources used remain to be explored and defined in academic scholarship. This research will attempt to increase the knowledge and understanding of those factors and examine the process of news making in a Maori medium. Two different methodologies will be employed to shed light on the news process of a Maori news agency, Mana Maori Media.

This chapter will cover why the methodologies were used and their compatibility as well as the scholarship behind each of the methodologies. The scholarship describes in general terms the theory and background of the methodologies. In the following chapter the procedures and the specific employment of those procedures for both participant observation and content analysis is dealt with.

Chapters Five and Six review the results of the participant observation and Chapter Eight reviews the results from the content analysis.

3.2 Why Participant Observation & Content Analysis?

The methodologies were chosen in line with Tuchman's (1991) urging that "the old rule remains valid: the method one should choose when approaching any topic, including news depends on the question one wants to answer" (p.79). Participant observation and content analysis have been extensively used in the study of the news media. Studies of media organisations have been the proving ground for the use of

content analysis as a data-collection method, and these are often coupled with the use of participant observation. Exemplary works include Gans' (1979) study, *Deciding What's News* and Tuchman's (1978) *Making News*. Herbert Gans' study of the Cuban Missile Crisis, complemented his observations and interviews with a quantitative content analyses that revealed some general characteristics of news reports.

In this research the methodologies are used to corroborate each other. This study will employ a corroboratory mode of inquiry by which the results of one methodology supports, confirms or disproves the findings of another to a greater or lesser extent (McGregor, 1995). Each research methodology has both strengths and weakness and it is anticipated that the use of two methodologies will help minimise the limitations of research which employs one methodology only.

The use of multiple methods looking at the same broad research site is a distinct tradition in the literature on social science research methods (Jick, 1983). The use of qualitative and quantitative methodologies provides different perspectives on how the news is made. This use of various methodologies means the researcher can add width and breath to the analysis. (Fielding and Fielding, 1986).

3.2.1 Why participant observation?

As a methodology participant observation is becoming more accepted. Commentators believe that this type of qualitative research can be as systematic and rigorous as quantitative research (Becker, 1970). Howard Becker (1970), one of the leading practitioners of qualitative methods in the conduct of social science research, argues that participant observation is the most comprehensive of all types of research strategies.

The most complete form of the sociological datum, after all, is the form in which the participant observer gathers it, an observation of some social event, the events which precede, and follow it, and explanations of its meaning by participants and spectators, before, during and after its occurrence. Such a datum gives us more information about the event under observation than data

gathered by any other sociological method (Becker & Geer, 1970, p.133).

More recently it is being widely used in the study of the newsroom. Many key studies of news room activity such as the coverage of the Vietnam war by Tuchman (1978) and racism Hall *et al* (1978) used participant observation. Participant observation gives the researcher the ability to judge the extent the relationship between the source, the journalist and editor influences the news, as general characteristics of the news reporting process become apparent. More importantly, perhaps, it also gives the participant observer access to one kind of data which is inaccessible to researchers using other methods. This data consists of choices not made (Shimanoff, 1980), or in the case of a newsroom the non-manufacture of news whereas content analysis is end-product research (McGregor, 1995).

Participant observation also has a cultural sensitivity appeal as an unobtrusive methodology. Face to face contact will always get a more open and easy response from Maori. When conducting research into things Maori participant observation will be more likely to win support for the researcher's role because it takes account of the Maori oral tradition. Traditionally, Maori information and knowledge resided in the memories and minds of the people (Royal, 1992) and passed on by watching and listening to *waiata*, *whakatauki*, *karanga*, *he korero purakau* and *haka*. Participant observation as a observational methodology is conducive to the Maori oral traditions, as knowledge is gain through watching and talking to the participants. The oral tradition is considered by Maori as the most important historical tradition for Maori. Royal (1992) recommends that when you consider researching into Maori history that you start with speaking to elders or in this case the people who hold the knowledge.

3.2.2 Why content analysis?

"News" is so pervasive and commonplace that many of the public assume they know what is there (Lichty and Bailey, 1978). Lichty and Bailey state, "people tend to over-generalize from what they do see and remember" and that "we analyze the content of the news because a valid and reliable study is sharply different from casual

watching" (p.112). The scientific study of news content requires the use of content analysis methodology because a viewer, reader or listener's selective exposure, perception to recall make it impossible for news consumer to have a broad and accurate overview of all that news (McGregor, 1995).

Spurred by the development of new conceptual frameworks, advances in statistical tools, greater variety of available communication content and the use of computers, content analysis has also become one of the most frequently used communications research methods (Kaid and Wadsworth, 1989). It is especially helpful in the collection of quantitative data on the news. The use of new technology and computerisation has meant advanced statistical procedures can now be utilised, allowing the researcher a lot more scope.

The use of content analysis then means the research can adopt procedures which have been elaborately defined and refined, and to explore a wide range of research questions.

3.3 Participant Observation

Participant observation is an observational method of research in which the researcher becomes part of the events being observed (Dane, 1990, p.158). Dane (1990) also identifies different levels of participation, observation where the researcher is known, not known, and where they partake in the activity. Junker (1960) developed this typology of levels in participant observation which are; complete participant, participant as observer; observer as participant and complete observer. The level of participation observation that will be used for this research is observer-as-participant. This is where the observer is known to the participants as a researcher but does not undertake an active part in the events (Gold, 1969).

3.3.1 Purpose of participation

Jankowski and Wester (1991) describe the primary purpose of participant observation: is to describe in fundamental terms various events, situations and actions that occur

in a particular social setting. This is done through the development of case studies of social phenomena, normally employing a combination of data collection (Jankowski and Wester, 1991, p.61). Very simply put by Patton (1980) "the purpose of observational analysis is to take the reader into the setting observed" (p.30).

Participant observation allows the researcher to understand the context in which people operate in the newsroom, see things that may routinely escape the consciousness of those in the newsroom, learn about things that participants may be unwilling to talk about in an interview, move beyond the selective perceptions of others, and access personal knowledge and direct experience as resources to aid in understanding and interpreting the decision-making process in the newsroom being evaluated.

Through observing events in the newsroom the researcher can identify significant events and normal day to day processes in the newsroom. Through observing the interaction between the media, sources and watching the collection process the significance of the relationships can be recognised and made sense of.

3.3.2 Definition

A workable definition of participant observation is that offered by Becker and Geer (1957) who state by participant observation we mean that method in which the observer participates in the daily life of the people under study, either openly in the role of researcher or covertly in some disguised role, observing things that happen, listening to what is said, and questioning people over some length of time (p.28). Anderson (1987) looking at the nature of participant observation says of participation:

This participation is having a member's knowledge. It is knowing the right thing to do and the right time to do it. In its most developed form, it is the participation in the negotiation, maintenance, and evaluation of the network of meanings that define the right act and the right time for it (p.295).

It is important to define the level of participation, and as mentioned earlier the role

this researcher undertook was that of researcher as observer, where the observed are aware of the researcher and their role.

3.3.3 Ethics

Babbie (1992) poses the ethical question of field research as: is it ethical to observe people you are studying in the hope that they will confide in you as they will not confide in an identified researcher? Do the interests of science—the scientific values of the research—offset such ethical considerations? Babbie (1992) suggests the norms to be followed remain somewhat ambiguous when applied to specific situations, and this research ratified that ambiguity.

The ethical difficulty that was faced in this research was that of being Maori versus being a researcher. As a Maori I faced the situation being viewed as a supporter to the "cause"; the development and advancement of separate Maori media organisations; as a researcher I was committed to observing objectively the actions and routines of the Maori journalists.

The journalist and the editor I contacted to be observed, agreed to allow me to watch themselves at work. The other Mana journalists also were open and appreciative of the interest shown in their organisation, and often called me over to look at what they were doing and to give me explanations of the work they did. Many saw my role as a supporter to their cause as Maori journalists, as they felt any research into "things" Maori was good, and expected that I would only write good things about their news service.

The journalists were aware of my role as a research observer but not of my overall objective and what I was examining. The specific questions I had set for myself were unknown to the journalists. Journalists were given information about the study on a case to case basis.

3.3.4 Limitations

Shimanoff (1980) and McCall-Simmons (1969) identify three disadvantages associated with behavioural data collected through participant observation: (1) reactive effect of observer's presence, (2) selective perception of observation and (3) limitation of observer's ability to witness all relevant aspects (p.78). The research suffered from two of these disadvantages.

The first is reactive effects of the observer's presence or activities on the phenomena being observed. (McCall-Simmons, 1969). Schwartz and Schwartz (1969) state that the mere presence of the observer means that movements are made and orientations are developed toward them which would not otherwise have occurred (p.94). However, it was impossible for me to judge, if in fact my presence altered the decision-making process of either the editor or journalists involved. The effect of an observers presence on the behaviour of the journalists is limited because of the structure of a news organisation. An observer's presence does not alter what story is newsworthy and what story is not newsworthy and the decisions that follow, of when and where to broadcast any particular story.

The second disadvantage identified is the ability of the observer to witness all relevant aspects of the phenomena in question. The speed at which some decisions were made in the process of making the news made it almost impossible to take comprehensive notes on the scene. The nature of journalism meant work came in sudden spurts, it also meant that as an observer you spent long hours observing before field notes could be extended. As Tuchman (1991) has noted "lengthy periods of daily observation are tiring" (p.85). On several days I began at 5 am and finished at 5 pm. Writing extended field notes after a 12 hour day was not the ideal situation.

The overall use of participation as a methodology and its general application has some limitations as it was conducted over a two week time frame. However, this researcher feels that the daily humdrum and activities of the journalists and editors varies little from week to week and day to day. The nature of news and the and

manufacture of news on a daily basis means that despite the limitation of the using only two weeks observation the weeks used would be typical of that any week in the year.

3.4 Content Analysis

The second method of research employed was the content analysis of Mana Maori Media's Mana News, broadcast on National Radio and as part of the Mana Half Hour. The analysis examined the variety of sources used, the "sound bites" of sources, how stories were reported and how they were presented.

3.4.1 The purpose of analysis

George Gerbner (1969) states: "The purpose of any content analysis is to illuminate or otherwise make apparent possible inferences about something that is not otherwise apparent" (p.123). As a viewer, reader or listener we have selective exposure and sometimes a limited recall which makes it impossible for news consumer to have a broad and accurate overview of all that news.

Content analysis is a way to define objectively television or radio news content. It is a method by which we make visible and quantifiable, significant behaviours, themes, character portrayals and production variables. This means we can identify and evaluate underlying relationships among these content elements that may not otherwise be apparent (Dominick & Fletcher, 1985).

3.4.2 Definitions

Content analysis is a multipurpose research method developed specifically for investigating a broad spectrum of problems in which the content of communication serves as the basis of inference (Holsti, 1968, p.597). The definition of content analysis accepted in this research is the classic definition offered by Berelson (1952) that, "content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication" (p.18).

The key elements in these definitions recognised by Stempel (1989) and Kaid and Wadsworth (1989) are *objective, systematic, quantitative, and manifest content*.

There has been some quarrel with the first two points in Berelson's definition; objective and systematic. The need for objectivity has been rarely questioned by content analysts. It is well accepted that the lack of bias is an inherent characteristic of any specific research methodology (Kaid and Wadsworth, 1989, p.198). To be objective, the analysis must be carried out on the basis of explicitly formulated rules which will enable two or more persons to obtain the same results from the same documents (Holsti 1968, p.598). Stempel (1989) adds that the results "depend upon the procedure and not the analyst" (p.125).

However, McGregor (1995) notes while the need for objectivity in content analysis is acknowledged for the purposes of some research, the concept of objectivity should be adopted cautiously, on the basis that the reality of analysing the news means that the reader in his or her own setting gives the news significance according to circumstances, the time of reading and individual circumstances. "Essentially the process of content analysis is subjective, while the structures, processes and protocols of content analysis strive to be objective" (McGregor, 1995, p.315). Ericson, Baranek and Chan (1991) state that "people in various settings at different times give it (the news) significance according to their circumstances and their selves" (p.53). But this research is premised on the view that there is an important distinction between informal and formal reading of the news and a scientific study of news content employing content analysis methodology used by researchers trained to bring to their analysis a common frame of reference. The study uses quantitative and qualitative elements of content analysis to overcome all the difficulties attached to impressionistic studies of the news.

There is agreement about the need to be systematic and apply consistent criteria in a rigorous and methodological manner. Stempel (1989) states:

Systematic means, first that a set procedure is applied in the same way to all

content being analyzed. Second, it means that categories are set up so that all relevant content is analyzed. Finally, it means that the analyses are designed to secure data relevant to research question or hypothesis (p.125).

Holsti (1968) adds the need for *generality* to overcome the "so what" aspect of content analysis. Holsti argues that simple descriptions of content are of limited worth without comparisons and relationships drawn from theoretical concerns.

The two most contested notions in Berelson's (1952) definition are those of *quantitative* and *manifest content*. There has been recurring suggestion that content analyses should be qualitative rather than quantitative (Stempel, 1989). While others suggest that "there is clearly no reason for content analysis unless the question one wants to answer is quantitative" (Lasswell, Lerner, & Pool, 1952, p.45). These suggestion have incorrectly assumed that these were mutually exclusive. Content analysis should use qualitative and quantitative methods to supplement each other. It is by moving back and forth between these approaches that the investigator is most likely to gain insight into the meaning of their data. (Holsti, 1969). Pool (1959) summarizes this point "It should not be assumed that qualitative methods are insightful, and quantitative ones are merely mechanical methods for checking hypotheses. The relationship is a circular one; each provides new insights on which the other can feed" (p.192).

The second major source of disagreement among those defining content analysis is whether it must be limited to *manifest content* or whether it may be used to analyze the deeper layers of meaning embedded in the document. Krippendorff (1980) suggests the context in which the content exists needs to be considered and also that communication is symbolic content originating from a source and from which a receivers draws inference. The difficulty of exhibiting concern for inferences and for looking at the intent or motives of the communication have been referred to by Holsti (1969) and Stempel (1989). Stempel asks whether objectivity can be maintained if manifest content is abandoned. He states:

The contest analyst after all is at a point injecting a subjective interpretation.

While he or she may feel that it is an obviously correct interpretation, whether or not others will see the situation in the same terms is another matter (p.126).

And Stempel (1989) adds that while some researchers have reservations about taking content at its face value, "the concern, however, can be dealt with more effectively by interpreting the results accordingly than by giving up on manifest content" (p.126).

3.4.3 Limitations

A basic limitation of content analysis is that it can only deal with what has been disseminated or recorded communication. Only observational methodologies based in newsrooms can tell us what is considered for inclusion but is not published and why (Ericson *et al*, 1991). Another methodology needs to be employed to provide insight into the selection process, and why a particular story is selected and not another. Participant observation provides this insight to why a particular news story was selected for publication. Content analysis sheds light on what has been published.

However, as noted by McGregor (1995) in the contemporary New Zealand context this limitation may be of minimal effect. McGregor (1995) comments on the poor state on investment in journalism in New Zealand, which means "news editors and chief reporters and others who manage the news gathering processes cannot afford to assign reporters to stories which will not be published" (p.318). Although McGregor (1995) is commenting on mainstream journalism, the general lack of money for resources in journalism also applies to many if not all of the separate Maori media organisations, Mana Maori Media is no exception. There is a wide range of stories to be cover on Maori issues and people but the choices made in the selection process are at the first instance with assigning journalists to cover stories, rather than at some later point in the process of news. When nearly all the news covered is broadcasted, editing becomes a series of choices about "where" in the line up stories will be broadcasted, "when" it will be broadcasted (decision on whether the story can be held over) and "how" it will be presented, not "if" the story will make it all.

The second limitation is that quantitative content analysis is limited to what can be quantified. As Ericson *et al* (1991) state:

This limitation leads to a concentration on aspects that are simple, measurable, and subject to standardization. Important dimensions are likely to be overlooked. Instead of searching for the anomaly and focusing upon its significance, the researcher looks no further than what his or her predefined categories have told him or her to see. (p.51).

A method to reducing the limitations of quantitative content analysis is to take up Ericson *et al's* (1991) challenge about "theorizing the significance" of what is being counted. They state:

In studies where there is no effort to theorize the significance of what is being counted, quantitative content analysis ends up as no more than 'repetition speculation'...This is not to say that quantitative content analyst are precluded from theorising about the significance of what they count, as more sophisticated research has shown (p.51-52).

This research intends to pursue Ericson's *et al* (1991) theory and identify significant elements from what has been quantified.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGIES: procedures and employment

4.1 Introduction

With the use of two different methodologies two different sets of procedures were used. This chapter will examine in detail the steps taken to complete both the participant observation and the content analysis respectively.

4.2 Participant Observation

Participant observation was used to explore the process of news manufacture to look at how the news was gathered, prepared and then finally selected for broadcasting. To get the full scope of this selection process both editorial decisions of news selection and ground level journalistic routines were observed over two different time frames. Previous interviews with journalists and editors were used for background and context.

The field research was completed over two separate one week observation periods. The first observation was completed during the first week of April 1995 with the journalists. The second observation was completed during the last week of May 1995 with the news editor. Pragmatic concerns dictated when and where the participant observation took place and is discussed below, before examining the methodological steps involved in observing and documenting the participant observation.

4.2.1 Pragmatic considerations

The pragmatic concerns that affect the selection of research strategy were: time, travel and convenience. All three influenced the selection of weeks which the researcher could observe journalists and editor at work.

Mana Maori Media have three main offices in; Auckland; Rotorua; and Wellington. The news editor and one part-time journalist work from the Rotorua office, the Wellington office has two full-time journalists and one part-time journalist who covers the news in Maori, the majority of the journalists work in the Auckland office. It is from the Auckland office the majority of news is broadcasted, it is also the main office for the editing and production of the magazine, *Mana* which is published by Mana Maori Media.

The Auckland and Rotorua offices appeared to be the two most appropriate offices to observe so as to obtain the respective perspectives of the news editor and the journalists. Accommodation was available for the researcher with *whanau* in both Rotorua and Auckland, so these two offices were chosen because of financial reason which coincided with Auckland and Rotorua offices being the most appropriate to observe.

Because of the restructuring, and sequential job reductions in Mana Maori Media, the editor felt they was too much upheaval to be involved in any research until May or June 1995. Therefore the week chosen to do the research was the end of May with the editor, and mid April with the journalists. Conducting this type of research in the earlier part of the year also coincided with the researcher's lighter research and teaching commitments.

Anderson (1987) states the "personal resources of the researcher have to play a significant role in the selecting the scene" of the study (p.287). And he states the scene must be accessible in terms of time and money. The researcher's schedule must be able to meet the schedule of contacts.

4.2.2 Observing and documentation

According to Anderson (1987) observations are expected to be intentional, intensive, extensive and documented (p.326). That is the observation should be planned and deliberate, it should be inclusive of all levels of action and events that occur over the

time frame and is *documented* in notes and in other ways.

He states:

Observing is the process by which we make explicit the experience in which we are participating. It marks the continuous flux of experience with reference points and carves it up into discrete event. It is the process by which we make sense of what is going on about us (p.326).

Denzin (1989) states the basic forms of participant observation share common features which include the use of multiple methodologies. In this research comprehensive fields notes were taken of both daily routines and extra-ordinary communication at the scene. Following Babbie's (1992) suggestion for recording observations the researcher used a note book with pre-set activities to take note of and decision making processes to be examined. These included noting where the journalists heard about the event or issue, why sources were chosen and what background research was undertaken by the journalist? With the news editor similar activities were examined, such as were their choices of stories for the day, and what were the decision that followed and why? Also from the editor's view did he/she instruct journalists to do background research?

This meant that some of the observations were anticipated while others were unanticipated. Anderson (1987) states "observation notes should be regarded as markers which will guide the reconstruction of the experience in one's field notes" (p.328). From these field notes and while undertaking the research categories were formulated *inductively*. What was said and done was simply recorded. Only later were those observations divided into categories and then used to infer patterns regarding how people communicate in that setting. (Yount, 1991).

Notes were re-written using Frey, Botan, Friedman and Kreps (1992) three levels of observation that assist the documentation of the observation. The first is *descriptive observation*, which involves impressionistic scanning of the situation and its components. The second is *focused observation*, in which they note the specific

communication activities of the people. The final stage of observation is *selective observation*, in which particular attributes or characteristics of those activities are noted.

4.3 Content Analysis

This study analyses the coverage of Mana Maori Media's news bulletins, *Mana News*, supplied to Radio New Zealand's 6pm evening news for the year 1993. *Mana News* is a twelve minute news bulletin aired on Radio New Zealand at 6.15pm and iwi stations at 7pm as part of *Mana Half Hour*. The research project was looking to see if the journalistic genre, sources used, the length of sound bites and the types of stories covered in *Mana News* constituted the Maori perspective of the news.

4.4 Content Analysis Procedures

Stempel (1989) states that a "successful content analysis study is the result of a series of good decisions" (p.136). The research begins with a succinct research question. In this case the research questions for the content analysis section are:

- 1) who are the sources used and how are they presented
- 2) and what is the form of journalistic writing and focus used in the stories, as compared to traditional news selection and reporting?

Following the definition of the research questions a content analysis study involves four methodological problems:

1. selection of the unit of analysis
2. category construction
3. sampling of content
4. coding and the attendant reliability and validity issues.

The following discusses all four components of content analysis identified above. It identifies how the unit of analysis and categories were formulated, describes the rationale used for the selecting the sample and addresses the issues surrounding coding and reliability.

4.4.1 Unit of analysis

The unit of analysis chosen must be related to the what information is required for the purpose of the study. News media scholarship has used units of analysis ranging from a single word as the smallest unit through to sentences, paragraphs and stories. Lichty and Bailey (1978) suggest in relation to television news that "in most cases the 'story' as a unit is most logical and useful" (p.117).

For this research the unit of analysis chosen was also a story. Stories for the purpose of this research were defined as all those stories Mana News broadcasted on Morning Report.

4.4.2 Formulation of categories

Category construction is one of the most time-consuming and exacting tasks in content analysis (McGregor, 1995). Kaid and Wadsworth (1989) states "no step in content analysis is more crucial than the formulation of categories" (p.203). The concepts contained in the research questions of the study must be reflected in the categories formulated. Stempel (1989) states "categories must be pertinent to the objectives of your study" and says the "simple test" of whether or not they are "is whether or not the information they yield will answer the research questions of the study or permit the testing of hypotheses of the study" (p.128).

Stempel (1989) also states "category systems already developed by other researchers may prove to be appropriate" (p.127). A study that the researcher has been closely involved in, on fairness and balance in television and radio news for the Broadcasting Standards Authority was available for cross referencing. It also involved a extensive content analysis of specific news categories of the main news bulletins of TVNZ Network One news, TV Three news and of Radio New Zealand Morning Report and of Mana News.

Categories in content analysis can be of two different types according to Berelson (1952), substance categories (what is said) and form categories (how it is said).

Stempel adds that categories should be "functional" and that the "system of categories must be manageable" (p.128).

For this research three descriptive categories were formulated for the basic identification of the stories. This included the date and day of the week the story was broadcast, the duration of the story in seconds, and where the story originated from.

The content categories were designed to provide answers to the research question; what is the Maori perspective of the news? That is what elements of the news content distinguish Mana News from mainstream news. Content categories formulated consisted of both substance categories and form categories to obtain a complete picture of the Mana News.

The substance categories included what type of stories were covered, to observe if Mana News covered more varied issues. The other substance category was to identify if *iwi* (tribal affiliations) were mentioned in relation to the source or story. What is said in relation to identifying a source or the area the story originates would be an element that would distinguish Mana News from mainstream.

An aspect of minority publications is to have more in-depth reporting of events and situations, and to examine the what, why and how of the process of events. So another substance category was formulated asking if the cause of the event or issue in the story was apparent and why, and if a historical perspective was given.

After reference to news media scholarship about the reportage of minorities, a category was created asking whether the story was good news, bad news or neutral in its emphasis. Where news was coded as bad news the content analysis also distinguished whether the bad news was bad news *for* Maori or bad news *about* Maori, and if a solution was put forward.

In order to completely answer the research question it was necessary to formulate

categories to identify the journalistic writing style. Two questions were formulated one on journalistic genre using the research of Wyatt and Badger (1993) mentioned in the literature review and one on dialectical story model used also identified in the literature review.

A major feature of the content categories also related to the sources and their attribution. A question that was posed for this research was; what are the legal and socio-political implications relating to broadcasting policy and the commitment all broadcasters have to race relations in New Zealand.

The Broadcasting Act 1989 sets out provisions for television and radio to establish their own codes of practice and sources impinge on the following general standards in the codes of practice: the need for broadcasters to make reasonable efforts to present significant points of view, to acknowledge the right of individuals to express their own opinions, to deal justly and fairly with any person taking part or referred to in programmes, to respect principle of partnership between Maori and Pakeha and actively seek a balanced contribution and views on matters relating to partnership.

Content categories for sources and attribution involved up to twenty coding decisions relating to how full the identification of the source was, gender, ethnicity, type of source, the time in seconds the source spoke for and whether the source was repeated in the story. Where sources were interviewed the content analysis looked at nature of the questions, whether they were appropriate to the context of the story and what both the interviewer's and interviewee's tone of voice were during the interview. Each story was treated separately within the coding instrument.

A series of three question were also included relating to the use of Maori language in the news stories.

The seventy-five questions in the coding instrument (Appendix) provided a method of highlighting different journalistic writing styles at news values at play in Mana

News which makes it distinct and unique from mainstream media.

4.4.3 The sample

Defining the population and determining how many issues to sample are two major decisions for researchers utilising content analysis (McGregor & Comrie, 1995). In selecting a sample the basic concern is, as Stempel (1989) suggests, to ensure the "sample represents the population that it is intended to represent" (p.130). Kaid and Wadsworth (1989) state that "one must devise a method of obtaining a sample which is (1) representative of the universe from which it comes and (2) of sufficient size to adequately represent that universe" (p.201). Riffe, Aust and Lacy (1993) state:

The researcher's goal is to sample enough issues to achieve an "acceptable" estimate of unknown population parameters, while maximising efficiency of time and effort. Selecting too few issues may produce unreliable data and invalid results; selecting too many may be wasteful misuse of coding resources (p.133).

Two approaches have been traditionally employed in content analyses in relation to the sample. The first approach involves some form of sampling and random or stratified random sampling is used employing either a table of random numbers or a computer programme (McGregor & Comrie, 1995). A variation on random sampling is constructed week sampling in which the approach is as Lichty and Bailey (1978) state, to "stratify the drawing to insure that the final sample will be evenly distributed across the days of the week, weeks, months or even years" (p.115). Riffe, Aust and Lacy (1993) state constructed week sampling "assumes cyclic variation of content for different days of the week". In constructed week sampling it is imperative to represent the days of the week researchers want to study equally.

Riffe, Aust and Lacy (1993) note that research on sampling is limited and their study tested the effectiveness of random, consecutive day and constructed week sampling techniques in relation to newspaper content analysis. Their study confirmed a constructed week procedure is more efficient than pure random or consecutive day sampling. They also found that "two constructed weeks would allow reliable

estimates of local stories in a year's worth of newspaper entire issues" (p.139) which is in line with Stempel's (1952) earlier finding. This research also used two constructed weeks to represent the year analysed.

The year 1993 was selected because of quality of production at that time. Staff reduction occurred after this and was especially noticeable in 1995 with the funding problems of Mana News. Historically New Zealand on Air, and now Te Mangai Paho provided Mana News \$924 000 annually to provide 63 minutes of news, and a separate commercial contract with Radio New Zealand paid for another 22 minutes of daily news. In total this money paid for the Mana Hour and four 6 minutes bulletins throughout the day. However, a collective group for the tribal radio stations said that they would like hourly news bulletins, and they would provide the extra \$200 000 necessary to paid for the bulletins. Mana News started the hourly bulletins, but the funding for the hourly bulletins was erratic and then stopped. Mana News continued providing the bulletins without the funding, in the hope that Te Mangai Paho may pick up the extra unpaid bulletins in the next negotiation round. However, in the meantime Mana News has been running at a \$200 000 deficit for the last two and a half years, and in 1994 had to cut the Mana Hour back to the Mana Half Hour, and there has been many staff reductions. The sample chosen for this research reflects the following considerations:

1. the desire to include a level of stories to provide reliable and valid data
2. the acknowledgement of cuts in resources to Mana News since 1994
3. the constraints of time and resources which dictate an efficient use of coding resources.

Week days were chosen to avoid weekend news bulletins because they were the non-broadcasting days of Mana News. The sample period for Mana News was two constructed weeks for the year 1993, beginning 1 January ending 31 December.

Table 1
Sample Dates for Mana News

1993
21 Jan (Thur)
5 Feb (Fri)
8 Feb (Mon)
27 April (Tues)
12 May (Wed)
3 June (Thur)
18 June (Fri)
26 July (Mon)
3 Nov (Wed)
7 Dec (Tues)

4.4.4 Coding and reliability

Dominick & Fletcher (1985) recommend that the best way to pretest the content categories is to select some randomly chosen material from the sample group and test the coding instrument. The content analysis system was tried out numerous times on the sample and changed appropriately.

Stempel's (1989) advice to "try and find experienced coders" was employed in this study (p.133). The first stage of the coding processes was done by a Maori Business studies student involved in the media studies paper. The "desirability of having people with somewhat similar academic backgrounds" referred to by Stempel was acknowledged (p.134). The first stage involved the timing of the stories and sources speaking time, the identification of iwi, where the story originated from and what type of story it was. The actual coding process using the coding instrument was completed by the researcher. The coding instrument is listed in the Appendix.

CHAPTER FIVE

PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION RESULTS: *journalists*

5.1 Introduction

Frey *et al* (1992) suggest to observe and then document participant observation the researcher needs to move from the general to the specific. Frey *et al* (1992) describe three levels of note taking in participant observation; descriptive observation which is the general description of the situation and components; focused observations which specific activities are noted; and the final stage is the selective observation.

This chapter will describe the descriptive observations which relate to the setting, the key people involved and their role. Next the specific communication activities or daily routines of the journalist are depicted and these comprise the focused observations. Lastly the selective observations will be highlighted and explained. Selective observations are particular attributes or characteristics of those specific communication activities which influence the news selection process and the final product. In this case the selective observations pertain to why particular decisions were made in the routine activities. The categories of the daily routines were developed *inductively* (Yount, 1991).

5.2 Descriptive Observation

5.2.1 Setting

The Mana newsroom that the researcher observed was the Auckland office. It was located in South Auckland in Papatoetoe away from the hustle and bustle of downtown Auckland, and apart from all other media organisations in Auckland. It was the biggest office of the three separate locations Mana operates, in staff and space. The journalists worked in an open plan area and everyone was within speaking and seeing distance. Across the hallway were the two broadcasting studios. This was where the hourly bulletins were recorded then relayed to all the iwi stations, and

where all the interviews were recorded. There was always a radio technician in the studio, either in Auckland or Wellington. Their hours commenced at 6am with the first link up to Radio New Zealand concluded at 7pm when final news broadcast of Mana Half Hour was sent all iwi stations. *Mana* magazine also operates out of this same office and some resources such as the photocopier and staff room were shared.

This research was undertaken in early April and at that time there were three Maori land occupations; Tamaki Girls High School, Takahue School, and Moutoa Gardens. Before the research began, most the media attention was focused on the Moutoa gardens. But in the first week of April a number of new occupations occurred and new developments emerged in another occupation. On the first day of this research, Monday, the Rotorua Arts and Crafts Institute was occupied. Then two days later on Wednesday, protestors from Tamaki Girls High School were physically evicted by the New Zealand Police. On the Thursday, Waikato University was occupied. These three issues dominated the news in *Mana* that week. Secondary stories included the continuing saga of Moutoa gardens and the John 'Hone' Carter incident on talkback radio. There was a tendency that week to cover these land issues from a variety of angles. However, other stories that were broadcast that week, traditionally referred to as "soft news" stories, included the release of Tere Moana's new song, the new integrated management structure of the New Zealand Arts Council and the publication of a new book on Maori proverbs. "Soft news" are stories that are not news of the day. News of the day that signals an event is referred to as "hard news" (Lippmann, 1992). Soft news would include feature articles, editorials, opinion columns and reviews for the press. Hard news is characterised by the inverted pyramid style of writing which means the most important information comes first with the least important information at the bottom. The other principal for basic hard news reporting is the "5 Ws and H" rule which means the opening sentence of each sentence contains elements of why, what, where, when and how (Cappon, 1982).

5.2.2 Key people

The Auckland office of *Mana News* had two morning reporters, two afternoon

reporters and one sports news reporter. All the reporters were Maori with the exception of one news reporter who was a Pacific Islander. Three news reporters were aged between 25-35 years old and had been to a journalism training school. The other news reporter was older than the rest, 45-55 years old, and had worked for many years as a community worker in the Far North before becoming a journalist. He was trained on the job as a television news journalist for *Te Karere*.

Both the morning reporters were male. They started their day at 5-5.30am and worked to 9am and 2pm respectively. One finished early as he also worked for a mainstream television news programme. Both the afternoon journalists were female and worked from 9am until 6pm.

The news editor was based in the Rotorua office. All contact with the editor was through the phone and fax. The news editor's day started at 8am, three hours after the morning reporters had begun their day and one hour before the afternoon journalists had arrived at work.

5.2.3 Roles

I observed the routines and activities of both the morning reporters and the afternoon reporters. The early morning journalists activities included the reading and on occasion the selection of the Mana News for Morning Report. The selection of stories for Morning Report were made by the editor 12 hours before hand. Only when news broke overnight was the news selection altered by the journalists to include the new news. It was also their role to write and select news for the morning hourly news bulletins that were broadcasted on the iwi stations. One journalist selected and wrote the news in Maori for 7am, 9am, 11am and 1pm hourly bulletins. The other journalist wrote and selected the news for the hourly English bulletins at 8am and 10am.

The afternoon journalists main activity was to gather news that would be used for Radio New Zealand's six o'clock evening news and the Mana Half Hour. The Mana Half Hour was a 7pm news broadcast transmitted to all the iwi stations. It consisted

of 5 minutes of news in Maori, 12 minutes of news in English (*Mana News*), 4 minutes from GMNZ and 10 minutes of sports.

The afternoon journalists conducted interviews then cut and edited the interviews into stories for *Mana News*. This was referred to as packaging a story, and could be done from interviews conducted that day and from previous days. On occasion they would also have to select and read the news for the afternoon hourly bulletins in English, these were the 12pm, 2pm and 4pm news bulletins.

5.3 Focused observations

The focused observations were the specific communication activities of the journalists which consisted of their daily routines and tasks of the day. Whether the journalists being observed was the morning reporter or the afternoon reporter the journalistic routines adhered to in the newsroom were similar. First they would check in with the news editor, though fax, phone and read the 'handover'. The morning journalists read the handover from the previous day, which is the list of instruction from the editor about what each journalists is doing, should have done, and possibly news that could be available for the Morning Report by time they arrive at work. Then the morning journalists write a handover. The handover is written by the reporter if one leaves the office before the afternoon journalists arrive. This handover is a brief on what stories s/he has done for the day, what stories he considers to be the news of the day and a list of possible sources and messages s/he has received from the editor.

The communication with the editor by all the journalists was to up-date the prospects; the list of story ideas from each journalist and instructions sent by the news editor; and to discuss their stories for the day. The second activity was the scanning of other media. The third routine activity was the gathering of news and then the process of packaging the stories, which is the cutting and editing of stories from interviews for the news. The last routine that was noticed was the socialisation in the newsroom.

5.3.1 Checking in with the news editor

The day started for all the journalists with touching base with the news editor. Communication with the editor was done in one of two ways.

The first was to read any instruction left by the editor from the previous day or that morning. For the morning journalists the line up of stories for Morning Report was set the prior day. When the morning reporters arrived the stories were cut and edited ready for them to read out. So their first role of the day was to be the newsreader. When the editor arrived to work at eight o'clock in Rotorua, the editor contacted the morning journalists to check what their day's work was and if they had any new stories. For the afternoon journalists when instructions from the news editor were not left on their desk or given the previous day, then the first undertaking of the day would be to contact the news editor.

Each individual journalist would ring the editor for a number of reasons; to discuss the stories they intended to follow for the day; to advise her of stories they have heard about and ask if it should be followed; and to up-date her on the progress they were making with stories they had been set from a previous day. The news editor instructions were sought before work began on any new or old stories. The editor would often have job requirements for stories, such as angles to take and who could be used as a source. The editor also prioritised the order of the stories to complete, in consultation with each individual journalist.

The editor always made the final decision on what stories would be followed and the line up of stories for Mana News. However, news selection for the hourly bulletin was up to the discretion of the newsreader. There was often only a limited choice of stories to be broadcast for the bulletins and it would be necessary to *ripped and read* from mainstream media to fill the three minutes. Ripping and reading was paraphrasing news from other media and broadcasting or printing it in your own news media. The newsreader would only have one or two stories available from the Mana News selection to put into the hourly bulletins, so it became necessary to rip

and read. The autonomy of choice for the journalist/newsreader was limited.

During the day most of the journalists have two or three stories they could follow up. The editor advised the journalist which stories to follow for that day or to try and package first. Often there was a story that had been sent to the Rotorua office that the editor may want to be followed and she would direct one of the journalist, with the expertise in that area, to follow the story. If news broke the editor decided who would cover the story and give a list of possible sources they could use. During this research the occupation of Waikato University occurred, the editor instructed that a particular afternoon journalists cover the story and to use her friend Gareth Seymour as a source as she had heard he was leading the protest, and to try the Vice-Chancellor. These were the only two sources that the journalist attempted to contact.

This system of interaction between the editor and the journalists was limiting because there was no managerial advice on location to constantly follow the journalists work and no senior journalists for them to seek advice from. Many of the young journalists said that it was difficult with the editor not around. Often they did not and could not follow some of the more challenging stories that they had an interest in, or heard about. Because the editor was not in the office with the journalists, they do not have the opportunity to approach the editor with ideas or have constant supervision when working on a new story. Again a lack of resources influenced the stories that could be and were covered, or more to the point stories that could not be covered. Mana News did have three chief of bureaus and numerous senior journalists but now there is only one news editor doing the job of many. According to Gary Wilson, a managing director of Mana Maori Media, Mana News is operating on a subsistence level at the moment with a very junior staff. In contrast to other mainstream media newsrooms where there is a chief reporter on location, the junior reporters in Mana News are left to flounder a little and are not pushed along to find new angles. In mainstream media a chief reporter knows everyone can advise constantly on a new source or angle, when the initial source falls through or the angle is wrong.

5.3.2 Scanning the mainstream media

Each reporter would read the morning and afternoon newspaper and listen to other broadcasted news when they arrived at the office. The CNN news report was also on constantly during the day and was occasionally watched. The world news from CNN is watched so that they can give their news programme an international perspective. This scanning of other media was for two purposes. The first was to simply '*rip and read*' news broadcast or printed in other media, the other was to observe what news had been covered and how.

The hourly RNZ bulletins and some stories from the New Zealand Herald were re-worded and re-read on the Mana hourly bulletins. The first job of the day was to listen to Morning Report and re-write relevant stories into a style more suited to Mana and add these to the stories already collected to broadcast at 7am on the Maori news bulletin and 8am on the English news bulletin. The "ripping and reading" from other media was done throughout the day by the various journalists who had the job of preparing the news bulletins. While it is a convert news media tradition "ripping and reading" exemplifies resourcing difficulties and is not a particularly proud tradition.

There was a lack of time and resources and considerable amount of the news has to be ripped and read. McGregor (1995) found in her research that with fewer journalist working within serious financial constraints subtly alters the dynamic of news gathering. It can shift reliance for news selection towards media minders, it can mean that from the vast panoply of potential news available on an hourly basis the news which *is* manufactured is that which is convenient and cost effective to gather only. A severe lack of resources also resulted in the repetition of the hourly bulletins in the respective languages. The 7am Maori news bulletin was recorded for the 9am Maori news bulletin and the same occurred in the English, the 8am and 10am bulletins were the same, as to were the 12pm and 2pm. Only on occasion when an up-date came in from a story, such as the eviction of the protestors for Tamaki Girls High, was the pre-recorded bulletin changed.

The afternoon journalist as well as using other media to rip and read would also look to see what angles and sources mainstream media had used on certain issues, or simply to see what were the issues of the day for the mainstream media. Quite often stories that affected Maori were covered by mainstream media but the sources used were Pakeha. Mana journalists would then know that another angle to the story was available to use without being repetitive, they would cover the story from the Maori perspective. They would use a Maori source.

Scanning the media was also to find out what the news of the day for mainstream media and was it relevant to their audience. If it was considered relevant and topical they would cover the story with a Maori source. It was also to see what was not covered. There are a myriad of stories about Maori issues and events that are not covered in the mainstream or not covered well, so Mana News fills that gap with a wide variety of stories about Maori.

5.3.3 Gathering the news

A greater part of the day was used to gather news. News gathering is a journalistic routine for all journalists in every newsroom, whether it be for mainstream media or separate Maori media.

In Mana, stories were gathered either by developing a press release, the grapevine, personal contacts, the editor's ideas and direction or a story broke. For Mana News journalists the gathering process involved ringing the contact person listed on the press release, or the name given, for an interview. The interview and opinion of a source was the story. An example of a press release that was developed was the recent release (at that time) of Tere Moana's new song. That story was sent to Mana and when a interview was secured with Tere Moana the story was developed and used. Most the stories were developed along the same line; the interviews conducted without the journalists leaving the newsroom, but having a name of a contact person given in connection with an event or issue on a news release.

Mana News is subject to the reliance of gaining news through sources. Roscho (1975) states ".. the nature of news as a form of knowledge makes the reporter dependent upon news sources for most of the knowledge he (sic) will transpose into media content" (p.63). And Sigal (1986) might be better here state "News is not what happens, but what someone says has happened or will happen" (p.15). Reporters are seldom in a position to witness events first hand.

Stories tended to come to the newsroom, rather than the journalists going in search of a story. Journalists at the time of this research did not have the time or resources to go out and conduct investigative journalism which involved the making and breaking news. McGregor (1995) did note that the allocation of journalistic resources has a profound influence on both the *amount* and the *kind* of news which is eventually published or broadcast.

The journalists were office bound, and were more involved in the processing of news rather than the creating of it. There was little opportunity for creative initiative from the journalists. Although there was always a choice of stories, many were not developed until needed, and stories that were developed were stories that had been given to them not uncovered by them. When this research was in progress the occupation of Waikato University broke. A story that was on the "books" about *tino rangatiratanga* for the Waikato people now became newsworthy and relevant and the journalist who had heard about the story now tried and gather an interview with the contact name given.

All the journalists like to put some effort and research into important stories, and where possible be on location. While this research was in progress there were three Maori land occupation in progress and in the news. Two were in the same town as Mana is located, Rotorua and Auckland. This allowed Mana to be on location.

Mana heard about the land occupation at the Maori Arts and Crafts institute in Rotorua first. One of the protestors faxed them a press release which indicated a

group of 'activists' were going down to occupy the institute at dawn. Mana had an office in Rotorua, and were able to send a journalist to the location report the occupation and obtain an interview. With the Auckland occupation of Tamaki Girls High the moment Mana heard that the occupiers were to be evicted they sent a journalist out to cover the eviction. Mana also researched the land titles to the land, and found a contact person for the Chinese community involved and interviewed him as well. A small amount of investigative journalism was undertaken, to give the story some background and balance. But Mana was still mainly following news and giving background rather than making news.

5.3.4 Cutting and editing interviews

Part of the daily routine as described was to collect interviews. Once a story was identified and the source contacted, then the journalist conducted an interview. All interviews and stories covered were broadcasted, but not always on the day they were cut and edited. Many stories were what was termed as '*holdable* stories', which meant that the story could be held over to be broadcast on another day without taking away from its *timeliness*. All 'holdable' stories were put on hold in preference to news of the day such as the a new land occupation and protest evictions.

A story for the Mana half hour is getting usable 'voice' from a source in an interview. The most difficult usable voice to obtain were sound bites in Maori. All the journalists whether they were the Maori journalists for Mana News or not were asked to get an interview in Maori if possible, especially when the Maori speaking journalist was unable to be there. While this research was in progress Mana could only afford one journalists to be on location to gather an interview during the eviction of the protestors from Tamaki Girls High. The journalist on site attempted to obtain an interview in English and Maori for the news. This was limiting as often the journalist who obtained the interview had limited Maori language skills and needed to ask the question in English with a Maori response.

Once they had an interview it was then necessary to convert it into a story. So for those who had collected the interview they packaged their own interview material into a story, although as mentioned before, sometimes with Maori interviews the journalist who had collected the interview handed over the recording to one of the two Maori speakers working at Mana. The conversion of interviews into stories involved the journalists using an editing machine to get relevant and usable sound bites from the interview and packaging it into a story. During this process the journalist adds their own sound bites, and explanations and would summarise the story. The sound bites from the journalist often give the story meaning and explains the source's sound bites.

The afternoon journalist gathered stories and interviews far more than the morning journalist who focused on the hourly bulletins and Morning Report. The time and resources available meant there was less opportunity for the Mana News to get an interview for the three minute hourly bulletins. Usually the newsreader used what the afternoon journalists were collecting and packaging for the evening news, but used less sound bites from the source.

5.3.5 Socialisation in the newsroom

There are three levels of socialising in the newsroom; with the editor, with other colleagues and with the listener. The socialisation with the news editor has already been acknowledge and examined earlier.

The news editor was not located in the office, so often the journalists in the office would use other journalists as a sounding board to possible ideas and angles to stories before approaching the news editor. Talking and socialisation with the other journalists was used to gain ideas, angles and information.

The journalists in the office varied in age and experience. One journalist in the office was much older and had been brought up in a small Maori community. He had worked as a social worker in Northland for numerous years before becoming a

journalist. He was a wealth of knowledge for all the journalists on use of the Maori language, correct spelling of different iwi, who were the iwi for a particular district, who were the appropriate spokespeople for different iwi, general knowledge on tikanga Maori and dates relating to the history of Maori. He was often used for research on different issues. Another journalist worked for a mainstream news programme and when possible would also ring in tips.

All the journalists had lists of their own personal contacts and phone numbers, who could be used as sources. When someone could not get hold of a source for an interview on a story there were covering, they would often ask the other reporters' opinion on who else could be used. Once again the other reporters were used for ideas on sources and to gain information on how to contact them. During this research Dick Dargaville had been used as a source for the 7am Maori news bulletin on the 'Hone' Carter story. However, when the reporter preparing the English bulletin attempted to contact him an hour later, he was unavailable. The question was then put forward, 'who shall I try now?'. The journalist was given the name and number of Sir Graham Latimer, from another journalist and developed a story from him instead.

Socialisation with the listeners was limited. Feedback from audience and responses to Maori news seemed to come from their own personal networks of friends and families. The journalists were isolated from daily objective assessment from their public.

5.4 Selective Observation

Selective observations are concerned with why particular decisions were made in the routine activities. Two reasons appeared to underpin why decisions were made in the daily routines. These were the sources used and news values which underwrite the selection of news. The selection of news sources and news values used are the two most contentious issues that are said to distinguish Maori media from mainstream (McGregor, 1991; Whaanga, 1990). However, it must also be noted that others have

argued that news values are truly international and intercultural not distinguishable between cultures (Masteron, 1994), which are discussed in the conclusions.

5.4.1 News values

News values are the values which journalists use to judge whether an issue, or event is newsworthy or not. News values are learnt by journalists through a process of newsroom socialisation: reading newspapers, talking to more experienced colleagues and observing the selection procedures of sub-editors (Chibnall, 1977).

While news values have not been formally codified, and are acknowledged to be subjective in their application by journalists, there is consensus among commentators about what constitutes news values and the criteria of newsworthiness. Many commentators follow the seminal work of Galtung and Ruge (1965). Galtung and Ruge (1965), in their analysis of foreign news in four newspapers, identified a number of factors which operate in the structure of the news. It is some of these news values and others that this researcher noticed were the reasons for some decisions in the newsroom.

The editor gave direction and prioritised the stories for the journalists. It was through the direction and advice from the editor that journalists learn the work ethic of Mana News and the selection process. In this process the news values used become apparent. The first news value that evident from the interaction with the editor was that of *timeliness*. News of day was always to be covered first and foremost. When the occupation of Waikato University began, the editor told one of the journalists to drop all other stories she was working on and to cover the occupation at the University. She told the journalists that she needed to contact the Maori source and if possible the Vice-Chancellor of Waikato University. This was classed as the number one story, it would become out of date if the story was not packaged and broadcast that day, the story had *immediacy*. The story was also "happening" now, and that added to its newsworthiness as well as its topicality. However, the news value of negativity is apparent, the inherent nature of occupations was negative. Most

of the news of the day covered that week, because of its immediacy and timeliness were "bad" news stories. Bad news was news about conflict, or failure, or problems facing Maori. With the spate of occupations during this week being headlined, bad news was a consistent part of the line-up of news that week.

However, the other news value that appear to underpin the interaction with the editor was *composition* of the news for the bulletin. Composition play a role in ensuring a bulletin included both "good" news and "bad" news. A good news story was a positive story, about a success or achievement of some kind by someone, or an organisation or a people. It was essential that bad news and negativity did not dominate the news, and the journalists sought to cover positive news that naturally occurs. The editor would always make sure that someone was covering a positive news story. So when one journalist was told to cover the eviction of the protesters from Tamaki Girls High, the another journalists was encouraged to package the story on Tere Moana's new song. Journalists begun to learn that if all the other journalists were covering news of the day, which had a tendency to be bad news, then that would allow them to do other news stories they have on their books, which are usually positive news stories. Composition of the news bulletin appeared to play major role in the selection of alternative stories to cover for the day.

Composition reflects the desire to represent a "balanced whole". If a newspaper has a preponderance of crime news selected for the front page of one edition and just before a deadline a political story appears, the threshold value for that story in terms of news worthiness may be different than otherwise have been the case, in order to achieve a balance (McGregor, 1991). Mana News was about Maori news, and journalists knew that news was not relevant to Maori would have a lower threshold. It also meant that to get a balanced composition of a particular issue, such as occupations, Mana will do a variety of stories on the one issue in the one bulletin. This became apparent with the direction from the editor on stories to be followed during the occupation of the Maori Arts and Crafts Institute in Rotorua. Journalists were advised to seek other Maori in the industry for their opinion on the occupation

of the Arts and Crafts institute. An interview with the Aotearoa Maori Tourism Foundation spokesperson Tommy Wilson was secured and aired, as well as the usual institutional sources of Paul East (Rotorua MP) and Murray McCully (Associate Tourism Minister) and the protestors. Throughout bulletins Mana linked stories on issues and had two and sometimes three stories on the same issue or event. Mana sought to have composition by including stories on the same issue, or area of news to give a balanced whole to an issue.

A news value that became apparent in news gathering process, was *reference to something positive*. Often the news of the day was negative and about conflict, so news with reference to something positive happening in the Maori world become very newsworthy. A story that was followed up and packaged simply because it was about positive issue was a story on Toi Aotearoa, New Zealand Arts council. Toi Aotearoa's decision to integrate Maori into their management structure became newsworthy to Mana. The story reflected treaty obligations, an issue of the day for both Maori and Pakeha and it highlighted positive, proactive steps toward biculturalism in New Zealand. There was also the news values of *relevance* and *cultural proximity* at play, and these values underpin why many decisions were made in the selection process of gathering news. The story must be relevant and culturally proximate to their audience, to Maori, to make a story newsworthy. This was apparent in every story gathered for Mana News. The Toi Aotearoa story was both relevant and culturally proximate to Maori, as integration and biculturalism are issues that are dominant in the political domain for Maori.

These two news values of relevance and cultural proximity became apparent as one of the reasons why scanning media was a daily routine. There were a few issues that came up in mainstream media that are relevant to Maori, such as the occupations and the John 'Hone' Carter incident, but mainstream media rarely used Maori as sources so this was an open field for to Mana. There was a need for Maori opinion on these issues and Mana provided this for their audience.

Another news values that underpinned the decisions made by the journalists during their news gathering was *continuity*. Continuity refers to continuation of a event to be news once it has hit the headlines. The channel has been opened and stays partly opened to justify its being opened in the first place, partly because of inertia in the system and partly because what was unexpected has now also become familiar according to Galtung and Ruge (1965). Mana News followed the progression of stories such as the land occupations of Moutoa, Tamaki Girls High and the Rotorua Arts and Crafts Institution once they became headline news for Mana News.

A news values identified by Galtung and Ruge (1965) that underpinned the selection process of news was the *reference to elite people*. It related to why particular decisions were made after the routine activities of scanning media and gathering news. In scanning the media the lack of Maori voice on a particular issue was often evident. Well known Maori were sought for opinion and stories in the gathering process by Mana but not by the conventional media. Dick Dargaville and Graham Latimer were two examples of people who were used because of their unique status in both the Maori world and the Pakeha world. Maori world has its own leaders and people of prominence, and events that happen in their lives or what they say *is* newsworthy to Maori.

5.4.2 Sources

Much of the research on news source diversity has found that there is a reliance on governmental and "elite" sources, usually institutional executive men (Brown, Bybee, Wearden and Straughan 1987; Candy 1982; Gans 1979; Sigal 1973; Stempel and

were sources; the use of accredited sources, the over-accessing of sources and sources as 'primary definers' of the news. Primary definers of the news are those sources the media use and rely on as spokespeople to define a topic. The problem being that these spokespeople are often institutional sources and the media allows these institutional sources to establish the initial definition or the *primary interpretation* of the topic in question (Hall, 1978). The media do not themselves autonomously create news items; rather they are 'cued in' to specific topics by regular and reliable institutional sources (Hall, 1978, p.57). Schlesinger (1990) argues that Hall (1978) theory on primary definition fails to deal with a number of conceptual difficulties such as source competition, but agrees "there is still undoubtedly a strong case for arguing that the way in which journalistic practice is organised *generally* promotes the interest of authoritative sources, especially within the apparatus of government and state"(p.69).

In New Zealand Leitch (1992) states that sources used in the media is dominated by the use of official and institutional sources. It may be possible then to make a distinction between mainstream media and Maori media by observing if there are any differences between sources utilised for stories and why.

During the process of socialisation between journalists and the editor and journalists with other colleagues, the use of sources and alternative sources were discussed. Part of the interaction with the editor for the reporter was to gain information on which sources could be utilised for stories, and in fact for the editor to recommend to the journalists an appropriate source. When the editor heard about the occupation of Waikato University, a journalist was instructed to contact Gareth Seymour, the Maori leading the protest, as well, if possible the Vice-Chancellor. The journalist was simply given this story because the journalist had previous communication with the source. In the case of the story on Tere Moana, the journalist could not get hold of the Moana's manager in the first instance, and asked the editor what to do next. She was advised to keep trying, the story was holdable, allowing her a number of days to gather the story. One of the principal reasons for the interactions with the editor was

because of the need to use the appropriate sources for stories and to obtain ideas from the editor on whom to approach for stories. When a journalist cannot contact a source the editor will give them alternative names or tell them to keep trying until they do contact the source.

One of the benefits of working with numerous journalists in the same field was a vast knowledge in the newsroom of sources that could be used in a variety of subjects. Part of the socialisation with colleagues was to discover what other appropriate sources could be used for a story they were covering from other journalists. As previously mentioned when a source was unavailable often colleagues gave alternative names. For example the unavailability of Dick Dargaville led to the procuring of the interview with Sir Graham Latimer. The procurement of an interview with a source became a story. Mana News relies heavily on sources for the story and the angle is from the source. There will always attempt to interview Maori by Maori journalists. Maori sources are the primary interpreters of the news for Mana News. It is only from other Maori is the Maori perspective of the news defined.

However, because of the lack of resources the capability of Mana's journalists to reach a wide variety of sources was limited. McGregor (1995) notes that a centralisation of the news which occurs when there are fewer journalists in the news process cycle. Mana News journalist numbers have more than halved over the years. At the time of this research the total number of full-time journalists in all three locations excluding the editor was six and five part-time journalists. In 1993 at Mana News' peak, Gary Wilson estimated that Mana News would have employed approximately fifteen full time journalists plus general staff, many with years of journalism experience.

In Mana News journalists were office bound and often went to well known and accredited Maori sources such as the Maori Ministers of Parliament, and Maori public officials. The editor, herself, had no alternative but to recommend to the journalists to go to an accredited sources, such as Maori MPs' opinions about John Carter's

actions on radio talkback . Even for Mana, material must always be sourced, which results in a reliance on "reliable" accredited and legitimate Maori sources because of their limited resources. They are no longer able to go into the field, and to attend national Maori hui where it is possible to locate alternative sources and stories. Time and resource constraints have meant fewer Mana journalists were covering more stories and sources were not as varied as previous years. Mana has become subject to processing news, rather than breaking and making the news.

But Mana did have a strong emphasis on using Maori as their source base, even if it was using institutional Maori sources. The use of mainly white, male and institutional sources in mainstream media (McGregor & Comrie, 1995) was why Mana News would use Maori sources for a different angle or perspective on the same story. When scanning the media, important issues for Maori were in the mainstream media, but not with a Maori opinion, an ingredient which added context, background or a different viewpoint. Mana news would then make sure there was a Maori perspective for that issue, the Maori perspective came from a Maori source. While this research was in progress the John 'Hone' Carter incident hit the media. All the traditional mainstream media went to Don McKinnon the acting Prime Minister at the time, and later on his return, the Prime Minister for opinion. Published or broadcasted opinion from Maori, the people most likely to be offended was limited at that time. Mana did get the Maori opinion, they went to Sir Paul Reeves, Dick Dargaville and Sir Graham Latimer for their opinions. Mana try to broadcast the Maori voice and opinion on any issue concerning Maori.

5.5 Conclusion

Generally Mana News had the same overall routines and activities as any newsroom. The general description of the setting which Mana operates in, was that of any newsroom, with deadline pressures, a lack of resources and commercial requirement to gather stories and obtain newsworthy stories. More recently the commercialism of the news has also impacted on the judgement of what is newsworthy. The economic pressures of earning rating points have made the practice of delivering the

news a vehicle by which to insure profits (Scott and Gobetz, 1992).

The general observations uncovered nothing new or different about the day to day operation of Mana News or the usual journalistic routines that occur in the newsroom. The focused observations inductively categorised the routines into five various activities; checking in with the news editor; scanning the media; gathering the news; editing and interviewing and socialisation in the newsroom. Again much the same activities have been identified for most mainstream newsrooms. But in the selective observation, moving from the general to the specific, various difference in the agenda of Mana News, the way news values were applied and the sources used were uncovered.

To distinguish Mana News from other mainstream media, the research must move beyond the general characteristics of the operations of Mana News and explore why decision were made in the selection process of the news. This research examined why particular decisions were made in the routine activities and revealed that news values and sources used distinguished Mana News.

The Mana News used some of the news values identified by Galtung & Ruge (1965) to judge whether a story was newsworthy or not. Mana News consisted of news that was timely, news that was culturally proximate and relevant, positive news and news that gave a balanced composition. However, because the audience aimed at was Maori and the sources used were Maori, the values were *applied* differently. The Maori perspective of the news is revealed in the way the more traditional news values of Galtung and Ruge (1965) are applied. However, the news values identified by Masterton (1994) were too general to identify any significant news values at play in the news selection process used in Mana News. This research could not validate those six truly intercultural news values identified by Masterton (1994) as they were too sweeping in their definitions.

Mana included positive news, or good news stories about Maori, and good news for

Maori. Positive news is a not new news value in the world of the media. However, traditionally good news stories do not have a high priority in the selection of news. Most mainstream media have a high emphasis on bad news and conflict. Traditionally media have a 65% negative news to 35% positive news whereas *Mana's* figures may be reversed. This will be explored more in-depth in the content analysis.

The news values of relevance and culturally proximity, meant that the stories were relevant to Maori, rather than the general public. The *Mana* journalists drew on their own cultural background, as Maori, or as people working within Maoridom to identify what is relevant for Maori, an ability that is not utilised in mainstream media. Ken Mair in a interview with Saunders (1996) believed that while metro papers sometimes had Maori reporters their reporting often had to fit in with a particular editorial position. Veteran Maori broadcaster Derek Fox also in an interview with Saunders (1996) tended to agree. He sees little respect in the corridors of Maori for thing Maori. Fox, in the pilot study to this research, says Pakeha journalists are generally not aware that in their work they are drawing on their own cultural perspective, since they assume it is universal. "They don't understand the difficulties of Maori and they are not interested. Naturally enough they will only reflect what their background is". And *Mana News* journalist Rereata Makiha connects the cultural background of journalists with their reluctance to cover Maori news. "If you aren't part of the Maori world, then it is almost like peering into a world of the unknown".

A balanced composition for *Mana News* meant a variety of bad news and good news stories, all of which were about Maori. To obtain a rounded broadcast is was important to have news of the day, which is usually bad news, as well as some more positive news stories.

Mana News also gave a Maori perspective to the news of the day by using Maori sources, individual Maori when possible. The primary interpretation of the news was from Maori sources, and this initial definition of a topic by Maori was the Maori

perspective of the news. However, the insufficient funding of the newsroom meant there was a reliance on institutional and accredited sources, such as Maori politicians.

CHAPTER SIX

PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION RESULTS: editor

6.1 Introduction

The observational method of note taking used in the Auckland office with the journalists (Frey *et al*, 1992), is the same method used with the editor. Three levels of note taking used were; descriptive observation which is the general description of the situation and components; focused observations which specific activities are noted; and the selective observation (Frey *et al* 1992). The researcher moved from the general to the specific during the noting taking stage of the observation and in the documentation of the results of the observation.

This chapter is constructed the same as the participant observation with the journalists. First, the descriptive observations are described which relate to the setting, the key people involved and their role. Next, the specific communication activities or daily routines of the editor are depicted, these constitute the focused observations.

Lastly the selective observations will be highlighted and discussed. In this case the selective observations are why particular decisions were made in the routine activities. These categories of the daily routines were developed *inductively* (Yount, 1991).

6.2 Descriptive Observation

6.2.1 Setting

At the time of this observation the editor worked in the small new office in Rotorua. The office was located underneath a house in a suburb of Rotorua, as opposed to the city centre, and was physically difficult to locate. The office was still in the process of being renovated. The building consisted of two separate offices, a bathroom and a large un-renovated room divided in two. There was no recording studio or reception area, that was yet to be built. The editor worked in the larger of the two

offices, which consisted of two working spaces with computers, a small transistor radio and one editing and recording machine. The fax machine, a key component of the workplace was in the room next door. In the other office was the working area for the administration/accounts clerk.

The news editor covered two stories herself that week, that would traditionally be termed as "soft" news story on farming and the final stages of the occupation at the Rotorua Arts and Crafts Institute. Soft news is traditionally viewed as editorials and column material. Whereas "hard news" in the New Zealand context is often called spot news or news of the day and is distinct from feature news, opinion and column material. As previously mentioned hard news is characterised by the inverted pyramid style of writing which means the most important information comes first with the least important information at the bottom. The other principal for basic hard news reporting is the "5 Ws and H" rule which means the opening sentence of each sentence contains elements of why, what, where, when and how (Cappon, 1982).

During the week of this observational period the Maori protestors at Rotorua finally agreed to leave, the Budget was released, and statistics on Maori health were published. These were three of the issues covered by Mana News during the week. Overall it was a relatively quiet news week. There was a variety of soft news stories that were developed that week ranging from a Maori fashion show to stories on National Maori hui.

6.2.2 Key people

The news editor was the sole full-time journalist/editor in the Rotorua office and communicated to the journalists in Auckland and Wellington through phone or fax. As previously mentioned the news editor worked from 8am until 6pm or 7pm, which meant she started three hours after the morning reporters had begun their day and one hour before the afternoon journalists had arrived at work. The news editor in Rotorua was the senior reporter as well as the managerial voice of the news broadcast. She was Pakeha and had been with the operation since it had begun.

The Rotorua office was the smallest of the three locations in size and staff. Employed at the Rotorua location were the editor and two others. One was a part-time journalist who commuted from Taupo and was in the office one day during this observational period. The part-time journalists also wrote stories for *Mana Magazine*. The other person who worked in the office was the secretary/clerk who did administration for the radio and magazine operations.

6.2.3 Roles

The role of the editor was to act as an advisor, a leader and to be the expert in the field for the journalists. She was their guide and mentor, and ensured that firstly the journalists got a story completed and secondly that their stories were balanced and objective. The daily tasks of the editor were; to send out the list of potential stories, referred to as *the prospects*, to the journalists every morning; gather news stories herself when time allowed; check all the scripts that came in; prepared the news line up for Mana Half Hour and Morning Report and give advice and directions to the journalists. The Mana Half Hour was a 7pm news broadcast transmitted to all the iwi stations. It was 5 minutes of Maori news stories, 12 minutes of English news stories (*Mana News*), 4 minutes from GMNZ and 10 minutes of sports. The news editor selected the news line up for Mana News for the Mana Half Hour. The 12 minutes of Mana News was also sent to Radio New Zealand for a 6.15pm broadcast.

The editor's role varied from direction and selection of the news to some ground level journalistic routines.

6.3 Focused Observations

I observed the editorial decisions of the news editor during the various stages in the selection of news. The focused observations were the specific communication activities of the editor which are the daily routines. The routines of the editor varied from the gathering of news to the day to day managerial decisions in the news selection. Specifically this involved sending out prospect lists to the journalists at the two other locations. This was the first role of the day. Throughout the day she kept

in contact with journalists and their progress on the stories and gave direction and advice where necessary. She would also gather news for the Mana Half Hour when time permitted. The final tasks of the day were to check all scripts and decide on the line-up of stories for the evening news (Mana Half Hour) and Morning Report the following day.

6.3.1 Prospect list

The prospect list was the list of jobs, stories and tasks each individual journalist had done, is doing and will do that day. The first job of the day for the editor was to compile the prospect list and fax it to Auckland and Wellington. This meant she needed to ring each individual journalist and discuss with them over the phone their progress on stories they were working on from previous days, discuss any news story ideas, assign new stories to follow for that day, prioritise the stories to be completed first and give advice and direction on angles and sources journalists could use for stories.

The editor started the prospect list as soon as she arrived at work. First she had to get hold of the morning journalists in Auckland before they left the office. Usually the communication with these journalists was to verify what tasks they had done that morning, and confirm with the Maori journalist which Maori hourly bulletins he was doing. The two Auckland journalists very rarely had time to write stories for the Mana Half Hour. Most of the communication was confirmation of their newsreading tasks and some managerial communication on hours, pay and leave.

At about 9.30am she would start ringing the other journalists if they had not checked in already. Each journalist was spoken to, two or three times in the morning, to confirm their stories for the prospect list and to ensure that there was no doubling up by the journalists on the one story. The whole process took roughly an hour.

There were two full-time journalists in Auckland and two full-time journalists in Wellington she needed to contact. Then there were two part time journalists in

Wellington who worked the late afternoon as newsreaders. They were not in early, so their tasks were confirmed later but written into the prospect list for confirmation.

As part of writing up the prospect list, many decisions on the selection of news were made. Often journalists would want to cover the same story, such as the release of a new finding from the Waitangi Tribunal on a land claim. The editor would have to decide which journalist would follow the story and inform the other journalist to work on something else. On the Tuesday, a less experienced journalist revealed that Ngati Awa had claims before the Waitangi Tribunal and wanted to follow that up. Another more experienced journalist in the Auckland office had already mentioned this story. Although the experienced journalist had less time to research the story, because the editor was not on location to give constant advice to the Wellington journalists, the story went to the experienced Auckland journalist. The story was broadcast as a brief news item in the hourly bulletins.

The process of decision-making in the news selection began from the moment the editor called the first individual journalist. The direction to the journalist from the editor on stories to follow and the selection of journalists to follow a particular story for the prospect list were all part of the final selection of the news for the day.

Every story that was followed, was broadcast. The editor rarely had a choice in stories for the final line-up, so she had to ensure that every story, lead, idea, went to its completion and she had a usable story as a result of the process. The editor made her final news selection on the stories completed and read to go to air at the end of the day. She could not allow her staff to spend too much time on "possibilities" and "maybes", and each morning if little to no progress had been made on a story from the previous day, she would push for a "sure thing story" to be completed first. Rarely were the journalists encouraged to undertake investigative journalism. Time and resources did not allow the editor or the journalists the possibility of covering those in-depth news breaking stories. So the general discussion in the morning in the formulation of the prospect list was to encourage the journalists to cover stories that

could be broadcast on the evening slot, Mana Half Hour and Morning report the following morning. It was apparent from this one week observation that the making of news was affected by the resourcing difficulties of the news media. Mana News could not waste resources on stories that would not make it to air nor could Mana News afford journalists to work on stories over along period of time, eliminating the possibility of investigative journalism..

The prospect list outlined the stories that each journalist was pursuing and on which news broadcast the story may possibly be aired. The prospect list was then faxed to all the journalists, and the editor kept a copy as well. The purpose of the prospect list was to keep everyone up-to-date, and confirm everyone's tasks for the day, and indicate which stories each journalist had agreed to follow. Because Mana had three different locations the prospect list were an important communication link. It enabled journalists to pass on information between themselves to help others with angles and sources.

6.3.2 Checking progress and editorial advice

Through out the day the editor was in constant contact with the journalists by phone or fax. She needed to keep up-to date herself, so she could begin to get an outline of what would be the line up for the news that night.

However, the main part of the contact was to answer questions from the journalists on angles, sources, legalities, balance and background. The editor was often giving gentle hints on questions that could be asked to obtain appropriate answers, and warning other journalists not to ask questions that may be misinterpreted or procure the wrong response. Most of this advice helped the journalists form the story and possible angles before they conducted the interview. Often she would even provide an angle to the journalists. During this research the New Zealand Herald had a story on Labour's policy concerning Maori and Shane Te Pou faxed Mana with comments on the policy. She instructed the journalist to use the Herald's story as background and that the question posed to Shane Te Pou, be "why can't there be agreement

between Labour and Alliance; otherwise Maori lose out". She encouraged journalists to explore the angle that was both newsworthy and relevant for their Maori audience.

Another major role played by the editor was the guiding voice to ensure that the stories were balanced and the opposition was given the right of reply. Two stories required such advice. The first was a story on *wahi tapu* in Franklin, the journalists were told to get the council's view as well as the local Maori. Then another journalist did a piece on Te Mangai Paho and comments made by an adversary. The editor instructed the journalists to ensure Ripeka Evans, the CEO of Te Mangai Paho, the right of reply before the story went to air. The editor also acted as the technician and would often provide technical advice on what length the story should be.

The editor also looked ahead for future stories and checked the paper to see if anything had been missed. She acted as a back up to the journalists and a mentor. However, she also needed to gather stories and did not spend as much time as she would like with the journalists. Working in a separate location to the journalists made it very difficult to keep a constant eye on their progress and watch the dynamics of the story unfolding to give the journalists further ideas on how to approach the story. The physical separation of the editor to the journalists had a huge impact of the sort of stories covered.

6.3.3 Gathering news

Whenever time allowed, the editor would also gather news stories. During the time of this research she managed to complete two stories.

Even for the editor stories were gathered either by developing a press release, tapping the "grapevine", personal contacts, or by a story breaking. The gathering process involved ringing the contact person listed on the press release, or the name given, for an interview. The interview and opinion of a source became the basis of the story. For the editor the first story she wrote on a successful farming venture on the East Cape was from a news release sent to Mana. It would be traditionally classed

as a soft story which she worked on over a number of days.

Even for the editor, stories tended to come to the newsroom, rather than her going in search of a story. Her role was essentially reactive not proactive in producing stories. The editor had even less time and resources to go out and conduct investigative journalism which involved the making and breaking news. The editor was also office bound, and was more involved in the processing of news rather than the creating of it.

While this research was in progress there were three Maori land occupation in progress, including the occupation of the Marae at the Rotorua Arts and Crafts institute. However, the occupation at the Maori Arts and Crafts institute in Rotorua was about to end, and the protestor called a press conference. The editor was able to go to the location and report the occupation and obtain an interview with the director of the Rotorua Arts and Crafts Institute. At the same time the part-time journalist covered the press conference. But, again Mana was still mainly following news and giving background rather than making news.

6.3.4 Check scripts and selection of line-up

The last task of the day for the editor was to check all scripts, for appropriate angles, format and leads, timing, legalities, assertions, balance, and fairness. But because throughout the day the editor had been keeping up-to-date and checking the stories most problem areas had been detected. What the editor checked for and adjusted most often was the length of the story, so that all stories would fit into the 12 minute line up.

The selection of the line up was the most time consuming job. It begins at the start of the day when stories are assigned and journalists inform her what they will follow for the day. When the editor first spoke with the journalists in the morning about the stories they were covering was when she begun to perceive a picture in her mind of the possible line up.

Through out the day with her continuing communication with the journalists she was reminding them of the dead-lines, what stories they should prioritise and for what bulletin she would like the story to be available for. Usually by the end of the day, she had made the selection and waited for the stories to be scripted and sent in. The final selection was made on what was available. However, every story that was followed and submitted was broadcast. At the end of the day the decision making process concentrated on the priority of the stories in the line-up, and which stories would be in Mana Half Hour and which would be for Morning Report. Then usually those stories that did make the deadline for 6pm news were carried over for Morning Report. With only one studio operator the deadline for all stories scripted was 4pm. This was almost two hours before the news went to air, to allow the operator time to cued them up and for the newsreader and editor to check the scripts.

The scripts were double checked by the newsreader. As the scripts come through and were approved by the editor, they were then sent on to the newsreader. The newsreader gave them a quick glance and checked if all was correct and understandable. On occasions iwi or names were incorrect. The Maori newsreader picked up those mistakes.

6.4 Selective Observation

As noted in the previous chapter the selective observations are concerned with why particular decisions were made in the routine activities. The same two reasons that underpinned why decisions were made in the daily routines of the journalists, were apparent in the selective observations with the editor. These were the sources used and news values.

6.4.1 News values

News values are the values which journalists use to judge whether an issue, or event is newsworthy or not. While news values have not been formally codified, and are acknowledged to be subjective in their application by journalists, there is consensus among commentators about what constitutes news values and the criteria of

newsworthiness. Stuart Hall (1973) has written:

News values are one of the most opaque structures of meaning in modern society. All "true journalists" are supposed to possess it: few can or are willing to identify and define it. Journalists speak of "the news" as if events select themselves. Further, they speak as if which is the "most significant" news story, and which "news angles" are most salient, are divinely inspired (p.181).

However, many commentators follow the seminal work of Galtung and Ruge (1965). Galtung and Ruge (1965), in their analysis of foreign news in four newspapers, identified a number of factors which operate in the structure of the news. It is some of these news values and others that this researcher noticed were the reasons for some decisions made by the editor. And, some of these news values at play in the decision making process of the editor were the same news values observed to be underpinning the journalistic routines in the previous participant observation.

A number of news values were highlighted at emphasised by the editor when she was interacting with the journalists and selecting the final line-up were *continuity*, *composition*, *relevance* and *cultural proximity* and *timeliness*. One news value the was conspicuous by its absence or rather the lack of emphasis was *negativity*, and the emphasis on conflict. In fact the journalists were discouraged from sensationalising conflict, or to make the conflict the dominant angle of any story.

As previously mentioned continuity refers to continuation of a event to be news once it has hit the headlines. The channel has been opened and stays partly opened to justify its being opened in the first place, partly because of inertia in the system and partly because what was unexpected has now also become familiar according to Galtung and Ruge (1965).

An example was a story about *wahi tapu* in Franklin. The following day the reply was broadcasted and there was also a general background story from an archaeologist about *wahi tapu* broadcast in the same programme. Stories on the

budget were also continued throughout the week, the budget was released to the press on Wednesday night. Mana had stories on the budget on Thursday and continued to follow the reaction to the budget from a Maori educationalist on Friday. However, the budget was not so much a one off event that was expected to be followed but an annual event that is followed. The budget has annual continuity and is covered whether anything newsworthy and relevant to Maori was expressed in the budget. Mana struggled to find an angle and relied on comments from Bill Hamilton and Peter Sharples on education to obtain a story from the budget release. Stories on land claims and the Tribunal also were newsworthy and were to continue to be reported because of continuity and relevance. The interest in the return of lands and termination of land sales by the government of public property over the years has meant that the stories on these topics continued to be newsworthy. However, they are also followed because of their relevance to Maori and quite often because of the positive results the Tribunal decisions may have for some iwi.

Composition reflects the desire to represent a "balanced whole". Composition came into play when the editor discussed with the journalists the stories they will cover and the decision on the final line up. News of the day was always followed and headlined, such as the budget and the smokefree march, but to get that balanced composition journalists were also given the opportunity to cover soft news stories such as a Maori fashion show and the National Maori hui for gays. There was always a variety of good news and bad news, hard news and soft news stories. The editor also always ensured that there was a balanced composition to the stories, an example being the stories dealing with wahi tapu, both sides views were aired as well as an objective general discussion dealing with wahi tapu.

As previously mentioned stories had to be relevant. The budget was covered by all media, but application of the news values of relevance meant that Mana reported on different aspects of the budget. What was reported was the effect the budget would have on Maori education. The journalists were specifically instructed by the editor to find an angle on the budget that was relevant to Maori. The journalist obtained

comments from Bill Hamilton and Peter Sharples on the funding for Maori education.

The timeliness and immediacy of a story were the deciding factors in the final selection of news. Stories had to be timely, news of the day always got priority in the news selection. However, there was usually very little selection of stories for the editor to decide what was to be used and what was not. Mana does not have the resources to allow stories that are not newsworthy or only possible stories to be followed. At the end of the day the editor uses every story completed that day. If on occasion there are more than enough stories, stories that are not immediate will be held over and used in the hourly bulletins the following day, or sometimes in Morning Report. During this research all stories were followed because of their timeliness, and two were dropped from the final news selection because of lack of immediacy, but were broadcast the following day in the hourly bulletins. A story on smoking is an example of timeliness in a story. The statistics released on smoking became timely and relevant as the smokefree march was also happening the following day, Wednesday. This required the story on the smoking statistics and the imminent march to be completed on Tuesday. Stories that were dropped because they were not immediate were "soft" news stories on implications of Resource Management for a Maori business and another on a new contract secured by a Maori company.

Bad news stories were part of the news line up, as news of the day usually involved conflict or negativity. However, the stories "negativity" was not a leading news values. Mana's news selection was not dictate entirely by negative and conflict news, as most traditional media is. Negativity and conflict were not emphasized in the presentation and construction of a story. Although bad news and conflict is a part of everyday life in the newsroom, and it was covered, the editor encouraged the journalists not to sensationalise the issue, and simply to gather the view of all sides concerned, and not to set them against each other. In fact the journalists were prompted to obtain both sides of the story, and to let the person/organisation in opposition to have a right of reply. During this research the broadcasting

commission released its findings on Te Mangai Paho, and they were given a clean bill of health. However, Piripi Whaanga, a well known Maori broadcaster, had other comments. Before this story was broadcast the editor told the journalist he must allow Ripeka Evans the CEO of Te Mangai Paho the right of reply. The final story was also not to be sensationalised, but simply to summarise the situation and let the sources tell their story, or give their view.

6.4.2 Sources

Sources were a major reason underlying the decision-making process in the daily activities of the editor. One of the major influences shaping the news was sources; the use of accredited sources, the over-accessing of sources and sources as 'primary definers' of the news (Hall, 1978). A distinction between mainstream media and Maori media are the sources used. By observing differences between sources utilised for stories and why they were used will help define the Maori perspective of news.

During the process of interaction between journalists and the editor the use of sources and alternative sources were discussed. Part of the interaction with the editor for the reporter was to gain information on which sources could be utilised for stories, and in fact for the editor to recommend to the journalists an appropriate source. The editor also gave the journalists insight into how to approach the source and possible angles they could use to write the story. But most often the editor recommended that the journalist let the sources provide the angle for the story.

As part of giving advice on stories and possible angles the editor often recommended sources that could be used. The sources most often used and recommended tended to be known Maori politicians, or other well known figures in Maoridom and in mainstream. For the hourly bulletins Sandra Lee was used for comment on the budget because she was articulate, Maori and she gave a woman's perspective. Peter Tapsell was recommended as a source to comment on the sovereignty issue, simply because he was a well known Maori leader and because he was an accredited source. For a story on who could possibly be the next governor general the editor suggested

the journalist approach Sir Paul Revees, Bishop Vercoe or Sir Graham Latimer for comment, again all accredited and institutional sources. Another story on the restructuring of the Maori district councils, a suggested source in addition to Manu Paul, was again Sir Graham Latimer. The lack of resources and time means Mana News has resorted to using known, accredited and legitimate sources, to define a topic or issue at hand. The editor can no longer send as many journalists as she would like out into the field, and to attend national Maori hui where it is possible to locate alternative sources and stories. Again it is possible to see that the diversity of sources is reduced when there are fewer journalists harvesting material, a smaller number of reporters are feeding in ideas, tips suggestions, reaction and story possibilities to the daily assignment lists and there is a concentration on the news judgement and direction of the middle level news managers; chief reporter and news editor (McGregor, 1995).

However, it must be noted that when possible the journalists were encouraged to find new and colourful stories that did not use institutional and accredited sources.

It also became apparent in the daily advice and the selection of stories, Maori as sources were dominant. Maori sources were used to obtain the Maori perspective on the news. As mentioned, when the budget was released Maori academics and politicians were used as sources, to give a Maori perspective to the news. With the retirement of Dame Cath Tizard as the governor general being close at hand, the issue of who will be the next governor becomes an important issue to all New Zealanders. However, Mana also viewed this as a critical issue to the debate that Maori should share in the role of governorship, so they sought the Maori perspective on this issue from Maori such as, Bishop Vercoe, Sir Paul Revees and Sir Graham Latimer. Concerning the participant observation with the journalists and the participation observation with the editor, the results confirm that Maori sources are the primary interpreters of the news for Mana News. It is only from other Maori that the Maori perspective of the news is defined.

Mana did have a strong emphasis on using Maori as their source base, even if it was using institutional Maori sources. The use of mainly white, male and institutional sources in mainstream media (McGregor & Comrie, 1995) was why Mana News would use Maori sources for the same issue or event.

The editor gave advice on how to approach sources that would help the journalists to obtain relevant information for their audience. In the case of the budget the journalist was told to ask "what is relevant to Maori in the budget? what does this year's budget mean for Maori?" Then journalist needed to find sources who could answer those questions. On other occasions they were simply advised to let the source give you the angle, "let them tell their story, and there will be your angle."

6.5 Conclusion

As with the journalists generally the editor had the same overall routines and activities as any newsroom editor, but perhaps with less resources and no sub-editor. The news editor in Mana News is the only senior managerial person making decision on the news selection for Mana News. The selection of news in Mana News is made by one person, unlike conventional news organisations where there are numerous sub-editors perhaps a chief bureau for the editor to bounce ideas off when selecting the news for the day. News judgements are rarely made in isolation, but is usually part of the process of socialisation in traditional news organisations. The news editor in Mana News has limited opportunity to refine and alter the news selection from discussion with her peers.

The general description of the setting the editor works in is a little different from mainstream media organisation. However, that does not take away from the deadline pressures, a lack of resources and commercial requirement to gather stories and obtain newsworthy stories any media organisation deals with on a day to day basis.

The general observations uncovered nothing new or different about the day to day decision making process of the news editor. The focused observations inductively

categorised the routines into four various activities; sending out the prospect list to the journalists ; keeping in contact with journalists and their progress on the stories and giving direction and advice where necessary; gather news; and to check all scripts and decide on the line up of stories. Again much the same activities have been identified for most news editors. But in the selective observation, moving from the general to the specific, various difference in the agenda of Mana News, the way news values were applied and the sources used were uncovered.

It is necessary to delve deeper into the observation and look beyond the daily routines to uncover the fundamental differences of Mana News to other media and the activities of the editor. This research examined why particular decisions were made in the day to day tasks of the editor. The research revealed the news values used and sources selected, was what made Mana News distinct.

McGregor (1993, p.22) states that a number of Maori journalists see the development of separate Maori media as the best way to give voice to Maori aspirations. 'The development of separate Maori media arises from tribal aspirations and the Maori renaissance, and they are to be welcomed for their vibrancy, diversity and commitment to Maori language and Maori ownership and control. Some suggest that it is the news values applied and the sources used in the selection process of the news that the difference exists.

As with the journalists the news values Mana News used to judge whether a story was newsworthy or not, were identified by Galtung & Ruge (1965). Mana News consisted of news that was timely, news that was culturally proximity and relevant, news that gave a balanced composition and continuity. However, because the audience aimed at was Maori, the values were applied differently, as was discovered in the observation of the journalistic routines.

The news values of relevance and culturally proximity, meant that the stories were relevant to Maori, rather than the general public. Mana looked for the Maori point

of view in issues such as the budget and the new governor general. The editor encouraged the coverage of events and issue happening in the Maori world such as land claims, Maori hui, Maori competitions and achievements.

Mana included positive news, or good news stories about Maori, and good news for Maori. A balanced composition for Mana News meant a variety of bad news and good news stories, all of which were about Maori. To get a rounded broadcast was important to have news of the day as well as some more "soft" news stories, which were the good news stories. The editor also ensured that there was a balanced whole to a single issue, often there were two or three stories on one issue providing various points of view.

Again the observations with the editor, the results were similar to those found with the journalists on the selection of sources. Mana News also gave a Maori perspective to the news of the day by using Maori sources, individual Maori when possible. The primary interpretation of the news was from Maori sources, and this initial definition of a topic by Maori was the Maori perspective of the news. However, the insufficient funding of the newsroom meant there was a reliance on institutional and accredited sources, such as Maori politicians.

CHAPTER SEVEN

PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION EVALUATION

7.1 Introduction

The purpose of the participant observation was to gain an understanding of the selection process Mana News used in the manufacture of news. To get the full scope of this selection process both editorial decisions in news selection and ground level journalistic routines were observed over two different time frames. The selective observations attempted to uncover the why certain decision were made by the editor and journalists in their daily activities when selecting the news.

Participant observation was used because it allows the researcher to understand the context in which people operate in the newsroom, see things that may routinely escape the consciousness of those in the newsroom, learn about things that participants may be unwilling to talk about in an interview, move beyond the selective perceptions of others, and access personal knowledge and direct experience as resources to aid in understanding and interpreting the decision-making process in the newsroom being evaluated. It also was clear that the complex inter-play between the source, the journalist and the editor was not necessarily apparent in the traditional end product analysis of broadcast news stories.

The literature review discussed two of the most contentious issues that are argued could distinguish Mana News from mainstream, which were the news values and the sources used. In the selective observations it was apparent that news values at play and the selection of sources strongly influenced the manufacture of news.

Some of the news values identified by Galtung and Ruge (1965) in the literature review were apparent. However, Mana News applied the news values differently to common convention and in fact one news value identified, reference to something

positive, is rarely applied in the news selection of mainstream media. The six truly international news values identified by Masterton (1994) were not prominent in the decision-making processes observed. Masterton's (1994) values were too general to be validated by the participant observation. The sources used varied from non-institutional as well as the common trait of news media to rely on institutional and accredited sources (Hall, 1978; Leitch 1991; McGregor and Comrie, 1995).

A more comprehensive look at the role of sources is examined in the content analysis section. The nature of journalistic writing is also examined.

7.2 The Question of Generalizability

While these findings emerged from the participation observation the question of whether they are generalizable needs to be addressed. Anderson (1987) suggests it is the business of participation observation not to explain individuals one at a time but rather to explain the social action of the scene. He states, "the scene is an identifiable part of human life; the social action is the myriad of performances which give it meaning. The analyst has to make those generalizing steps from acts to action to social action within a scene" (p.354).

And Denzin (1989) states:

just as the experiment and the survey are subject to the problems of internal and external validity, so too is participant observation. Can observations of participant observer be generalized to other populations (external validity)? Do the observations represent real differences, or are they artifacts of the observational process (internal validity)? " (p.170-171).

Generalizability as a problem for field research crops up in this research in two forms identified by Babbie (1992). The first is that the personal and subjective nature of the observations by the researcher can produce results which will not necessarily be replicated by another, independent researcher. "If the observation depends in part on the particular observers, then it becomes more valuable as a source of insight than

as proof or truth" (p.308). The second problem associated with generalizability occurs within the specific subject matter being observed. How "typical" were they? Were the particular journalists "typical" of Maori journalists working within a Maori organisation? Was the editor a "typical" editor for a separate Maori media organisation? Were the two weeks chosen to observe "typical" news weeks? Another associated problem with the specific subject matter observed is small amount of time the observation occurred over. Is two weeks sufficient time to generalize a "typical" days work? Caution must be used in generalizing the findings to the whole population.

Nothing in participant observation as a methodology provides the researcher with a guarantee that he or she is generalizing within the accepted boundaries and contours laid out by the specific observations. It is clear as Babbie (1992) suggests, that "field research results cannot be generalized as safely as those based on rigorous sampling and standardized questionnaires" (p.309). In the end it is a matter of judgement by the researcher that the nature of the specific observation allows a generalizable finding. That judgment is in itself judged by the discerning and sceptical reader reviewing reports of the participation observation. The element of reader judgement will apply not only to generalizability. Anderson (1987) states:

The discerning reader will consider the naturalistic study from the criteria of purpose, informational source, commitment, completeness, generalizability, and propriety of the argument... Ultimately, the research piece must be helpful in understanding the social world in which we live (p.355).

The strength of participant observation lies in depth of understanding it may permit. As Babbie (1992) states "being there" is a powerful technique for gaining insights into the nature of human affairs" (p.306).

7.3 Generalizable Findings

What generalizable findings, then, can be put forward from the participant observation in this case? This research has adopted, in general, a conservative

approach to generalization. It is contended that the results identified the difference in the selection process of Mana News that is distinguishable from traditional mainstream news perspective. The Maori perspective of the news can be identified in the application of news values and the utilisation of sources in the newsroom. The participant observation illustrated that, in general, the Maori perspective is influenced by these three factors.

1. Sources play an integral role in determining the news, and in general it is from the source and their interpretation of the topic that news is defined. Their primary interpretation of the news is the Maori perspective of the news, it is the sources used that distinguishes the Maori perspective of the news.
2. The news values that are used to judge whether a news story is newsworthy or not by Mana News were not different to those conventionally used in mainstream media, but the application and the emphasis of those news values were different. That difference distinguishes the Maori perspective of the news.
3. The limited resourcing in the newsroom had an major impact in the collection and construction of the news.

7.4 Theory Development

These findings move beyond the traditional news values identified by Galtung and Ruge (1965) and conclude that there was a distinction in the application of these news values in news selection process of Mana News. The findings add that application of news values varies in Mana News and that in turn this impacts on the end-product. Galtung and Ruge (1965) identified twenty factors which operate in the structure of news. Most of these twenty factors were used in Mana News, however the application of these values alters the dynamics of the news gathering process and the news covered by Mana News.

The findings show the variation in the application of news values is the different

emphasis some values are given in the news selection process. This also alters the final news product. Traditionally bad news and violence have been dominant news values in the media. Hall (1973) found that the most salient, operational news value is certainly that of violence. Violence in crime news Hall (1978) suggests is the supreme example of news values "negative consequences" (p.68). However, Mana News does not emphasize violence and negativity. Negative consequences are part of the news make-up in Mana News but the negativity is counter-balanced by the news value composition. This variation away from a single-minded emphasis on negativity represents the difference in news perspectives of traditional mainstream media to that of Maori media.

The theory by Masterton (1994) that there six truly intercultural news values could not be confirmed. From his research emerged six truly international news values; consequence, proximity, conflict, human Interest, novelty, and prominence. His definitions of these news values are so all encompassing that it is difficult to place news values used in Mana News into any one of his categories. The news values he discovered are too general to be validated by this participant observation study.

But the findings do confirm that the Maori perspective of the news is distinct to that of the mainstream media. Both Walker (1994) and Fox (1991) believe that a distinguishing part of the Maori perspective was the coverage of positive news. The findings confirm that positive news is part of the Maori perspective in Mana News.

The findings did not find that traditional news values are not used, but rather they are applied differently with greater or lesser emphasis. The journalistic writing style and sources also impact on the news, and are part of the Maori perspective of the news. Both of these issues are explored in more depth in the content analysis.

A challenge for further scholarship may involve researchers combining insights about these variations and a more comprehensive study of Maori journalists' perceptions of important news values. In this way a more in-depth coverage of news values and

priorities attached to these values can be determined. These could then be compared and contrast to traditional mainstream application of news values.

7.5 News Values, Sources, Resourcing and the Maori Perspective of the News

The Maori perspective of the news is apparent in the production of the news. However, it was not the news values used that was different but the nature in which they were applied. The news values identified by Galtung and Ruge (1965) which were apparent in mainstream media were also used in Maori media. But when values such as cultural proximity and relevance were adapted by Maori journalists working in a Maori media organisation, whose audience are Maori, the news gathered is different. The focus of stories is on Maori, problems facing Maori and often achievement by Maori.

News values applied and Maori sources used seem to be at the heart of the issue to why Maori are not represented in the mainstream media. Pakeha journalists are generally not aware that in their work they are drawing on their own cultural perspective, since they assume it is universal (Fox, 1993). Journalists at Mana News use their own cultural background when judging the news and Maori journalists cultural background play a part in the news that is gathered. The dominant sources used were Maori, and while many tended to be institutional sources the fundamental difference between them and other institutional sources used in the mainstream is that they were Maori and they spoke about Maori issues and/or events. The reliance on institutional sources can be partly aligned to Hall's (1978) theory of need for media to obtain reliable and 'accredited sources'. However, that lack of variety in the sourcing in Mana News could be contributed to the lack of resources in the newsroom, which limits the ability of journalists to reach a wide variety of sources.

To conclude the participant observation section of this research some comments need to be made about the impact of resourcing had on the construction and presentation of the news. The allocation of journalistic resources has a profound influence on both the *amount* and the *kind* of news which is eventually published or broadcast

(McGregor, 1995). Perhaps surprisingly, though, little empirical research has been conducted examining the linkages between fewer journalists employed in the newsrooms and the kind of news produced. But McGregor (1995) did find that;

a centralisation of news occurs when there are fewer journalists involved in the news process. The diversity of sources is reduced when there are fewer journalists harvesting material, a smaller number of reporters are feeding ideas, tips, suggestions, reactions and story possibilities to the daily assignment list, and there is a concentration on the news judgment and direction of middle level news managers; chief reporters and news editors (p.271).

The findings revealed that much the same has occurred for Mana News. The resourcing affects the interaction between journalists and sources and the interaction between the journalists and the editor. These limitations appeared to affect the kind of stories that were covered, as journalists appeared to be harvesters of the news rather than the hunters of the news and the diversity of sources was reduced.

The next section of the research, Chapters Eight and Nine, examine the Maori perspective of the news is examined by employing content analysis methodology. The "insider" nature of participant observation is complemented in the following analysis and discussion by the "outsider" nature of content analysis.

CHAPTER EIGHT CONTENT ANALYSIS RESULTS

8.1 Introduction

Maori media organisations have their own perspective of the news, often defined as the Maori perspective of news (Fox, 1990; Walker, 1994). Walker (1994) also states this Maori perspective "is a window on Maori reality that is positive and optimistic" (p.5). However, as mentioned, there has been limited research undertaken to identify the difference in the construction and presentation of Maori news and the distinction between the Maori perspective and that of the mainstream perspective of the news.

In the presentation of the news it is commonly known that news is reliant on sources for news. News is not what happens, but what someone says has happened or will happen (Sigal, 1986, p.15). Research has also found that the newsroom relies heavily on a few official and institutional sources (Hall, 1978; Leitch, 1992; McGregor 1993). There is a need to examine the sources alternative media do use, that is to examine whether alternative media such as Mana News rely on official and government sources or use a wide variety of sources, and what sort of differences it makes to the news they cover and how it is presented.

This research presents data on the presentation of news in Mana News, and the utilisation of sources in the news. Content analysis allows the researcher to investigate the way in which a story is recounted, the types of sources used, and the types of stories covered.

This chapter is constructed to present the results from the content analysis of a constructed two week period of Mana News in 1993. The results are debated and discussed following the relevant sections for ease of reading and presentation.

Examples of stories in the sample are used to elaborate the results and illustrate some of the findings. First general results are presented and discussed, on story duration, story origin, identification of iwi and the use of Maori language. Then the data collected indicating the type of stories covered by Mana, the tone and nature of those stories, the depth of background and history apparent in stories, the journalistic genre used, and a comprehensive look at sources used, are presented and discussed.

8.2 General

8.2.1 Story length

A total of 63 stories were coded in this research. Each story was timed in seconds by the coder. The average length of a story was *177.47* seconds. In this research each news programme averaged 6-7 stories per programme. The findings of McGregor and Comrie (1995) found Mana News stories length averaged 210.6 seconds from 1985-1994, with a reduction from 288 seconds in 1990 to 136.3 seconds in 1994. Mana News stories have decreased in length during a time span in which programme length shorten and more stories were covered in each programme (McGregor and Comrie, 1995).

8.2.2 Geographic location

In total 50.8% of the stories in the sample originated in either Auckland or Wellington, with 20.6% from Auckland and 30.2% from Wellington. North Island small town accounted for 20.6% of the stories. Stories from Rotorua accounted for 7.9% and 7.9% also originated from North Island rural. But the total stories from the South Island, including Christchurch, South Island small town and South Island rural, accounted for a total of 6.4%.

Table over page.

Table 2
Geographic location of stories

Story Origin	Percentage of Stories
Wellington	30.2
Auckland	20.6
North Island Small Town	20.6
North Island Rural	7.9
Rotorua	7.9
Other North Island City	4.8
Christchurch	3.2
South Island Small Town	1.6
South Island Rural	1.6
Overseas-NZ Crew	1.6

The results indicate that Mana covers news from all over the North Island and do not limit themselves to only Auckland and Wellington. However, it is noticeable that their resources do not extend to the coverage of stories originating from the South Island. However, with only 10.9% of the Maori population living in the South Island (Census, 1991), Mana News is giving the South Island reasonable coverage to population. It is comforting to see that Mana news is not suffering from the Auckland-Wellington syndrome, which was identified by McGregor and Comrie (1995) as a bias towards broadcast news from the North Island big cities. In their research a total of 70% of stories originated from either Auckland and Wellington. Mana News provides a service for both the rural Maori and the urban Maori and their news must reflect this by covering stories from smaller communities as well as the big cities.

8.2.3 Iwi

In total, 33% of the stories identified an iwi, that is 21 of the 63 stories an iwi was

mentioned. In 12 stories the iwi was identified in relation to the story, in 5 of the stories the iwi was mentioned in relation to the source, in 1 story the iwi was mentioned in relation to the place the story originated from and in 3 stories the identification of the iwi was mixed. The stories in which the an iwi was identified were; Treaty issues (policy), Treaty issues (claim), Treaty issues (protest), personalities, sport personalities, welfare issues, housing, business, popular culture, culture, land claims and land issues.

Although the amount of times the iwi was identified was relatively low, less than half, in numerous stories an Iwi Trust board or *rohe* were acknowledged. Often the stories on trust boards such as the Taitokerau trust board, an iwi was not mentioned. Or when the story was about a people of an area such as Gisborne, Kawerau or Rotorua the iwi was not always mentioned. Mana appeared to assumed that the iwi from those areas and iwi of a trust board were commonly known.

The acknowledgement of an iwi is distinct to Maori journalism and readers will look for reference to a subject's tribal and family connections (Mannion, 1993). In a Maori programme a person is likely to be captioned with their tribal affiliation or tribal area. These things are important, because Maori people need to know someone's tribal affiliation in order to properly consider what they are saying in public (Fox, 1993).

8.2.4 Usage of Maori language

The Maori language became an official New Zealand language in 1987, some nine years ago. The question was ask if Maori language was used in Mana News English news programmes. The results showed that only 25% of the stories included Maori language and the 93% of the time it was only a few words. However, this should come as no surprise as most Maori journalists and Maori news executives interviewed in the pilot study; Whai Ngata, Ral Makiha, Derek Fox, Tawini Rangihau and Wena Harawira; said they try to avoid Maori words in an English language story. There is a development of what Whai Ngata termed *New York street Maori*, that is the mixing of the languages, and using phrases like " I had a *korero* with.. or lets *haere*".

Journalists do not want to promote this street Maori on their news broadcast, only words that are accepted as part of our national language, and words that cannot be translated, such as *mana*, *marae* and *tangata whenua*, are acceptable to be used. Many viewed the intermixing of English and Maori as "bastardising" the Maori language. Maori should be spoken in its full and natural state not a mix. Ral Makiha noticed people to tend to drop words like *mahi* and *korero* into conversations, but he "doesn't like it as it doesn't sound natural". Mana instead has full news broadcasts in Maori.

8.3 Type and Tone of Stories

Mana News stories were examined to see what type of news was covered. Category construction for this can be one of the most time consuming and exacting tasks in content analysis. (McGregor and Comrie, 1995). Stempel (1989) states "category systems already developed by other researchers may prove to be appropriate" (p.127). The classifications for types of stories were developed from previous work on the content analysis of Mana News for McGregor and Comrie (1995), and listening to Mana News on a regular basis to give the researcher a feel for the types of stories covered. The more classifications of the type of stories were developed through trial and error. During the coding process categories were added and the whole sample re-coded with the new categories.

The results revealed that a variety of stories were covered. The table below gives the percentage of types of stories identified in order of the type most often covered.

Table over page.

Table 3
Type of story

Type of Maori Story	Percent of Stories
Health	12.7
Land Issues	11.1
Treaty Issues (Policy)	9.5
Maori Politics	7.9
Education	7.9
Policy	7.9
Achievement	7.9
Sport Personalities	4.8
Religion	4.8
Other	4.8
Housing	3.2
Business	3.2
Culture	3.2
Welfare Issues	1.6
Personalities	1.6
Race Relations	1.6
Popular Culture	1.6
Treaty Issues (Protest)	1.6
Treaty Issues (Claims)	1.6
Land Claims	1.6

Health and land issues were the most well covered stories, indicating the most pertinent issues that face Maori at that time. It is also interesting to note that achievement and education were also stories consistently covered by Mana along with Maori politics and policy. In fact Mana covers a wide variety of stories. But it

is the nature of reporting that signifies a fundamental difference between Mana News and mainstream news media.

8.3.1 Good news/bad news stories

Whether the news was a good news story or a bad news story was also examined. The bad news/good news debate is a perennial one for journalists and in 1994 Martyn Lewis, the BBC TV News presenter, entered the fray. He quoted a former chairman of the BBC as stating, "the measure of responsibility is this: that by its nature broadcasting must be in a constant and sensitive relationship with the moral condition of society. Broadcasters are, and must be, involved: this gives them a responsibility they cannot evade." Lewis provoked his colleagues by arguing that when broadcasters decided the editorial priorities for each day's news "we should be more prepared than we have been in the past to weight the positive stories--not artificially created, but *naturally* occur in the news agenda--on the same set of journalistic scales on which we weigh the negative stories." His remarks provoked considerable journalistic breast-beating but have relevance for this research.

In this world where pessimism and bad news is always in the forefront of the news media, Mana News is seen as a positive step toward equality in news by broadcasting positive and optimistic stories about Maori. Unlike the mainstream who unremittingly portrayal Maori in a negative light, or where Maori are invisible in their news agenda (McGregor and Comrie, 1995), Mana News attempts to provide New Zealand with a window on Maori reality that is positive and optimistic (Walker, 1994).

Mana News had stories on successful Maori business ventures, problems faced by iwi trust boards dealing with government agencies, to comments from John Marsh to have marks of authentication for Maori Arts and Crafts. The results revealed 19% of the news was good news, 47.6% was bad news and 33.4% was neutral.

What was of most revealing was the nature of the bad news. In Mana news the bad

news stories were predominantly bad news *for* Maori (100%), rather than bad news *about* Maori. Bad news *about* Maori means news which identifies Maori in problem terms. Bad news *for* Maori is where the news identifies a problem or issue facing Maori. For example a bad news story "for" Maori was a story about a problem faced by Wakatu Corporations, a tribal Maori business. The tribal corporation from the Nelson district were receiving low rentals on reserve land because of the Maori Land Reserve Act. A government report confirming this, recommending an increase in rental and a revision of the Maori Land Reserve Act was being delayed in its release. The Wakatu corporation was losing millions of dollars in potential revenue.

Bad news "for" was then coded to examine which part of the population was it bad news for, either bad news for an individual Maori, bad news for an organisation, bad news for a small community or Maori as a people.

Table 4
Bad news "for" Maori

Bad News "for" Maori	Percent	Actual Number of stories
Maori Individual	6.7%	2
Maori Organisation	40.0%	12
Local Maori Community	23.3%	7
General Maori Population	30.0%	9
TOTAL	100.0%	30

These results are consistent with the findings of McGregor and Comrie (1995), who found that unlike television news the focus for Mana News was not conflict, but rather the problems that faced Maori and Mana stories usually included reference to solutions to these problems. There was a fundamental difference in the way in which bad news stories were told on Mana News. For Mana News the focus is not on

dissension between people but rather on the dilemmas for Maori.

This research further explored this fundamental difference, and coded whether or not a solution was put forward to the problem in the story. The results showed that 60% of the bad news stories included a solution, and the solution came from the source in 72.2% of those bad news stories and was mixed (being from the newsreader and source) 27.8% of the stories. For example, the story mentioned earlier on the Maori reserve land owners, Wakatu Corporation, the spokesperson said if the report could be tabled, then at least they could start the negotiations and come to some sort of agreement. They are willing to discuss the options instead of being shut out, and continually delayed. Another story on the dental statistics of the Maori children in Northland revealed the bad state of dental health in Maori children. A health professional working in the district was interviewed for the story. This source suggested a solution to the bad dental care in the Far North. The dentist had identified the resources needed to reduce the tooth decay in Maori children and strategies to implement a successful programme to reduce tooth decay and gum disease.

8.4 Event Orientation

Focus on events has been termed the *event orientation* of news by Galtung and Ruge (1965). Stories were examined to see what prompted the story, an event or an issue. Then each respective answer was further coded to examine whether the event/issue was explained in context, given background, and if there was any historical perspective. The questions were asked to shed light on whether Mana News is guilty of the oft-expressed criticism of the news media that the news media concentrates on happenings and events without regard for their socio-political context and stories are stripped of any historical perspective. Or whether Mana News falls into the category of providing a old but newly examined type of journalism, development journalism (Loo, 1994) and discussed in the literature review. Development journalism is an in-depth reporting of events and situations. Development journalism attempts to highlight the "what, why, and how" of the process of the event (Sinha, 1981). Loo

(1994) believes that development journalism provides a way for journalists to report on the ethnic and cultural diversity in Australia.

The results showed that only 61.9% of the stories were prompted by an event, and 38.1% by an issue. Mana has many more stories on issues than conventional mainstream media.

When the thirty-nine event orientated stories were coded further, the results revealed that in 97.4% of the stories the newsreader gave background to the event, in 97.4% of the stories it was possible to understand what caused the event from the story, in 92.3% of the stories the context of the event was explained and 64% of the stories included a historical perspective. The perfect example is the story Mana News covered on Waitara College. This story was prompted by an event. Waitara College in Taranaki were about to introduce changes to their school curriculum to be more conducive for Maori students. The introduction to the story by the reporter summarised the history of the school, and how and why these changes were to be implemented. A complainant from the parents of the Maori students at that school took the matter to the Race Relations Office and then to the Human Rights Commission about the disadvantages their children faced by having restricted access to Maori language and culture saw the school take action some three years later. The background, history and context to the event were fully explained.

Similar results were confirmed with the examination of the reporting of twenty-four stories on issues. The newsreader gave background to the issue in 91.7% of issue stories, the cause of the issue could be understood in 95.8% of the stories, the depth given to the cause of the issue was a historical background in 79.2% of the stories, versus immediate background of 20.8%, and the context of the issue was explained in all the issues stories (100%). A story on the issue of government funding for the United Nations Year of Indigenous People explored by Mana News exemplifies these results. The newsreader summarises the past and present commitments the government has with the United Nations and what is happening now. Then source

Moana Jackson is given considerable time to speak, and explains how much funding has been allocated, how it is to be allocated, and how this compares to overseas. Overall the situation is fully explained and the historical commitments reviewed.

Mana gave background to the issue, explained why the issue arose and gave historical background. The complaint about the primary orientation of the news as "happenings" is that the media concentrate on the concrete at the expense of the abstract, which does not allow listeners and viewers to develop a fuller picture and deeper level of understanding from the news. This does not appear to be happening in the reporting of news in Mana News.

In previous research the fundamental differences in the nature of reporting events was vividly revealed in a story on a explosion in a Huntly mine, covered by both Morning Report and Mana News on the same day. Mana led the story:

"Maori coal miners in Huntly say they are grateful their community isn't the scene of another fatal tragedy following yesterday's massive methane explosion. Coal Corp staff have spent the day cleaning up after the blast which sent a huge fireball into the air and shook homes 5kms away and could be heard at a distance of 15kms".

Morning Report's lead was:

"Huntly West mine staff will this morning begin the job of clearing up damage caused by a explosion yesterday afternoon. The explosion was heard several kilometres away and has badly damaged several buildings on the surface, no one was hurt".

Mana then uses a local resident and council member Bob Tukiri as their source. Morning Report interviewed David Stuart, Coal Corp's Mine Manager who was in Auckland at the time of the blast. The use of sources, analysis of the situation, language used and the different agenda of each medium was obvious. The distinct perspectives were vastly apparent.

Morning Report went to an institutional source and was concerned about the physical property damage and cost to Coal Corp. The questions raised by Morning Report, directed at David Stuart were how did it happen, what is the damage caused to the mine, and will this mean the mine will close? The story was very factual and matter of fact, with little detail of the mine's history and of the local community.

Mana however used a completely different angle, they approached the story from the source's view. Mr Tukiri spoke about the significance of the explosion to the township. He told "the yarn" of the explosion. He talked about the previous explosion where a friend was rescued. Then he compared this explosion to the biggest explosion ever in the early 1990's. In the last sound bite Mr Tukiri spoke of the town's history. Mana had a more in-depth and people-orientated story. But this is not just an example of Mana's News ability to have in-depth event stories but of the fundamental difference in the journalistic writing style. What would be classed as hard news on Morning Report has a soft news approach on Mana news. Perhaps the traditional method of viewing stories as hard news and soft news is not appropriate for examining Mana News.

8.5 Journalistic Genre

The traditional categories of hard and soft news are less appropriate to identify the writing style used in Mana News. Mana News is a specialised Maori service and the write for a specific audience. One powerful distinction between Mana News and other media is the nature of the story and the richer and more complex manner in which they approach a story. The results from the event orientation and bad/good news results have demonstrated that Mana News often gives stories background and context.

Mana attempts to explain the abstract and explores the shades of grey. Wyatt and Badger's (1993) typology is a far more appropriate form of categorising the journalistic genre in Mana News than simply classifying news as either soft or hard news. Wyatt and Badger's (1993) model divides the types or mode of composition

into five categories, according to their method of discourse (or form) and intended purpose (effect), corresponding to Aristotle's formal and final causes (p.6).

The first mode is *description*, its purpose is to depict a scene and convey other information about news occurrence. Then there is *narration*, closely aligned to description, but rather than organising facts to convey information effectively, narration presents the structure of an event through the use of a plot. The third is *exposition*. Exposition is a form of composition that mainly operates through logical and explanatory devices to provide a heightened perspective on or understanding of its subject. Then there is *argumentation*, its primary purpose is persuasion. Lastly there is *criticism*, where critics write their personal judgement or taste in arriving at an assessment of an external object or event (Wyatt and Badger, 1993).

This is best explained by illustrating the following table Wyatt and Badger used in their journal article.

Table 5
Journalistic Genre

Dominant Mode	Conventional New Genres	Usual Structure	Representative Functions	Primary Variables Affected
Description	Straight news; informative features; impressionistic description	Enumerative or point-by-point listing according to some hierarchy such as importance	Provide information	Knowledge

Narration	"Realistic" New Journalism; "phenomenological" New Journalism; much sports and political writing	Chronological order, either simple or complex, including flashbacks	Recreate experience	Participation; vicarious experience; existential knowledge ; involvement
Argumentation	Editorials' personal polemics; "advocacy" journalism	Logical or rhetorical order, usually including introduction, development, and conclusion	Persuade; attitude or opinion change	Agreement
Exposition	Analysis; commentary	Explanatory order, including contrast, definition, and classification	Explain meaning	Understanding
Criticism	Reviews; "evaluative journalism" in political, sports, and consumer reporting	Summary and evaluation relating work to external set of criteria	Evaluation	Interest; future evaluation; appreciation

The results revealed that 73% of the stories were descriptive, 20.6% were narrative and 6.3% were exposition.

8.6 The Nature of the Story

One of the most dominant news value in news media is to emphasize conflict and controversy. But not only are stories with two or more sides in opposition newsworthy, but there is tendency to heighten the conflict by pitting A against B in the news report. News formats very often conform to what Epstein (1973) calls the

dialectical story model, where A is presented in opposition to B. In the spectrum of bad news, violence as a news value holds a special status in crime news, or any news. This is because violence is the supreme example of the news value "negative consequences" (Hall, 1978, p.68). The research asked if there were stories which involved two or more sides in opposition and if so what was the dialectical model of the story, was it Epstein's (1973) A vs B model, a story-telling model, mixed or other.

The results revealed that less than half of the stories were conflict-based. Only twenty four of the stories involved two or more sides in opposition, and of those stories 87.5% were reported in a story-telling manner and 12.5% were a combination of story-telling and A vs B dialectical model. An example of a story that had two or more people in opposition, but used a story-telling dialectical model was a story about a sit-in at Matakana Island in Tauranga. Local Maori from Matakana Island in the Tauranga harbour blocked a private road and staged a sit-in to protest the continued logging of the Island's forestry. The newsreader began the story with the details of what was happening, then gave information on the history of the Island and its population. The local kaumatua was interviewed for the story. Mana News allowed the source to say in his own way what they were doing and why. That was the story, a kaumatua in a sound and calm manner explaining their grievances. Mana's final sound bite from the reporter cited the protestors saying "that when the time came to go, they would with no violence. They were just trying to make a point, and get the foreign companies to recognise the right of the indigenous people."

8.7 Sources

The study also comprehensively examined sources in the news stories and analyzed every source used in a news story against a set of questions and criteria. Sources of news, people cited, quoted or who speak in stories, impact decisively on the presentation and construction of news. The study examined the use, nature and depth of sourcing in the news stories in relation to the presentation of the Maori perspective of the news. Sources play a dominant role in the news process.

8.7.1 Number of sources

The total of 83 sources were used in the 63 stories coded. The source content of stories ranged from one source to four sources in a story. That made the average amount of sources 1.3 per story. Of the 63 stories with sources, 73% used one source, 23% used two sources, 2% used three sources and 2% used four sources.

Time spent speaking by each source in the story and the number of repeats (time the story returns to a source in citation or sound bite) have also been coded. There has been much debate between broadcasters and their critics and in academic research over the duration of sound bites. But what should be examined is the total time a source is given in a news story, including repeated sound bites (McGregor and Comrie, 1995).

The results showed that the average speaking time of a source in one story was 77.88 seconds. Overall, Mana allowed repeated sounds bites or citations of the sources in 88% of the stories. This meant that source comments were repeated an average of 4.55 times per story.

Compared to the results from the McGregor and Comrie's (1995) research on sources speaking time, Mana's sources were speaking on air for longer than the average speaking time of sources in TV One News (21 seconds) , TV3 News (13.4 seconds), and Morning Report news stories (10 seconds). But is similar to television feature news and Morning Report feature news. When repeats were examined in the study conducted by McGregor and Comrie (1995) most broadcasters only repeated sources once, twice or three time of the time while Mana's repeats were clustered in the four to seven repeats. Sources on Mana clearly have more opportunity to speak in relation to a news story than any other broadcaster studied (McGregor and Comrie, 1995). Mana News gives sources an abundant opportunity to speak in relation to a news story. It is a fundamental difference that distinguishes Mana News and gives the listeners a far more in-depth story.

8.7.2 Ethnicity and gender of sources

The study coded the identity of sources in the news stories. Mana has an overwhelming reliance on Maori newsmakers. The majority of the sources were Maori. Comparing these results to McGregor and Comrie (1995) this is almost the reverse to what is seen on mainstream media. In TV One News 85.6% of sources were Pakeha, compared with 8.1% Maori, 1.9% Pacific Island and 4.4% Other (ethnic origin). On TV3 News 86.6% of sources in news stories examined were Pakeha, 10.6% were Maori, 0.3% were Pacific Island and 11.4% were Other (ethnic origin) (Mcgregor and Comrie, 1995). Below are the results on ethnicity of sources used in Mana News form this research.

Table 6
Ethnicity of Sources

Ethnicity of Source	Percent of Sources
Maori	71.1
Pakeha	15.7
Other	3.6
Unknown	9.6

The gender of the source was also coded. In this research Mana News results did not appear to be that much different to what has been found in mainstream media. There is an over-whelming tendency to use male sources.

Table over page.

Table 7
Gender of Sources

Gender of Source	Percent
Male	71.1
Female	27.7
Unknown	1.2

Even in Mana News female sources are not being utilised. Mana News appears to be contributing to what McGregor and Comrie (1995) have termed the invisibility of women in the news. 'When women are systematically invisible as newsmakers, that invisibility is a form of stereotyping because it implies women are less important than men, their participation in institutional and public life is less significant, their achievements less noteworthy, their challenges less dramatic and their disappointments less compelling' (p.52). Mana News is also not recognising the progress women, both Maori and non-Maori have made in public life, the work-force and in corporate institutions.

8.7.3 Nature of source

The type of source for each story was examined in the study. The table below shows the overall percentages each type of source was used.

Table 8
Type of Sources used

Type of Sources	Actual number of stories	Percentage of stories
Iwi-hapu Spokesperson	11	13.3
Administrative-executives	11	13.3
Individual Maori	10	12.0
Maori Political Leader	9	10.8
Other Maori Interest	9	10.8

Research-expert	8	9.6
Public Servant	5	6.0
Health Professionals	5	6.0
Other Interest-lobby	3	3.6
Other MP	3	3.6
Prime Minister	2	2.4
Education Spokesperson	2	2.4
Minister of Justice	1	1.2
Waitangi Tribunal Spokesperson	1	1.2
Elder	1	1.2
Religious Leader	1	1.2
Minister of Maori Affairs	1	1.2

The sourcing of Maori news reveals a fundamental distinction between traditional broadcasters and Mana News. In this research Mana News tends to use fewer institutional sources such as the Minister of Justice, or the Minister of Maori Affairs, but more informal sources such as iwi-spokespeople, administrative executives, Maori interest groups and individual Maori. Public servants and health professionals also dominant sources. In comparisons to the results in the research by McGregor and Comrie (1995) which found a reliance on white, male and institutional sources Mana is broadcasting news about Maori and employing a greater diversity of sources in their news.

8.7 Summary of Results

- * A total of 63 stories were coded in this research.
- * The geographic location of stories was relatively wide spread, with 30.2% from Wellington and 20.6% of the stories form Auckland and North Island rural respectively. A small proportion were from the South Island with a total of 6.4%.

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- * The thirty bad news stories were reported as bad news *for* Maori, rather than bad news *about* Maori.
 - * The results showed a fundamental difference in Mana News was that they often explored the solutions. When covering bad news stories, 60% of the time a solution was put forward, 72.2% of the time the solution came from the source, and 27.8% of the time it was mixed (given by source and news reporter).
 - * Mana News was not as event orientated as mainstream media, with thirty-nine of the stories being prompted by an event and twenty-four of stories were prompted by an issue.
 - * Results revealed similarities between the Mana's style of journalism and development journalism when stories were coded for background and context. The results were that when covering events, background to the story was given 97.4% of the stories, it was possible to understand the cause 97.4% of the event stories and 92.3% of the stories the context of the story was explained.
 - * Issues were also thoroughly covered by Mana News. Background was given by the newsreader 91.7% of the stories on issues, the cause of the issue could be understood 95.8% of the stories, and the historical perspective was given 79.2% of the stories, and the context of the issue was explain in all the issues orientated stories.
 - * The journalists genre used was *description* in 73% of stories, *narration* in 20.6% of stories and *exposition* in 6.4% of stories.
 - * Mana News did not have a single-minded emphasis on conflict. Less than half of the stories, 38.1% involved two or more sides in opposition.

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- * The results revealed the journalistic writing style used by Mana News when a story involved two or more sides in opposition was story-telling. The dialectical model for 87.5% of conflict stories was story-telling. The conflict was rarely heighten by the writing style.
 - * A total of 83 sources were used in the 63 stories coded.
 - * The average amount of sources was 1.3 per story. Of the stories with sources, 73% used one source, 23% used two sources, 2% used three sources and 2% used four stories.
 - * Overall Mana allowed the source ample of opportunity to speak with both time and repeats. The average speaking time was 77.88 seconds. The sources were repeated in sound bite or citing, 88% of the time. The overall average of repeats per source was 4.55 times.
 - * In terms of ethnicity of sources the study showed Mana relied on Maori as source 71.1% of the time. Pakeha sources were used 15.7% , other 3.5% and unknown 9.6%, almost a reverse of mainstream media to Maori and Pakeha.
 - * Mana used a wide variety of sources and less institutional sources. Iwi-hapu spokesperson and administrative/executive were used in 13.3% of the stories respectively. Individual Maori were 12% of the sources used and Maori political leaders and Maori interest groups were 10.8% respectively.
 - * The source of new stories sampled revealed a strong gender bias with 71.1% of source male and 27.7% female.

CHAPTER NINE CONTENT ANALYSIS EVALUATION

9.1 Introduction

The purpose of the content analysis was to identify the distinction between Mana News and mainstream news through examining the utilisation of sources and the journalistic writing style used in Mana News. The objective was to identify the Maori perspective of the news through establishing the diversity of sources used, the nature and tone of stories and identification of a journalistic writing style. The results could then be compared to mainstream media and the differences in presentation and construction identified.

Overall the results have identified some fundamental differences in the utilisation of sources, the types of sources used, and the nature and tone of stories. The findings also have revealed journalistic genre that appears to be a more appropriate way of categorising the writing style used in Mana News as opposed to the traditional 'hard' and 'soft' news categories which characterises conventional journalistic writing.

The research moved beyond saying that there is a difference between Mana News and mainstream news media and identified how it is different. Until now there has been little research into identifying what is the Maori perspective of the news and how is it different to the perspective employed by journalists working in the mainstream media. Fox (1991) and Walker (1994) have identified that Maori news includes stories that are positive and optimistic. The results confirm this and further point out other differences in the news format of Mana News and the journalistic style employed.

When these results are compared and contrasted to the conventional mainstream news, distinctions are easily recognisable. The results also show considerable

similarities in the reporting and presentation of Mana News to development journalism as identified by Loo (1994) and discussed in Chapters Two and Eight.

This chapter is structured in the following way. First, the results are compared with findings of previous studies employing content analysis of New Zealand media and contrasted with development journalism (Loo, 1994), noting the distinctions and similarities. Second, the principal features of the results are discussed in more depth in relation to the Maori perspective of the news. Third, the Maori perspective of the news is examined in relation to what is happening in the New Zealand mainstream media. Finally, the strengths and limitations of the study are outlined and future directions for research are addressed.

9.2 Comparison with Previous Studies

There has been little previous research into the news selection process and the end-product of Maori news media. However, a substantial amount of research has been done on mainstream news media using content analysis to examine sources. There has also been some research exploring different types of journalism styles. This section is divided into two areas of comparison, the first compares the results of the research with previous studies examining the diversity of sources (McGregor & Comrie, 1995; Sigal, 1973; Brown *et al*, 1987). The second contrasts the results with development journalism as identified by Loo (1994).

9.2.1 Sources

Recently a comprehensive research undertaken by McGregor and Comrie (1995) content analyzed specific categories of the main news bulletins of Television New Zealand's One Network News, Television Three News, of Radio New Zealand's Morning Report and of Mana Maori Media's Mana News broadcast on National Radio from 1985-1994. It measured variables in news such as time allocation, sources used in news stories and their affiliations, attribution of story material, geographic focus, emotive language and tone of the news. While the focus of this research was on balance and fairness in broadcasting news over a ten year time span, many of the

findings on sources and tone of stories are similar to this research.

In this research some of the same variables were measured in the content analysis of Mana News such as; time allocation, sources used in news stories and their affiliations, geographic focus and tone of the news. However, the content analysis in this research delved deeper into the nature of the stories, and the categories contain a greater number of specific classifications for source affiliation and geographic locations. It also examined journalistic writing styles and depth and context in a story. It was believed the way stories were told on Mana News was different to mainstream, so not only did the tone of the story need to be coded but also the angle and depth of the stories. The coding instrument used was specific to Mana News (Appendix A).

Other overseas research on sources such as Sigal (1973), Hall (1978) and Brown *et al* (1987) have used content analysis to measure source diversity. The focus of these studies has mainly been on sources in American and Great Britain news media. However, they produced similar results on source diversity that can be used in general contrast to the results on source diversity in this research.

However, to explore the distinctions between mainstream media and Maori media in the New Zealand context, McGregor and Comrie (1995) provide an opportunity for indigenous comparison.

The fundamental distinctions were revealed in the diversity of sources and the opportunity sources have to speak in relation to a news story. Mana News allows sources far more time to speak than any other news programme. The results showed that the average speaking time of a source in one story was 77.88 seconds. Overall, Mana allowed repeated sound bites or citations of the sources in 88% of the stories. This meant that source comments were repeated an average of 4.55 times per story. By comparison McGregor and Comrie (1995) found that most news broadcaster in New Zealand sources spoke either once, twice or three times 77.9% of the time and

the average speaking time for a news bulletin was 21 seconds for TV One news, 13.4 seconds for TV Three news and 10 seconds for Morning Report news. Mana News by allowing sources to speak more often and for longer, give stories more depth, context and delves into those shades of grey that conventional media tend to veer away from.

When the diversity of sources was explored Mana News tended to use fewer institutional sources such as the Minister of Justice, or the Minister of Maori Affairs, and use more informal sources such as iwi spokespeople, administrative executives, Maori interest groups and individual Maori. Public servants and health professionals were also dominant sources. In comparison to the results in the research by McGregor and Comrie (1995), which found a reliance on white, male and institutional sources Mana is broadcasting news about Maori and employing a diversity of sources in their news. Overseas research on conventional mainstream media (Sigal, 1973; Hall, 1978; Brown *et al*, 1987) also confirm that there is a continued reliance on governmental and other elite sources which limits the diversity of information available to the public (Brown *et al*, 1987). However, Mana News does fail to use a wide range of female sources, in fact their use of females as sources are similar to that of mainstream news media. Both Mana News and mainstream news media need to explore the use of women as sources of the news.

9.2.2 Journalistic style

Loo (1994) identifies a journalism style that may be more appropriate for reporting cultural diversity. Loo (1994) believes that development journalism provides a way for journalists to report on the ethnic and cultural diversity in Australia. Development journalism is a theoretical strand of journalism identified by Loo (1994) through empirical research. Development journalism is based loosely on the model promoted by UNESCO in the 1970s. This research attempted to identify components of developmental journalism from its definitions. Development journalism is an in-depth reporting of events and situations. Development journalism attempts to highlight the "what, why, and how" of the process of the event (Sinha, 1981).

To reach a comparison of journalistic styles Mana News was coded for whether the "what, why, and how" were reported in the stories. The results revealed that Mana News did include the "what, why, and how" by reporting the story in context, explaining the background to the story and giving the story an historical perspective whether the story was event orientated or an issue. It appears that development journalism as identified by Loo (1994) is part of the make-up of Mana News.

A substantial amount of the stories in Mana News included background and context when reporting both events and issues. This distinguished Mana News from mainstream news media who often tend to avoid reporting the abstract and concrete when reporting events.

9.3 The Maori Perspective of the News

The results have shown that there are considerable fundamental distinctions in the reporting of news and the use of sources between Mana News and the New Zealand mainstream media. These differences pertain to the Maori perspective of the news.

The Maori perspective of the news is inclusive of a wider range of people as sources. There is a balanced approach to bad news stories by focusing on the problems facing Maori rather than the dissension between people, and the stories often include solutions to the problem.

The Maori perspective of the news attempts to explain the abstract and examines the shades of grey which surround the issues of the day. Mana News is not as event orientated as mainstream news media. Up to 38% of stories sampled were issue related, whereas mainstream news can have as little as 11.9% of stories prompted by an issue (McGregor & Comrie, 1995). The complaint about the primary orientation of the news as "happenings"; that is the media concentrate on the concrete at the expense of the abstract, which does not allow listeners and viewers to develop a fuller picture and deeper level of understanding from the news, does not appear to be happening in reporting by news in Mana News. Mana News does not concentrate

on happenings and events without regard for their socio-political context and stories are not stripped of any historical perspective, an oft-expressed criticism of mainstream media (McGregor & Comrie, 1995). Past events and the historical significance are important to Maori. You cannot go forward without knowing the past, and you cannot understand the present without first understanding the past. For Maori readers the focus will be on the progress and the history of a particular issue, rather than just the controversy surrounding it (Mannion, 1993). It was found Mana News also highlights the historical significance, by giving stories background, context and historical background.

The Maori perspective of the news is a different way of reporting and reflecting the reality of the world to the public. Stories on Mana News are told differently, through a diverse range of stories. They contain in-depth coverage of events and issues happening in New Zealand, and allowing sources greater opportunity to speak.

9.4 Implication for New Zealand Mainstream Media

At the moment Maori suffer from invisibility, symbolic annihilation and stereotypes in the New Zealand's mainstream media (McGregor & TeAwa, in press). Maori have been so consistently left out of the mainstream news media or portrayed in a stereotypical manner that Maori have turned to producing their own news media, Mana News being one example.

In the broadcast news study conducted at Massey University (McGregor & Comrie, 1995) of the 915 stories coded there were 176 Maori stories and 126 were from Mana News. This meant that if Mana News was excluded from the sample and only mainstream news stories were counted, only 6.3% of the sample would be Maori news. This invisibility of Maori as news in terms of quantity is not confined to the broadcast media.

The results from a content analysis of two New Zealand newspapers; *The Dominion* of Wellington and the *Evening Standard* of Palmerston North showed similar results,

with only 2% of the stories in the sample being Maori stories (TeAwa, 1993). The results once again show that the amount of news coverage Maori received was negligible.

Many argue that the use of Maori sources and Maori stories reflects the population. 'But what is largely unexamined in New Zealand scholarship is how the news media cover Maori news and why the coverage is so poor. And the notion of what constitutes an acceptable level of representation of ethnicity in news is a vexed question. Does the sourcing in news reflect some aspects of reality?' (McGregor & TeAwa, in press). For example, is the considerable under-representation of Maori and Pacific Island sources in conventional broadcast news in New Zealand a consequence of the under-representation of Maori and Pacific Islanders in institutions which are relied on for the sources of news? If so, what efforts are the mainstream news media making, to widen a Pakeha news agenda to incorporate other "frames" of news making? (McGregor & TeAwa, in press) Obviously from this study other "frames" of news making do exist and used in Mana News. Loo (1994) also outlines the conceptual framework to development journalism and points out the most effective way to encourage cultural diversity in journalism courses. The key elements of development journalism such as; participant-observation of events and issues, commitment of significant time and resources to research-based stories, balanced cognitive and experiential experience, and fair attention to mainstream and minority news, provide the basic conceptual framework for development journalism (Loo, 1994). A brief outline of the ten logical and simple ways to effectively bring cultural diversity into journalism courses outlined by Loo (1994) are:

1. Redefine the concept of news away from the dominant news paradigm.
2. View cultural diversity and ethnicity in a wider societal context.
3. View various cultures (in Australia) in terms of being different but equal .
4. Elevate students' consciousness of harmony in diversity.
5. Develop journalism curriculum in line with changing cultural mix.
6. Bring students' attention to racist media and how they can provide alternative coverage.

7. Encourage students to reflect on the concerns and views of ethnic minority groups.
8. Remind students of their responsibilities as journalists to inculcate a multicultural consciousness.
9. News on ethnicity information should be put in context.
10. Use the report of the National Inquiry into racist Violence in Australia as requires reading (pp.9-10).

All of these steps, except for may be number ten, could be used in New Zealand's journalism courses too.

In New Zealand the mainstream media cover Maori in either a exclusionary, threatening issue, confrontation, or stereotypical way, four of the five stages Wilson and Gutierrez (1985) see the coverage of minorities by the press. Five stages can be identified historically: (1) exclusionary, (2) threatening issue, (3) confrontation, (4) stereotypical selection, and (5) integrated coverage phases (p.135). The first four phases have been used so consistently by the news media as to become covert policy, according to Wilson and Gutierrez (1985). The four phases are *not* chronological in the New Zealand experience. Instead examples of all four of the five developmental phases can be regularly observed (McGregor & TeAwa, in press). The integrated coverage phase remains largely a vision in the New Zealand context.

However, if Mana News is providing an integrated news with fewer resources and a more junior workforce than many of its traditional counterparts, the question is why cannot mainstream media, who have more resources and an experienced workforce at their fingertips, produce an integrated news programme. Saunders (1996) also believes the Mana News model is a good guide. Wilson (Sunders, 1996) believes one perhaps the IRN should follow. If they do not have the staff, perhaps they should recruit and train staff.

It is significant that the codes of broadcasting practice refer to broadcasters respecting the principles of partnership between Maori and Pakeha in New Zealand society in

actively seeking a balanced contribution and views on matters relating to partnership. How can invisibility and bias by omission equate to broadcasters actively seeking a balanced contribution and views? The legal implications and the standards of broadcasting are explored further in the following chapter.

The relative invisibility of both Maori and Pacific Islanders as sources in broadcast news raises serious issues about diversity in television and radio news. Accuracy and social responsibility in news are not served by invisibility which promotes what some social scientists (Entman, 1994; McConahay, 1986; Sears, 1988) have called 'modern racism' which is anti-black feeling often reinforced by the media.

Overall there are four issues that mainstream need to examine and maybe look into making changes:

- (1) Incorporation of other "frames" of news making
- (2) Integration coverage of minorities
- (3) Actively seek a balance contribution from a variety of sources outside of the institutional and governmental sources
- (4) Recruitment and training of Maori journalists

The recruitment and training of Maori and Pacific Island is dealt with in detail in the final chapter when examining the legal and socio-political implications for broadcasters in New Zealand and the commitment all broadcasters should have to race relations in New Zealand.

9.5 Limitations, Strengths, and Future Directions

9.5.1 Limitations

Several limitations need to be noted about this research. The first is the general limitation which relates to any content analysis of news media content which purports to be "objective" but in the end is being coded by human beings and their essentially "subjective" frames of reference. The reality of reading the news, of analysing the news stories for tone and nature and deciding whether a story was a

good news story or a bad news story, and whether the news was bad news "for" or bad news "about", is essentially a subjective process. As Ericson *et al* (1991) state, "people in various settings at different times give it (the news) significance according to their circumstances and their selves" (p.53). But there is an important distinction between informal viewing of, and listening to, the news and empirical study of news content employing content analysis methodology.

Lichty and Bailey (1978) state that a viewer or listener's selective exposure, perception and recall make it impossible for news consumer to have broad and accurate overview of all that is on the news. "People tend to over-generalize from what they do see and remember". They state that "we analyze the content of news because a valid and reliable study is sharply different from casual watching" (p.112) The comments relate equally to listening to news broadcasts on the radio.

The study minimised the limitation of the inherent subjectivity of the content analysis by adherence to time-honoured measures of reliability and validity to limit the study being impressionistic. The coder who was involved in previous content analysis had prior knowledge of the coding process and frame of reference required to examine stories. The researcher was the sole coder with intra-coding reliability of 90%.

The study is also limited by the small sample size used, which is mentioned in chapter four, and caution must be used when generalising the findings.

9.5.2 Strengths

The strength of this research lies in the use of a traditional quantitative use of content analysis. The structure of the research allowed the news programme of Mana News to be explored and examined to final detail. The rigour of the coding process employed in the content analysis and the clarity of the data which was produced allows for replication of the study on other Maori media organisations, or for use with a larger sample size.

The research results are important, too, because they have provided new information on the distinction between Mana News and mainstream news, and has helped identify what is the Maori perspective of the news.

9.5.3 Future directions

To further back up the existence of a Maori perspective of the news and to confirm these findings, more research of other Maori news productions, such as newspapers is warranted. Also a more in depth look into the journalistic writing style identified by Wyatt and Badger (1993) needs to be explored in both Maori media and mainstream media.

With the recent developments in the funding in the broadcasting of Maori news, and Mana News losing increased funding from Te Mangai Paho (*Mana News*, 26/1/1996), it would be interesting to research the type and quality of news that which will be produced from the new media organisation which has successfully tendered for the contract to provide a National Radio Maori News Service. As it has no tracks of yet for producing news production, construction and presentation of their news produced needs to be examined. It is essential that the Maori perspective of the news is not lost in the new Maori news service about to begin. It would be a sad day to lose the Maori perspective of news broadcast on radio, that Maori have fought so hard to provide. Mana News who incorporates the Maori perspective of the news has proven to be unique in its production of news that is both positive and optimistic. Mana News are a shining light for Maori, who under the current realm of the mainstream media news still suffer for invisibility and stereotypes.

Another point worth noting arose while coding stories in the sample. It was noted that a substantial amount of stories and sources used originated from tribal trust boards. However, the coding instrument did not have classifications for coding trust board spokesperson as a source, nor as a story type. It was also noted that often when a trust board was part of a story, the affiliated iwi was not identified with the spokesperson, but rather the trust board. The coding instrument needs to be expand

to include these issues when a Maori media organisation is again examined on a larger scale.

CHAPTER TEN IMPLICATIONS

10.1 Introduction

As previously mentioned, Maori have been so consistently left out of the mainstream news media or portrayed in a stereotypical manner that Maori have turned to producing their own news media. There are now a number of separate Maori media organisations. Four Maori newspapers, *Kia Hiwa Ra*, *Te Maori News*, *Kahangunu*, *Pu Kaea* and one Maori magazine, *Mana*, all of which have begun relatively recently, were circulating as this study was being undertaken. There are up to 22 iwi stations spread around rural as well as urban areas. Technological linkages between the iwi stations and Radio New Zealand has allowed the stations to connect with Mana News.

This research attempted to define and distinguish the differences between the news produced by Mana News from the news produced by mainstream organisations. In particular the selection of what issues and events became news and how they became news was examined as well as a study of the end product heard by the listeners. The participant observation of both the journalists and the news editor examined the decision-making process in the selection of news for Mana News. The content analysis examined the utilisation of sources, journalistic writing, and the nature and tone of the stories.

The results exhibited that there are two major influences in the manufacture of news in Mana News that distinguishes their news from mainstream news; the news values applied and the sources used. The difference in the emphasis and application of news values identified in Mana News and the diversity of sources and opportunity sources were given to speak in Mana News is distinct from mainstream news. This

fundamental distinction comprises the Maori perspective of the news which has previously been identified (Fox, 1992; Walker, 1994) but not well defined. These issues were explored and discussed in Chapters Seven and Nine.

The findings also revealed the resourcing of news plays a pivotal role in the quality and diversity of news stories. The effects of resourcing was mentioned in Chapters Five and Six. However, the implications of resourcing need to be examined further. The study also considered the question of legal and socio-political implications relating to broadcasting policy and the difference between Mana News and mainstream news and its impact on the race relations debated in New Zealand.

There is an identifiable Maori perspective in Mana News, that is inclusive of Maori as sources, attempts to explain the abstract, gives the stories political and historical context, and examines the shades of grey which surround the issues of the day. However, research has found that traditional mainstream do not use Maori as sources (McGregor & Comrie, 1995; TeAwa, 1993), and Maori are subject to invisibility in the mainstream media. Mainstream media are also said to concentrate on "happenings" or events without regard for their socio-political context and stories are stripped of any historical perspective (McGregor & Comrie, 1995). Considering that many believe the media contribute to the mood and tenor of race relations in New Zealand (McGregor & TeAwa, 1996; Spoonley, 1992) and are "part of the problem of racism" to use van Dijk's (1991) expression, it is time for change. This change needs to be expressed in change to the law, change in the recruitment and retention programmes of the mainstream media and increased attention to resourcing of Maori programming.

As this thesis was being completed in February 1996, Te Mangai Paho made a controversial decision to allocate the funding for a National Maori Radio News Service to Mai FM, a commercially operated radio station in Auckland. A telephone interview was then conducted with Gary Wilson, a director of Mana Maori Media, about the consequences of such a decision for Mana News and Maori radio. Segments

of Gary Wilson's interview and policy surrounding Te Mangai Paho and their recent decision, are used in the following discussion.

10.2 Legal and Socio-political Implications

Relevant legislation to be considered includes the Broadcasting Act 1989 and the Broadcasting Amendment Act 1993 which established Te Mangai Paho.

The law does require media to adhere to this call to give race relations a "fair go", but it is contentious to whether or not this is actually happening as the body enforcing the broadcasting policy has no "teeth". The act does not require that the news media cover Maori news but merely 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.

The legislation only requires radio and television to establish their own code of practice. According to the act "Every broadcaster is responsible for maintaining in its programmes and their presentation standards which are consistent with-

- (a) The observance of good taste and decency; and
- (b) The maintenance of law and order; and
- (c) The privacy of the individual; and
- (d) 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; and
- (e) Any approved code of broadcasting practice applying to the programmes.

The statute does specifically require television and radio to give both sides of a controversy an equal say. However, as mentioned before, these standards do not extend to the non-coverage, or invisibility of Maori news. These standards can only be used in retrospect in relation to news already broadcast. There is no

requirement for the news media to cover Maori news from what is stated in the act or the standards of broadcasting.

There is provision in the Broadcasting Act 1989 to ensure the Maori language and culture is preserved, a cultural safety net provision in the legislation. In relation to the Broadcasting Commission, New Zealand on Air; s.36(a)(ii) of the Broadcasting Act states that the functions of the commission are to reflect and develop the New Zealand identity and culture--promoting Maori language and Maori culture. But the funding of Maori programmes is distinct from scheduling of Maori programmes. New Zealand on Air was responsible for funding Maori programming. This statutory requirement led directly to the funding of the first national Maori news service, Mana News. Te Mangai Paho have taken over the role of New Zealand on Air for funding Maori broadcasters. Te Mangai Paho, a crown agency was established under the Broadcasting Amendment Act, 1993. But what is of critical importance is not so much the funding but also the programming of Maori programmes in peak periods. New Zealand on Air and now Te Mangai Paho may help provide funds for TVNZ and TV3 to create programmes that reflect and develop New Zealand and promote the Maori language and Maori culture, but the scheduling of programmes is left up to the television networks. At present Maori programmes such as *Te Karere* and *Marae* are scheduled into dead-time, or taken off in preference to cricket. Walker (1994) referred to this as ghettoising Maori programmes. Mana News is the only news programme that has broken free of this dead-time scheduling and is broadcast daily on the National Radio during the morning and evening news.

McGregor and TeAwa (in press) believe that anti-racism in the news media in general needs to be enshrined in both the principle and the practice of broadcasting and anti-discrimination legislation. For example, the codes of broadcasting practice should be strengthened so there is a positive onus on broadcasters to represent Maori news faithfully. As a matter of policy, the struggle for equity for Maori broadcasting media must be protected by legislation and regulation even if this collides with the current orthodoxy of 'the market rules' which is grounded in *laissez faire* economic policy

(McGregor & TeAwa, in press).

10.3 Te Mangai Paho and Resourcing Maori Programming

Walker states (1994) Te Mangai Paho faces "some difficult decisions on the allocation of scarce resources" (p.5) to overcome these issues facing Maori broadcasters and the preference of Mai FM over the more experienced Mana Maori Media is an example of this.

Gary Wilson, while acknowledging his self interest, questions the level of broadcasting expertise of the Government appointees on the board of Te Mangai Paho. The board consists of Maori who have little practical experience in broadcasting. He questions the decision to award the contract to develop a National Maori Radio News Service, that produces news in Maori five hours a day, seven days a week to Mai FM. The contract worth \$1 million dollars (GST inclusive) for a six month trial period went to Mai FM, a commercial radio operation with no news media background, and no Maori journalists, but with a strong business background.

Wilson wonders whether, (A) is the New Zealand Maori population and tribal radio station ready to have three hours of news in Maori from 6am-9am as outlined by Te Mangai Paho and (B) if Mai FM will provide that Maori perspective. Wilson is wary of the alliance Mai FM have with the Independent Radio News (IRN) and wonders if Mai FM intend to translate Pakeha news. With no Maori journalists currently employed by Mai FM, the course of action outlined by Mai FM was to bring on board more Maori speakers according to Wilson. If this is so and Pakeha news is translated to fill the five hour quota, will Maori be receiving anything new from this service and will they receive news about themselves and their communities? Is pakeha gathered news read in Maori honouring the spirit of a National Maori Radio News Service particularly when the conventional news model is haunted by negativity, conflict and A versus B formats?

The research findings has noted that a lack of resourcing has eroded the quality of

Mana News's production despite their unique presentation. The Maori perspective apparent in Mana News has been recognised by a few commentators (Fox, 1992; Walker, 1994) and further defined by this research. The jury is out on whether Maori Radio News Service will deliver a Maori perspective of news or Pakeha news read in Maori. A more gradual introduction of Maori news over a five year plan is needed accompanied by a fully funded training programme, thus training journalists in the process to deal with manufacturing five hours of quality Maori news, is essential. To produce five hours of news in Maori next year under the proposed scheme, the quality of the news will be sacrificed as the media do not have sufficient experienced Maori speaking journalists to sustain this sort of programming.

10.4 Commitment to Race Relations

Some commentators believe that the lack of diversity, and lack of coverage on Maori issues is directly related to the lack of diversity in the newsroom. Commitment to race relations in broadcasting also means a commitment to the recruitment and training of Maori and Pacific Island journalists, to bring diversity to the newsroom. There is a need for increase of Maori journalists and increased sensitivity and historical knowledge of race relations by all journalists (Wilson, *personal communication*, 30/1/96). However, it is problematic whether a diverse newsroom automatically results in greater diversity of news and significant pressures are felt by 'token' Maori in newsrooms which employ only one Maori journalist (McGregor, 1992). Ken Mair in an interview with Saunders (1996) believed that while papers sometimes had Maori reporters, he believes their reporting of Maori news often had to fit a particular editorial position. He continues to say "That made it difficult to report spiritual or traditional aspects of the culture and illuminate the Maori point of view. Things that don't fit into the nature of the paper are not wanted" (Saunders, 1996, p.168)

But it is clear that without *any* Maori journalists in many newsrooms Pakeha news prevails (McGregor & TeAwa, in press). This research found that Mana News does provide news with a Maori perspective, and does recruit Maori, Pacific Island and

Pakeha journalists. Perhaps it is time mainstream news media consider the implications of not employing more Maori journalists? They may be delivering consumer based news, but Maori are consumers too.

10.4.1 Training and recruitment

Profiles published of New Zealand journalists by Lealand in 1988 and 1994 show that the New Zealand mainstream media have made small steps in the recruitment and retention of Maori in journalism. In Lealand's 1987 National Survey of New Zealand Journalists the number of Maori, Pacific Island and other ethnic minorities working in journalism were few. Of the 1,227 journalists who indicated their ethnicity, 28 were Maori comprising 2.3%. In Lealand's similar survey conducted in 1994 there was small rise of Maori journalists from 1987, from 2.3% to 4.1%. However as McGregor and TeAwa (in press) point out, that increase may in fact reflect the growth of separate Maori broadcast and print news operations which were also canvassed in Lealand's second survey. In 1987 few Maori news media organisations existed.

But not only are Maori not being employed, but those journalists that are employed acknowledge they are not well prepared to cope with stories about Maori. Lealand (1994) study showed there was a slight increase in the number of journalists who have some familiarity with Maori language 162 in 1994, compared with 100 in 1987, but only 28 journalists regarded their work as being directed primarily at a Maori audience.

Wilson, a former Journalists Training Board executive officer, believes the onus should be on media to insist the graduates employed are up to speed on race issues (Saunders, 1996). But as Wilson (Saunders, 1996) points out, as a whole "the media does not seem to be too worried that people are coming to ATI, Wellington Polytechnic or University of Canterbury without a background of New Zealand history, without confidence and familiarity with things Maori or Pacific Island"(p.170).

advertised for a Maori Affairs reporter, and which McGregor and TeAwa (in press) believe to be a positive precedent. The job description was as follows:

The Waikato Times, one of New Zealand's largest provincial papers, is looking for a Maori Affairs reporter with two or three year's experience. The journalist should be Maori speaking and have a strong understanding of Tikanga.

The Waikato Times is committed to Maori issues and seeks a journalist who can explain complex issues as well as covering daily events (Waikato Times, 23/12/95).

But, this public display of increased commitment to race relations and increasing diversity in the newsroom by the media is rare.

McGregor and TeAwa (in press) believe that recruitment and retention of minority journalists in newsrooms is in urgent need of industry impetus. While several of the mainstream journalism courses have improved their selection policies, when this study was being undertaken the course for Pacific Island journalists at Manukau Polytechnic was closing and Waiariki Polytechnic's journalism course for Maori was buckling at the knees (Saunders, 1996).

Gary Wilson has identified the lack of recruitment of Maori into journalism courses as a major problem for these courses and the flow effect for both Mana News and mainstream news media. He feels that there needs to be some sort of concerted effort to enlighten the "best and the brightest" Maori students of the opportunities in journalism. The news media is not an automatic choice of career for many young people, and without some sort of programme in action, the media as a whole is missing out recruiting young students. Research in the States (Burgoon, Burgoon, Buller, Coker & Coker, 1987) on recruiting minorities into journalism careers found "students have made relatively firm commitments about educational priorities and career preferences *before* they enter college, increased attention to college recruiting may have fewer results than programmes aimed at high school students engaged in decision-making" (p.443). Their research also indicated that without increased recruitment efforts, it will become more difficult to attract qualified minority

decision-making" (p.443). Their research also indicated that without increased recruitment efforts, it will become more difficult to attract qualified minority candidates to choose journalism majors and careers.

Burgoon *et al* (1987) state that if the future needs are to be met, attention to providing information about the profession to high school seniors must become a high priority. In New Zealand the former Journalism Training Board did have a programme in place to attract young Maori into journalism in conjunction with Maori Affairs (now Te Puni Kokiri). However, that successful recruitment programme which was working 10 years ago, has been discontinued. Maori Affairs identified potential students throughout New Zealand high schools and the Journalism Training Board arranged courses for these students and helped them into full time training. This programme was very successful and produced journalists such as Jodi Ihaka, Liane Clark, Gideon Porter, and Maramena Roderick, some of the current Maori faces that we are seeing on television news. However, new talent has slipped through the cracks over the years with the lack of attention to recruitment and training and Maori journalism.

The current course for Maori such as Waiariki are in need of support and attention. Once the courses were set up the media and training board felt their job was done. But the courses needed constant input and contact with the media. There was also an inaccurate belief that these individual polytechnics can play a natural role in picking up potential students. However, these polytechnics do not seem to be able to draw students on a national basis, but only on a regional basis. To attract the right students to these courses Wilson believes a national effort needs to be made and recruitment needs to start at all New Zealand high schools.

Wilson points out some of the difficulties that the Waiariki course is facing. The Waiariki course is isolated from the mainstream news media, and the tutors are young and inexperienced, and Maori language tutors are scarce. This course needs to be revamped and revitalised and input needs to come from the mainstream news

there is a critical need to build up the skills in Maori and others to provide quality news in greater quantity. Te Mangai Paho needs to take a step back in the process of the news and invest in the future of broadcasting, which is the education of the young potential journalists. Previous efforts to involve and interest New Zealand of Air in the training issue failed (McGregor, 1992).

10.5 Where to from here?

McGregor and TeAwa (in press) state on the surface journalistic reform looks to be simple to implement. Strong moral and commercial imperatives exist not only for *better* coverage but for *more* coverage. Wilson (Saunders, 1996) also believes that Mana News model is a good guide, perhaps INL should follow. "If you don't have the staff, buy in the expertise" (Saunders, 1996, p.170).

In terms of structural reform McGregor and TeAwa (in press) identified Walker's (1994) model on broadcasting in New Zealand as a vehicle to explore change. Walker (1994) notes that three models have emerged for Maori broadcasting. He says these are, 'The control model whereby concessions are made within existing structures and then ghettoised by dead time scheduling. The separatist model, whereby Maori run their own broadcasting outlets but with financial sword of Damocles overhead held by a brown thread to a Pakeha roof. The integrationist model whereby Maori programmes are scheduled alongside their Pakeha equivalents.' McGregor and TeAwa (in press) state clearly structural reform which allows for separatist models of minority media and which encourages the ideal of Wilson and Gutierrez's 'integrated coverage phase' are superior to control models. The Mana News model and incorporation of development journalism are good guides for the mainstream media to consider if they are to move to an integrated coverage phase.

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APPENDIX

Coding Questionnaire Document

Mana Maori Media

MAORI PERSPECTIVE OF THE NEWS

General

1. What is the number of the story? _____

(1-2)

2. What day of the week is it broadcast?

Monday	1
Tuesday	2
Wednesday	3
Thursday	4
Friday	5

(3)

3. What date and month is it broadcast?

(4-7)

4. What is the duration of the story in seconds?

(8-10)

5. Where does the story predominately originate?

Auckland	1
Rotorua	2
Wellington	3
Christchurch	4
Dunedin	5
Other North Island city	6
Other South Island city	7
North Island small town	8
South Island small town	9
North Island rural	10
South Island rural	11
Offshore Islands	12
Overseas story done by NZ crew	13

(11-12)

6. Was an iwi identified?

Yes 1
No 2

(13)

If yes answer Q7 and Q8.

7. If so, was the iwi identified

In relation to the story 1
In relation to the source 2
The place the story originated from 3
Mixed 4

(14)

8. What was *nga/te iwi* identified?

9. What type of Maori story is it?

Treaty issues (policy) 1
Treaty issues (claims/negotiation) 2
Treaty issues (protect) 3
Waitangi Tribunal 4
Maori politics 5
Policy 6
Personalities 7
Sport personalities 8
Crime 9
Employment 10
Health 11
Education 12
Welfare issues 13
Housing 14
Business 15
Achievement 16
Race relations 17
Racial discrimination 18
Religion 19
Popular culture 20
Culture 21
Cultural difference 22
Land claims 23
Land issues 24
Other 25

(15-16)

10. Is the story predominately:

Good news 1
Bad news 2
Neutral 3

(17)

If "bad news" answer Q11, if not go to Q19.

11. Is it bad news:⁽¹⁾

"about" Maori 1
"for" Maori 2

(18)

If bad news "about" go to Q12, if bad news "for" go to Q15.

12. Does the story advance a solution to the bad news "about" Maori:

Yes 1
No 2

(19)

If yes answer Q13 and Q14, if no go to Q19.

13. Is the solution advanced from:

Source 1
Newsreader 2
Mixed 3

(20)

14. What was the suggested solution?

Go to Q19.

¹ Bad news "about" Maori means news which defines Maori in problem terms. Bad news "for" is where the news identifies a problem or issue for Maori (i.e. Maori person, Maori organisation or Maori people in general).

15. Is it bad news "for":

- | | |
|--|---|
| Maori individual | 1 |
| Maori organisation
(i.e. Kohanga, Marae, committee, a business) | 2 |
| Local Maori community | 3 |
| General Maori population | 4 |
| New Zealanders in general | 5 |

(21)

16. Does the story advance a solution to the bad news for Maori:

- | | |
|-----|---|
| Yes | 1 |
| No | 2 |

(22)

If yes, answer Q 17 and Q18.

17. Is the solution advanced from:

- | | |
|------------|---|
| Source | 1 |
| Newsreader | 2 |
| Mixed | 3 |

(23)

18. What was the suggested solution?

19. What prompted the story?

- | | |
|----------|---|
| An event | 1 |
| An issue | 2 |

(24)

If an event answer Q20-Q26, if an issue answer Q27-Q35.

20. Does the newsreader give any background to the event?

- | | |
|-----|---|
| Yes | 1 |
| No | 2 |

(25)

21. If so, what:

22. Do you understand what caused the event from this story?

Yes 1
No 2

(26)

23. Did your understanding of the cause of the event come from:

The source speaking 1
Background/commentary from newsreader 2
Continuing daily story/commentary 3
Common knowledge/historical fact 4

(27)

24. Did you think the context of the event was explained?

Yes 1
No 2

(28)

25. Why?

26. Does the story include a historical perspective? (i.e. is any history, background of town, people given).

Yes 1
No 2

(29)

Go to Q36.

27. Does the newsreader give any background to the issue?

Yes 1
No 2

(30)

28. If so, what:

29. Do you understand what caused the issue from the story?

Yes 1
No 2

(31)

30. Did your understanding of the cause of the issue come from:

The source speaking 1
The background/commentary from newsreader 2
Continuing daily story/commentary 3
Common knowledge/historical fact 4

(32)

31. How much depth is given to the cause of the issue?

Immediate background 1
Hisotrial background 2

(33)

33. Did you think the context of the issue was explained?

Yes 1
No 2

(34)

34. Why?

35. Does the story include a historical perspective? (i.e. is any history, background of town, people given)

Yes 1
No 2

(35)

36. What is the level of understanding of the subject matter of the story?

Very clear 1
Clear 2
Moderate 3
Unclear 4
Very unclear 5

(36)

37. The three main reasons for your (my) level of understanding:

38. If your understanding was unclear or very unclear, what would raise your level of understanding?

39. What is the main claim of the story?

40. Does the story included Maori words?
(Not including place names, people names or organisation)

Yes 1
No 2

(37)

If yes, answer Q41 and Q42, if not go to Q43.

41. Na wai korero Maori?

The newsreader 1
The journalists 2
The source 3
Combination (of any three) 4

(38)

42. Tehea wahanga i korero Maori?

A few words (1 or 2) 1
A sound bite 2
Background (i.e. Maori waiata, mihimihi) 3
Whakatauki 4

(39)

43. Was the overall journalistic genre (narrative) of the story:

Description 1
Narration 2
Argumentation 3
Exposition 4
Criticism 5

(40)

44. Did the story involves two or more sides in opposition? (or view opposite view points)

Yes 1
No 2

(41)

45. If so, was the dialectial study model of the story:

A vs B 1
Story telling 2
Combination 3
Other model 4

(42)

Sources

Line 1

Coders should note that the following section needs to be coded for each source that features in a story.

For each source (quoted by journalist or newsreader or speaking for themselves) in the story answer the following;

46(a). Is the source:

- | | |
|--------------------------|---|
| Speaking for him/herself | 1 |
| Being cited | 2 |
| Both | 3 |

(43)

For each source, coders must answer either Q46 (b-c) if the source was cited only, or Q46 (d-e) if the source spoke only for him/herself. If the source was both cited and spoke for him/herself coders must answer Q46 (f-g).

46(b). If the source is cited only, what is the fullest identification of the source in the story?
(Write in)

46(c). Is the fullest identification of this cited source:

- | | |
|-----------------|---|
| Very complete | 1 |
| Complete | 2 |
| Adequate | 3 |
| Incomplete | 4 |
| Very incomplete | 5 |

(44)

46(d). If the source spoke only for him/herself, what is the fullest identification of the source in the story?
(Write in)

46(e). Is the fullest identification of this source who spoke for him/ herself:

- | | |
|-----------------|---|
| Very complete | 1 |
| Complete | 2 |
| Adequate | 3 |
| Incomplete | 4 |
| Very incomplete | 5 |

(45)

46(f). If the source is both cited and spoke for him/herself, what is the fullest identification of this source in the story.
(Write in)

46(g). Is the fullest identification of this cited/spoken source:

- | | |
|-----------------|---|
| Very complete | 1 |
| Complete | 2 |
| Adequate | 3 |
| Incomplete | 4 |
| Very incomplete | 5 |

(46)

46(h). What is the gender of the source?

- | | |
|---------|---|
| Male | 1 |
| Female | 2 |
| Unknown | 3 |

(47)

46(i). What is the ethnicity of the source?

- | | |
|----------------|---|
| Maori | 1 |
| Pacific Island | 2 |
| Pakeha | 3 |
| Other | 4 |
| Unknown | 5 |

(48)

46(j). What is the type of source?

Maori

Individual Maori	1	Maori political leader	13
Other member of the public	2	Waitangi Tribunal	14
Prime Minister	3	spokesperson	
Oppn. Leader	4	Iwi/hapu spokesperson	15
Minister of Maori Affairs	5	Public servant	16
Minister of Justice	6	Researcher/expert	17
Other Government minister	7	Administrative/Executive	
Oppn spokesperson on Maori	8	officer	18
Affairs		Elder	19
Oppn spokesperson on Justice	9	Religious leader	20
Other Maori MP	10	Celebrity	21
Third party spokesperson	11	Journalist as eye-witness	22
Other MP	12	Police	23
		Health professionals	24
		Other Maori interest	25
		group	
		Other interest/lobby group	26
		Education spokesperson	27
		Other	28

(49-50)

46(k). If the source speaks, how many seconds during the whole story does the source speak for?
(Cumulative) _____

(51-53)

46(l). Is the source repeated in the story, either cited or speaking for him/herself?

Yes 1
No 2

(54)

If no, go to Q46(n).

46(m). If so how many times is the source repeated in the story?
(Write number in boxes)

(55-56)

46(n) Were the questions and answers of the interview broadcast?

Yes 1
No 2

(57)

If no, Stop.

46(o). Overall were the questions:

Aggressive	1
Fourth estate adversarial	2
Information gathering	3
Neutral	4
Supportive	5
Weak	6

(58)

46(p). Were the majority of the questions:

Open-ended	1
Closed	2

(59)

46(q). Overall rate the appropriateness of the questions to the context of the story:

Very appropriate	1
Appropriate	2
Neither appropriate nor unappropriate	3
Unappropriate	4
Very unappropriate	5

(60)

46(r). Is the interviewer's tone of voice during questioning

Positive	1
Neutral	2
Negative	3

(61)

46(s). Is the interviewee's response during the questioning:

Responsive	1
Neutral	2
Defensive	3

(62)