

**Financially important yet voiceless:
Representation of Asians in media coverage of the
2014 New Zealand General Election.**

Craig Hoyle

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Table of Contents

1. Introduction.....5
2. Literature Review.....6
3. Research Design.....10
4. Findings..... 14
5. Discussion..... 18
6. Conclusion..... 23
7. Limitations/Future Research.....24
8. References.....26
9. Appendices.....33

List of Tables

1. Reference to Social Groups by Ethnicity, Race, Nationality (ERN)
.....14
2. Comparison of topics between Whole Sample and Asian Sample
.....16
3. Comparison of Political Sources between Whole Sample and Asian
Sample
.....17

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Craig Hoyle

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***Abstract:** Asian communities have been part of New Zealand society since the mid-19th Century. They have increased in prominence over the last few decades, as shifts in immigration policy and political alignment have seen large numbers of Asians moving here on a permanent basis. People who identify as being of Asian descent now account for 12 per cent of New Zealand's population. These minority groups have been under-represented in the media, and are usually discussed in relation to financial or economic contexts. This study examines representation of Asians within media portrayals of the 2014 New Zealand General Election to discover how current media coverage reflects previously identified trends. It analyses which story topics Asians are mentioned within and who talks about Asians, including which political parties are most likely to make reference to this ethnic group. Findings demonstrate that Asians are voiceless in New Zealand's political coverage, and are predominantly discussed within an economic frame.*

1. Introduction

New Zealand's fastest-growing ethnic group is Asians. People who identify as being of Asian ethnic descent now account for 12 per cent of the country's population (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). Asian New Zealanders are from a wide range of backgrounds and nations, including India, China, South Korea, Malaysia and Singapore. Many came driven by the promise of a better life and improved financial circumstances, in much the same way as the European migrants who began settling in New Zealand more than a century earlier (Ward & Masgoret, 2004). The ethnic shift reflects New Zealand's increasing reliance on trade with Asia, and marks its political realignment from a British colony to an Asia-Pacific nation. An Asia-Pacific focus is also beginning to emerge in other areas of social life, including politics, culture, and sport.

The New Zealand media have reacted in various ways to this growth. Media coverage of Asian ethnic groups through the 1990s was often discriminatory, and firmly against Asian cultural values (Spoonley & Butcher, 2009). The tone has changed somewhat since then, however prejudices against Asians are still

evident in the continued media portrayal of this ethnic group in a financial or economic context (Collins, 2006; Baker & Benson, 2008).

This dissertation looks at the election news produced by the *New Zealand Herald*, *ONE News at 6pm* (TVNZ) and *Morning Report* (Radio NZ) over four weeks from August 23rd to September 19th. The purpose of this project is to examine media representation of Asians during the 2014 New Zealand General Election. It asks how often Asians appear in the news and in which contexts they are usually mentioned, by analysing the areas of social life with which they are aligned (topics of news stories) and the political parties by which they are most often discussed (news sources). It identifies key trends in this coverage, and evaluates the ways in which Asian portrayals differ to those of the general population of New Zealand.

The dissertation begins with an overview of academic literature on media and ethnicity, and then more specifically representation of Asians within the media in New Zealand. After the literature review it outlines the parameters for the research project and presents the research design. It proceeds with presentation of the findings, and a discussion of the underlying meanings of those results. It concludes with some observations on the dominant media frame, namely that Asians are primarily discussed within an economic context in New Zealand's political media coverage. Finally, it explains the limitations of this study and suggests areas for future research.

2. Literature Review

Asian communities have lived in New Zealand for around 150 years. Chinese settlers first came to the South Island in the Otago gold rush of the 1860s, where they became established as labourers (Ip, 1995). They were not well received by the local Pakeha, and faced discrimination over cultural differences (Grant, 2002). The Chinese Immigrants Act was passed in 1881, which required every Chinese person entering New Zealand to pay a poll tax of £10. The tax was later raised to £100 – the equivalent of ten years' wages (NZ Herald, 2002). A strong anti-Asian sentiment was reflected in the media, with reports referring to the

“yellow peril” (Wanganui Chronicle, 1905). The discriminatory legislation was not rescinded until 1951, when then-Minister of Finance Walter Nash described it as a “blot on our legislation” (Clark, 2002).

Asian migration to New Zealand increased and diversified from the 1980s, as further changes in immigration policies opened the door to new migrants (Ho & Bedford, 2008). From 1986 to 2001, China, Taiwan, India, Hong Kong, South Korea and Malaysia appeared among the top ten countries of origin for those applying for residence permits (Friesen, Murphy & Kearns, 2005). There was an economic emphasis on this migration, with the recruitment of skilled labour seen as a key goal (Badkar et al., 2007). Education also played a significant part in Asian migration, with Asian students accounting for 85 per cent of international students between 2000 and 2005 (Benson, 2006). By the 2013 census 12 per cent of New Zealanders identified as Asian; a 33 per cent increase on the 2006 census (Statistics New Zealand, 2014).

The media play a significant part in determining how Asians are seen in New Zealand. Domke, McCoy and Torres (1999) explain that media set the agenda for public discourse, and establish the parameters whereby social issues can be constructed and resolved. People working in the media are usually part of the dominant social group (Weaver, 1998). Reports tend to reflect the views of this dominant group, meaning there is a lack of adequate coverage on issues that affect minority groups (Hodgetts, Cullen and Radley, 2005). These minority groups are also affected by stereotyping, as journalists attempt to portray them in ways that the majority will understand. Nearly one hundred years ago Lippmann (1922) argued stereotypes were necessary to facilitate human communication, as it is impossible to comprehend the world without falling back on preconceived understandings (Fiske & Taylor, 1991). However stereotypes can lead to negative representation, as people observe others through a lens that confirms their negative perceptions (Tusting, Crawshaw & Callen, 2002).

Media play an important role in determining how race relations are perceived (Kinder & Sanders, 1996). In western countries the issue is seen through a European gaze, where whiteness is seen as being the “norm” (Gallagher, 1994). Lind (2001) found that white people rarely acknowledged their own ethnicity,

and Van Dijk (1992) explains how white dominance is maintained through media, academic, political and corporate elites. News focuses on events that disrupt or restore the equilibrium of this dominant group (Rankine & McCreanor, 2004); i.e. minority groups are usually only seen in relation to how their actions affect the majority group. Minorities are often criticised not because of their minority status per se, but rather because they are not conforming to mainstream values (Liu & Mills, 2006). This is a key element of modern media racism – in most western countries it is considered unacceptable to be openly racist, so dislike for minorities is couched around the premise that they have done something wrong (Liu & Mills, 2006). This plausible deniability means the speaker can deny any racist intent (Reeves, 1983).

These trends are reflected within media coverage of Asians in New Zealand. New Zealand prides itself on its egalitarianism, however Liu & Mills (2006) suggest that New Zealanders are much less tolerant of racial minorities than initial inspection would first suggest. Researchers warn that mass media in New Zealand reflect a narrow, Pakeha-centric view of the world (Spoonley & Butcher, 2009). Collins (2006) explains that minority groups tend to be distinguished through the ways in which they are different from the Pakeha majority, and it is not uncommon for the media to reflect veiled prejudice (Ip & Friesen, 2001).

Media representation of Asians over the past two decades is of particular interest. Spoonley and Butcher (2009) conducted a longitudinal study from 1993 to 2003, and found media coverage of Asians was mostly negative. They explain increased contact between journalists and Asian migrants from the turn of the century onwards led to a softening of media portrayals, however Asians continued to be represented in misleading or stereotypical, if not overtly racist, ways. Jhally and Lewis (1992) describe such coverage as enlightened racism.

Asians are frequently mentioned within an economic context in the New Zealand media. Domke, McCoy and Torres (1999) explain that many issues surrounding race relations - such as immigration, housing and education – have material components. They are often framed in terms of economic resources and the positive or negative financial impact the actions of the minority group will have on the financial wellbeing of the majority group. Benson (2006) states that Asian

students are consistently viewed as a profit-generating commodity, despite the many various ways they contribute to New Zealand society (Merwood, 2006). Increased Asian migration had also buoyed the property market (Butcher & McGrath, 2004), leading to debate around whether Asians are to blame for rising house prices in Auckland. More recently, there has been debate around whether Chinese companies should be permitted to purchase New Zealand farmland (Harris, 2014; Davison, 2014A).

Political parties have seized on such discussions as a campaign tool to leverage the economic fears of the public. The New Zealand First party in particular has infamously campaigned on an anti-Asian rhetoric (Liu & Mills, 2006). Its slogan in 1996 was “New Zealand for New Zealanders”, based on the dual policies of restricting foreign ownership of assets and restricting immigration. New Zealand First has faced repeated accusations of racism, with leader Winston Peters joking at a party event earlier this year that “two wongs don’t make a wight” (NZ Herald, 2014A).

Although more than half the world’s population lives in Asia, multiple cultures, ethnicities and nationalities are often collapsed into one Asian identity for ease of understanding (Matthews, 2000; Munshi, 1998). This one term for all leads to sweeping generalisations and preconceptions about a very diverse range of migrants (Badkar et al., 2007). Asians are also rarely given the chance to speak for themselves. Collins (2006) raises concern over the lack of Asian voices in many of the reports in which they are portrayed, and Benson (2006) states that Asian students are imagined and described rather than actually being represented. Outside of an economic context Asians are often only mentioned as an aside; Baker and Benson (2008) argue that media coverage should strive for more accurate representation in order to allow them to play a more fulfilling and inclusive role in New Zealand society.

This project looks at how these findings resonate in media coverage of the 2014 General Election. It aims to address the research question: **How were Asians represented in media coverage of the 2014 General Election in New Zealand?** The study applies content analysis to selected reports published and broadcasted over the four campaign weeks prior to the 2014 General Election.

3. Research Design

This research project was conducted within a framework of content analysis, and occurred within a wider project undertaken by the AUT School of Communication Studies. Variables were recorded by coders then analysed using the SPSS data package.

3.1. Content Analysis

Content analysis is one of the most well known methods of analysing media communication. Systematic analysis of texts has been used in research since the 17th century but the term “content analysis” did not appear until the 1940s, when sociologists began to examine newspaper texts to understand the effects of propaganda in the aftermath of the Second World War (Krippendorf, 2013). Berelson (1952) describes content analysis as the use of data extracted from mass media communications to test research hypotheses and examine journalism practices. He states that content analysis “is a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication” (p. 18).

Content analysis falls within a positivist framework of quantitative descriptive research, in which researcher objectivity is paramount (Bryant, 1975). One of its advantages is that it allows researchers to generalise meanings for a wide range of situations from a smaller sample (Krippendorf, 2013). However attempts to extract such meanings using content analysis have drawn criticisms. Hansen et al. (1998) state it is impossible to extract all possible meanings from a text, and that a researcher’s decision over what meanings to examine removes total objectivity. It is also difficult to establish meaning from facts and figures alone (Hansen et al., 1998). Content analysis of media coverage of Asians in New Zealand would be incomplete without also having an understanding of their cultural context.

3.2. Research Context

The study occurred within the context of a wider project *AUT Media Observatory: News, politics and diversity in the 2014 New Zealand General Election*¹ conducted by the AUT School of Communication Studies from August 23rd until September 19th – the four weeks leading up to the General Election on September 20th. Media coverage of the election was analysed by looking at political reports published in the *New Zealand Herald* newspaper (New Zealand’s leading daily print news publication), and broadcasted on *Morning Report* (Radio NZ, New Zealand’s public radio broadcaster) and *ONE News at 6pm* (TVNZ, a commercially operated crown-owned enterprise).

3.3. Coding Process

This researcher was one of three coders involved in the project. At the end of July the group started meeting regularly to discuss and refine the coding sheets. A coding manual with a guideline for all categories was prepared, and training for coders was conducted in the first week of August 2014. A pilot week of coding ran from August 11th to August 17th. Final coding checks were completed during the week beginning August 18th. Intensive preparation was undertaken to ensure news material was being coded consistently.

Reliability checks were conducted with the senior researcher until August 18th when agreement reached 94 per cent according to Holsti’s formula² (Holsti, 1969). This ensured all coders were working to the same consistent standard. Only reports that focussed on the General Election were coded. This included reports that either mentioned the election in the introduction, or in which more than a third of the report dealt with the election.

¹ Funded by the AUT DCT Strategic Fund, principal investigator Dr Verica Rupar.

$$R = \frac{2(C1,2)}{C1 + C2}$$

C1,2 is the number of category assignments both coders agreed on, and C1 + C2 is the total category assignments made by both coders.

A total of 575 valid coding sheets were collected. This included 116 from TVNZ (20.2% of the sample), 193 from Radio NZ (33.6% of the sample), and 266 from the *New Zealand Herald* (46.2% of the sample).

3.4. Study Variables

The coding sheets comprised 16 different items relating to the topic of news, politics and diversity (See Appendix 1). The categories most relevant to the question of representation of Asians in the media were News Story's Topic, Sources, and Reference to Social Groups.

Topics were considered to be the subjects of the story taking the most time and space. There were 27 different topics available for News Story's Topic, and coders could select a maximum of three topics for each story.

Sources were individuals, groups, institutions or organisations that provided information for news reports. They were divided between political sources and non-political sources, and were also coded according to the gender of the source (male, female, transgender or unidentifiable), and whether the quote was direct or indirect speech.

Reference to Social Groups involved explicit references to particular social groups. Following classifications outlined in New Zealand's anti-discrimination legislation (Human Rights Act, 1993), these social groups were divided into subcategories covering disability, ethnicity, religion, socio-economic status, gender, age and political orientation. If there were no references to a social group, this question was left blank.

Coding sheets were slightly different for the three media outlets. This reflected the differences between them. For example, in the category News Genre, the presence of a presenter in television and radio reports had to be accounted for. For a full list of coding questions, and to compare differences between the three coding sheets, please refer to Appendix 1.

This dissertation focuses in particular on results collated under Question 16(2): Ethnicity/Race/Citizenship. This variable had the following values:

- a. European
- b. Maori
- c. Asian
- d. Pacific
- e. MELAA (Middle Eastern, Latin American, African)
- f. New Zealanders
- g. Pakeha
- h. Foreigners

These groupings were based on ethnicity categories used by Statistics New Zealand in the 2013 Census (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). Only explicit references to ethnicity, race or citizenship were coded. If there were no such references within a story, the question was left blank on the coding sheet.

To address the question “*How were Asians represented in media coverage of the 2014 General Election in New Zealand?*” the frequency of references to Asians as a social group was extracted from the sample. This smaller sample was then cross-tabulated (Krippendorf, 2013) with sources and news stories’ topics to determine any significant differences when compared with the overall sample.

3.5. Analysis

Statistical analyses were performed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS, v. 22.0 for WINDOWS, SPSS Inc., Chicago, IL, USA). Data are presented using frequency and percentage (%). Cross-tabulations between “Asian” as a social group category and topics and sources were completed using the Pearson Chi-square test for categorical variables, with the significance level set at $p < 0.05$.

4. Findings

This study found Asians were predominantly mentioned in an economic context in media coverage of the 2014 General Election. The following chapter describes the number of times Asians were mentioned within this coverage. It then outlines the story topics within which Asians were discussed, and compares those findings with the results for the overall sample. This is followed by an analysis of which political parties were most engaged in discussions about Asians in New Zealand.

4.1 Frequency of Appearance

Asians were mentioned a total of 20 times during media coverage of the general election. This was out of a total of 215 references to ethnicity, race or nationality (ERN). (See Table 1.) The Frequency % column in Table 1 shows the percentage of ERN represented by each social group, and the Population % shows that social group's actual numbers in New Zealand. From this, it can be seen that Asians were represented a significantly lower number of times than Maori were, despite being a similar population size (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). This reflects the media's heightened awareness of the place of Maori as the indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand, and of ongoing debate over issues such as the meaning of the Treaty of Waitangi.

Table 1: Reference to Social Groups by Ethnicity, Race, Nationality (ERN)

ERN	Frequency #	Frequency %	Population %
European/Pakeha	6	2.79%	74%
Maori	51	23.72%	15%
Asian	20	9.30%	12%
Pacific	10	4.65%	7%
MELAA	1	0.47%	1%
New Zealanders	103	47.91%	-
Foreigners	24	11.16%	-
TOTAL	215	100.00%	-

There were almost no references to the European/Pakeha social group, reflecting its unspoken dominance in a media environment that centres on a white, western way of thinking (Spoonley & Butcher, 2009). Catchall references to New Zealanders accounted for 47.9% of ERN mentions, and a further 11.2% referred to Foreigners without specifying any country of origin.

4.2 Dominance of Economic Reports

Question 08 in the coding sheet gave researchers a choice of 26 topics to choose from for each story. The Business and Economy topic dominated the 2014 General Election, representing 21.04% of all reports. (See Table 2.) The next three most prominent topics for the whole sample were Polls (17.4%), Intelligence (10.1%), and Crime (7.8%).

Business and Economy also dominated as a topic for the Asian sample, but at 50% its prominence was much more pronounced. The next three topics in order of importance were Polls (25%), Employment (15%) and Immigration (15%). It is tempting to draw conclusions from the prominence of Employment and Immigration, however as these represent only a small number of reports (three per topic) it would be unwise to make judgements without further research.

However the level of reports relating to Business and Economy within the Asian Sample is significant enough to warrant attention. When cross-tabulated using the Pearson Chi-Square test for categorical variables, the Asymptomatic Significance is 0.001 – this is well below the established significance level of $p < 0.05$, and demonstrates that Asians are more than twice as likely to be mentioned within the topic of Business and Economy.

[See next page for Table 2.]

Table 2: Comparison of Topics between Whole Sample and Asian Sample

Topic	Whole Sample	Whole %	Asian Sample	Asian %
Arts	1	0.17%	0	0.00%
Business and Economy	121	21.04%	10	50.00%
Celebrity/Entertainment	3	0.52%	0	0.00%
Crime	45	7.83%	0	0.00%
Crisis	2	0.35%	1	5.00%
Defence	1	0.17%	0	0.00%
Disaster	2	0.35%	0	0.00%
Education	16	2.78%	0	0.00%
Employment	18	3.13%	3	15.00%
Environmental issue	26	4.52%	2	10.00%
Health	12	2.09%	0	0.00%
Housing	31	5.39%	0	0.00%
Immigration	6	1.04%	3	15.00%
Inequality/Poverty	31	5.39%	0	0.00%
Intelligence	58	10.09%	0	0.00%
Int. News	1	0.17%	1	5.00%
Local Government	2	0.35%	0	0.00%
Maori affairs	33	5.74%	0	0.00%
Personal profile	10	1.74%	0	0.00%
Polls	100	17.39%	5	25.00%
Race relations	4	0.70%	2	10.00%
Religion	4	0.70%	0	0.00%
Science and Technology	4	0.70%	0	0.00%
Sport	2	0.35%	1	5.00%
Transport	6	1.04%	0	0.00%
Other	38	6.61%	1	5.00%

4.3 Discussion by Political Parties

Members of both the National and Labour parties were the leading political sources during the four weeks of the election coverage, representing 26.7% and 22.7% respectively. This was from a total number of 784 political sources. (See Table 3.) New Zealand First (10.3%) and the Greens (10.2%) were the only other parties to exceed 10%. These numbers differed from election night results, when National gained 47.0% of the vote, Labour 25.1%, Greens 10.7%, and New

Zealand First 8.7% (Electoral Commission, 2014). From this it can be seen that the Greens and New Zealand First received coverage roughly in proportion to their level of support, while Labour and National were underrepresented. The National Party in particular saw a disparity of almost 20%. By contrast, many minor parties received more attention than their level of support. For example, ACT and United Future accounted for 3.1% and 2.9% of political sources, yet respectively received only 0.7% and 0.2% of the vote (Electoral Commission, 2014).

Table 3: Comparison of Political Sources between Whole Sample and Asian Sample

Political Source	Asian Sample	Asian %	Whole Sample	Whole %
National Party	10	34.5%	209	26.7%
New Zealand First	2	6.9%	81	10.3%
ACT New Zealand	6	20.7%	24	3.1%
Labour Party	7	24.1%	178	22.7%
The Alliance	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
DPSC	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
The Greens	1	3.4%	80	10.2%
ALCP	0	0.0%	2	0.3%
Maori Party	0	0.0%	43	5.5%
Internet Party	0	0.0%	32	4.1%
Mana Movement	0	0.0%	36	4.6%
Internet-Mana Coalition	0	0.0%	24	3.1%
Conservative Party	3	10.3%	52	6.6%
United Future	0	0.0%	23	2.9%
Focus New Zealand	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
TOTAL	29	100.0%	784	100.0%

Within the Asian sample - news reports that made reference to Asians as a social group - the trend reversed. National and Labour both saw a percentage increase, while the minor parties dropped away. Many of the smaller parties (e.g. Internet Party, United Future) were not mentioned at all in news reports that made reference to Asians.

There were a few notable exceptions to this. The Conservatives saw an increase from 6.6% to 10.3%, and ACT saw a much larger increase from 3.1% to 20.7%.

Despite its track record of campaigning on Asian immigration, New Zealand First dropped from 10.3% to 6.9%.

5. Discussion

This section of the dissertation discusses the research findings outlined above. It analyses how these results reflect previous research in this area, and explores the underlying meanings behind the economic dialogue surrounding Asians in New Zealand. It also examines the lack of Asian voices within these media representations.

5.1 Money, Money, Money

The study results reveal that Asians were predominantly referred to in an economic context in media coverage of the 2014 General Election. This confirms previous research that has shown this ethnic group is usually placed within a financial frame in the New Zealand media (Benson, 2006). The television reports that mentioned Asians were an exception, but this is likely due to a reduced number of reports about business and the economy within the television sample overall. Radio and newspaper reports discussed the issue of Asians and the economy in much greater detail than television reports. The number of television reports that mentioned Asians was comparatively low.

There was no explicit racism against Asians in any of the examined election reports. Most negative references to Asians were in relation to the possible consequences Asian migration and investment could have on the New Zealand economy. Discussions in the media focussed on the potential financial benefits or drawbacks such investment could have to New Zealand citizens. This heightened emphasis on business and the economy in relation to Asians indicates this minority group is usually framed in relation to how its actions affect the majority (Rankine & McCreanor, 2004). In the case of New Zealand, this majority is the dominant Pakeha population. The lack of explicit racism bears out research statements that such language is generally considered unacceptable in western countries (Liu & Mills, 2006).

Most reports that referenced Asians did not include Asian voices. Outside of a financial context, members of the Asian ethnic group were often only mentioned as accidental participants in a report about a completely different issue. Many political parties campaigned for the Asian vote, however issues affecting Asians tended to only be discussed by non-Asian reporters quoting non-Asian sources. In the handful of reports that did include Asian sources, a narrative of disillusionment and isolation appeared that was very different to the message of inclusiveness preached by politicians. This preparedness to appeal to Asian voters while ignoring their wants and needs confirms previous findings that Asians are often reduced to a commodity that can be leveraged for political or economic gain.

5.2. Economic Concerns

Concerns over the effect Asians were having on the economy were at the forefront. A Radio NZ reporter stated in a report on August 25th that: “New Zealand’s growing reliance on demand for food and logs from China, coupled with a persistently high dollar, has raised fears [for the economy]” (Radio NZ, 2014a). This was a common theme throughout the election coverage, with both politicians and voters expressing concern about Asian investment in New Zealand. This was coupled with reminders of New Zealand’s reliance on Asia, with the *New Zealand Herald* stating on August 27th: “As the National and previous Labour governments have often reminded New Zealanders, their country’s economic future lies increasingly with Asia”. The same report went on: “But the speed at which Asian economies, particularly China’s, have developed has boosted New Zealand’s engagement with those countries at a pace which clearly makes some of us uneasy” (Bennett, 2014).

One of the most debated issues regarding Asian investment in New Zealand was the proposed sale of the Lochinver Station to Shanghai Pengxin, a Chinese company that had previously bought the Crafar Farms. Conservative Party leader Colin Craig revealed their purchase bid at the beginning of the election campaign, sparking intense debate. The *New Zealand Herald* reported there was strong opposition to the sale among voters, stating: “Polls done since the

proposed sale was revealed show an overwhelming majority of New Zealanders are worried about land sales to foreign buyers” (Bennett, 2014). Political parties responded to the debate in a variety of ways. Labour’s finance spokesperson, David Parker, spoke out against the sale and said the party would put a stop to land sales over five hectares except in very rare circumstances. The *New Zealand Herald* quotes him as saying: “The key to having [a] deeper pool of capital in New Zealand isn’t selling our land” (Young, 2014). Act took the opposite view, with party leader Dr Jamie Whyte telling Radio NZ: “When foreigners invest in New Zealand, we benefit. There is no injury for the OIO [Overseas Investment Office] to protect us from” (Radio NZ, 2014b).

These economic discussions focused on the potential financial benefits or drawbacks of Asian investment to New Zealand citizens. The *New Zealand Herald* questioned on August 27th whether “New Zealand’s economic interests are being adequately safeguarded and promoted” (Bennett, 2014). A headline four days earlier had read: “Farm sales okay, as long as there’s jobs” (Young, 2014). This news report underlined the message that voters only approved of farm sales to foreigners when it would bring a significant financial advantage to New Zealand such as the creation of employment opportunities. Representation of the government’s views also reflected the message that Asian investment was only welcome if it benefited New Zealanders, with Finance Minister Bill English being quoted as saying: “...overseas buyers must now show they will bring substantial and identifiable benefits to New Zealand...” This dialogue fed into a narrative that Asians were only welcome in New Zealand if their presence would be of significant financial benefit to the country. This confirms previous research that has shown Asians in New Zealand are predominantly discussed in an economic context (Spoonley & Butcher, 2009; Butcher & McGrath, 2004), and echoes racially based expectations of Asian migrants that have been present in New Zealand for more than a century (Benson, 2006).

5.3. Whose Voices Were Heard?

There was a lack of Asian voices within reports that made reference to Asians. They were typically mentioned in the context of being an outsider group, and the

majority of reports that mentioned Asians were reported by non-Asians and used non-Asian sources. Several of the reports only made passing mention of Asians, for instance a *New Zealand Herald* reference to the 2008 free trade deal with China (Pagani, 2014) and another to the 1999 Asian economic crisis (NZ Herald, 2014B). Ethnic Affairs Minister Judith Collins was key in several reports involving Asians within the TV sample. On August 23rd she attended a Pakistani event, and tweeted: “So much media interest in Pakistan Independence Day!” (Bradford, 2014.) This comment ignored the fact that reporters only wanted to question Collins about her relationship with blogger Cameron Slater, as it was her first public appearance since revelations made in Nicky Hager’s book *Dirty Politics*. In the eyes of attending media the Pakistani Committee did not meet the criteria for newsworthiness (Masterton, 1998). After Collins resigned, a review of her career as a minister drew attention to how she had misled Prime Minister John Key over a conflict of interest she and her husband had with the Chinese company Oravida (Boswell, 2014).

These examples show how Asians were often only discussed as accidental participants in a wider story. Media were primarily focused on issues that affected the equilibrium of the dominant Pakeha group, and minority groups were usually only referred to in relation to their interplay with the concerns of the majority (Rankine & McCreanor, 2004). Pakeha dominance is illustrated by the lack of reports that explicitly referred to those of Pakeha or European descent. This supports previous findings that white people rarely acknowledged their own ethnicity (Lind, 2001).

5.4. The Asian Vote

Several political parties made a concerted effort to target Asian voters in the 2014 General Election. National, Labour and Greens politicians were all reported to be courting the Sikh vote in South Auckland (Tan, 2014). Labour leader David Cunliffe was reported to have visited the Chinese community centre in New Lynn (Davison, 2014B), and the *New Zealand Herald* described how Prime Minister John Key was mobbed by “hordes of Chinese Aucklanders” at the Moon Festival in Henderson (Taylor & Cumming, 2014). David Cunliffe also made a strong bid for the Chinese vote at the Moon Festival, with the *New*

Zealand Herald reporting this statement from his speech: “Hard-working, entrepreneurial, successful, law-abiding, the Chinese community has added so much to the colour, the flavour, the success of New Zealand” (Manning, 2014).

The Act Party went even further to attract Asian voters, and was reported to have erected Chinese-script billboards (Tan, 2014). A ONE News report on Act’s campaign launch stated that: “What [party leader Dr] Jamie Whyte’s really worried about though is disappointing Act’s Asian supporters” (Parkin, 2014). Chinese businessman Kenneth Wang was named as deputy leader of the party, and speaking on Radio NZ Whyte was scathing in his criticism of what he described as racism against Asians by New Zealand First leader Winston Peters. He said: “Kenneth Wang is our deputy leader, and we have a very strong support base in the Chinese community, and I think they would be extremely disappointed to see us doing a deal with Winston” (Radio NZ, 2014b). Winston Peters swung out in return, stating: “He doesn’t realise that Mr Wang, his deputy, only got there in the first place because he got the Chinese people to finance a legal case against one of the Act candidates Donna Awatere” (Radio NZ, 2014b). This sweeping accusation by Peters that “the Chinese people” had interfered in Act’s internal electoral process is symptomatic of an anti-Asian stance taken by New Zealand First for several decades (Liu & Mills, 2006).

5.5. Lack of Asian Voices

What is significant about most of these reports is that even when they were directly concerned with the wants and needs of Asian voters, there was still a lack of Asian voices. Benson (2006) found Asian students were imagined and described instead of being represented. Analysis of media coverage of the 2014 General Election indicated that Asian voters in New Zealand were treated in a similar way. They were described and discussed at an abstract level, and only in relation to how parties stood to lose or gain from their support. It was rare for Asian concerns to be voiced in the media by Asians themselves. Instead they were discussed as an “other” minority group by Pakeha-dominated political and media elites. Shoemaker and Reese (1990) state that powerful groups have the most influence on the content of news reports. Media tend to serve the interests of the ruling hegemony, and through this process of framing reality social

injustice against minorities becomes legitimised (Gitlin, 1980; Chomsky & Herman, 1988).

In the few instances where Asian voices appeared, they presented a very different version of events. A Radio NZ report on September 10th discussed a political meeting for Auckland's ethnic communities, and said that migrants felt they were being ignored in the run-up to the election. In perhaps one of the more insightful statements of the election period, the report stated: "The concerns of ethnic voters have been invisible in this year's campaigning" (Radio NZ, 2014c). Also of note was a *New Zealand Herald* report that focused specifically on the importance of ethnic communities in the election campaign. The headline read: "Parties target migrants who could decide election" (Tan, 2014). The reporter was Lincoln Tan, the *New Zealand Herald's* diversity, ethnic affairs and immigration senior reporter. This report was particularly noteworthy because it dealt with Asian issues, included Asian voices, and was narrated by an Asian journalist (Tan migrated to New Zealand from Singapore in 1997). In particular it highlighted the disjoint felt between ethnic minorities and the attempts by political parties to win their votes. Steven Young, president of the NZ Chinese Association, was quoted as saying parties can't assume they'll win ethnic votes just because they have ethnic MPs. Regarding ethnic MPs, he said: "If they speak out at all it is to parrot the party line, but otherwise seem to fear making a case for their notional constituency" (Tan, 2014).

6. Conclusion

There were significant shortcomings in how Asians were reported on in media coverage of the 2014 General Election. They continued to be portrayed in stereotypical ways such as having a disproportionate interest in financial matters and being one Asian entity, despite coming from a wide variety of nations and backgrounds. They were frequently reduced to a commodity that could be leveraged for economic or political gain. Asians were often represented as an outsider group (Said, 1979) that did not conform to the values of mainstream New Zealand. When Asians were discussed it was usually by those in positions of cultural privilege (i.e. Pakeha), and there appeared to be little effort to engage

with the wants and needs of Asian New Zealanders. Political leaders preached a narrative of inclusiveness and diversity while on the campaign trail, however analysis of media coverage indicated a distinct lack of Asian representation. When Asian voices emerged they presented a remarkably different narrative. There was a disjoint between perception and reality, and many ethnic communities in New Zealand felt they were being ignored.

This raises questions about the ability of the New Zealand media to cater to an audience that is becoming increasingly diverse. Immigration from Asia and the Pacific Islands has risen significantly over the past few decades, yet most media organisations still reflect a Pakeha ideology that excludes those from minority ethnic groups. In turn, this means many people living in New Zealand do not feel they are being fairly represented. This is problematic for the media, and constitutes a form of racism. There may not be any overtly racist statements made through the media, but the message is clear – those from minority groups must conform to Pakeha values if they wish to succeed in New Zealand society.

7. Limitations and Future Research

Findings confirmed basic trends identified by other researchers in terms of Asians being discussed in an economic context. The small number of reports prevented cross-tabulation between other news topics such as crime or immigration. Data indicated Asians were also disproportionately mentioned in these areas; however as there were only three reports respectively a difference of one more or less would have significantly altered results. Therefore no conclusions have been drawn.

A further limitation was the restrictions placed on which media outlets were examined. The coding was only conducted for three media outlets, and in the case of television and radio only specific shows within those media outlets were studied. This meant that coding at times did not capture the entirety of a news organisation's representation of Asians.

These restrictions were put in place as it would have been unmanageable to code all media coverage of the General Election. This was due to the far-reaching

needs of the wider project undertaken by the AUT School of Communications. Future research could take a more specialised approach, and code only those reports that made reference to Asian ethnic groups. This would enable collection of a more comprehensive set of data from a wider range of media sources. The researcher would then be able to explore additional areas of interest in greater detail.

The cross-section of media chosen represented a variety of voices, including television, radio and newspaper. TVNZ produced a one-hour show, Radio NZ a three-hour show, and the *New Zealand Herald* printed a newspaper that ran to dozens of pages. Therefore there were differences in the levels of coverage given to particular topics, for instance issues could be discussed in much greater detail in a print article than in short television sound-bites. This made it difficult to compare between the outlets. In future research it would be useful to examine other comparable outlets (e.g. TV3, Newstalk ZB, Fairfax) to determine whether there are differences between how Asians are portrayed by other similar news outlets.

This project took place within the context of the 2014 General Election. Data provided a cross-section of reports involving political beliefs and issues important to New Zealanders. It is possible references to minority groups within the news were crowded out during this period by an increased emphasis on politics and the economy. Future research could determine whether there are any differences in how Asians are represented in political and economic coverage outside of an election period. It could also examine the extent to which various political parties discuss Asian issues. This would illustrate whether there is a genuine attempt by those parties to engage with Asian voters through the media, or whether they are merely considered a political commodity during an election.

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9. Appendices

9.1. TVNZ Election Coding Sheet

00. Date: ____

01. Story identification number (plus news outlet):

NZTV ____

02. Which election week is it?

First week __

Second week __

Third week __

Fourth week __

03. What day?

From Monday to Friday __

On the weekend __

04. Gender of the author of the text

1. Male __

2. Female __

3. Not identified __

05. News format:

5.1. News item reporter /presenter talking with no sources ____

5.2. News item sources talking ____

06. Story genre

1. News piece __

2. Opinion piece __

3. Interview __

07. Story telling frame

1. Strategic __

2. Issue __

3. Mixed __

08. News story's topic (*to be refined once pilot week done*)

1. **Arts**
2. **Business and Economy**
3. **Celebrity news / Entertainment**
4. **Crime**
5. **Crisis**
6. **Defence**
7. **Disaster**
8. **Education**
9. **Employment**
10. **Environmental issue**
11. **Health**
12. **Housing**
13. **Immigration**
14. **Inequality / Poverty**
15. **Intelligence**
16. **International news**
17. **Local Government**
18. **Maori affairs**
19. **Personal profile**
20. **Political process**
21. **Polls**
22. **Race relations**
23. **Religion**
24. **Science & technology**
25. **Sport**
26. **Transport**
27. **Other**

09. Reference to party policies

1. **Yes**
2. **No**

10. Whose party's policy is mentioned (only if 'yes' answer to 9)

- 1.1. **National Party**
- 1.2. **NZ First**
- 1.3. **ACT New Zealand**
- 1.4. **Labour Party**
- 1.5. **The Alliance**
- 1.6. **Democratic Party for Social Credit**
- 1.7. **The Greens**
- 1.8. **Aotearoa Legalise Cannabis Party**
- 1.9. **Maori Party**
- 1.10. **Internet Party**
- 1.11. **Mana movement**
- 1.12. **Internet-Mana coalition**
- 1.13. **Conservative Party of New Zealand**
- 1.14. **United Future New Zealand**
- 1.15. **Focus New Zealand**

11. What policies are mentioned?
 1. **Arts**
 2. **Business and Economy**
 3. **Celebrity news / Entertainment**
 4. **Crime**
 5. **Crisis**
 6. **Defence**
 7. **Disaster**
 8. **Education**
 9. **Employment**
 10. **Environmental issue**
 11. **Health**
 12. **Housing**
 13. **Immigration**
 14. **Inequality / Poverty**
 15. **Intelligence**
 16. **International news**
 17. **Local Government**
 18. **Maori affairs**
 19. **Personal profile**
 20. **Political process**
 21. **Polls**
 22. **Race relations**
 23. **Religion**
 24. **Science & technology**
 25. **Sport**
 26. **Transport**
 27. **Other**
12. Reference to electorate:
 1. **General seat/voters__**
 2. **Maori seat/voters__**
 3. **Not mentioned**
13. Global Governance
 1. **National**
 2. **International**
 3. **Global**

14. Sources (S) - either direct quote (**DQ**), or reported speech (**RS**) Here it is also necessary to click the Source Gender (SG). The Source Gender could be Male (**M**), Female (**F**), Transgender (**T**) or Not identifiable (**N**).

--See the next two pages--

	1 st /SG	2 nd /SG	3 rd /SG	4 th /SG	5 th /SG	6 th /SG	7 th /SG	8 th /SG	9 th /SG
Political Parties									
National Party									
NZ First									
ACT NZ									
Labour Party									
The Alliance									
DMFSC									
The Greens									
ALCannabis									
Maori P.									
Internet P.									
Mana movement									
Int-Mana Coal									
Conservative									
United Future NZ									
Focus NZ									
Other sources									
Academia									
Anonymous									
Business and Economy									
Celebrities / Ent.									
Central Government									
Intelligence									
Law and order									
Local Government									
Media/Other journalists									
Medical									
Members of Public									
Military									
NGO/C.S.O									
Prof. Association									
Pollsters									
Public Services									
Religion									
Sport									
Think tank									
Trade union									
<i>Not identified</i>									
<i>Other</i>									

15. Political Leaders:

1. **John Key (NZ National Party) _**
2. **Rt Hon Winston Peters (NZ First) _**
3. **Jamie Whyte (ACT New Zealand) _**
4. **David Cunliffe (Labour Party) _**
5. **Kay Murray (The Alliance) _**
6. **Stephnie de Ruyter (DPSC) _**
7. **M. Turei & R. Norman (The Greens) _**
8. **Julian Crawford (ALCP) _**
9. **Te Ururoa Flavell (Maori) _**
10. **Laila Harre (Internet Party) _**
11. **Hone Harawira (Mana movement) _**
12. **Harre & Harawira (Int-Mana P.) _**
13. **Colin Craig (Conservative Party) _**
14. **Peter Francis Dunne (Future NZ) _**
15. **Ken Rintoul (Focus NZ) _**

16. Reference to social groups: (We record explicit word or synonym)

1. **Disability**
 - a. Able-bodied
 - b. Disabled
2. **Ethnicity/Race/Citizenship**
 - a. European
 - b. Maori
 - c. Asian
 - d. Pacific
 - e. MELAA
 - f. New Zealanders
 - g. Pakeha
 - h. Foreigners
3. **Religion**
 - a. No religion
 - b. Buddhist
 - c. Christians
 - d. Muslims
 - e. Hindu
4. **Socio-economic status**
 - a. Low-income
 - b. Middle-income
 - c. High-Income
 - d. Beneficiaries
 - e. Unemployed
5. **Sexual orientation**
 - a. Homosexual
 - b. Bisexual
 - c. Heterosexual
 - d. Asexual
6. **Marital status**
 - a. Married/Civil union/Partnership
 - b. Single
7. **Gender**
 - a. Women
 - b. Men
 - c. Transgender
8. **Age**
 - a. Young
 - b. Middle aged
 - c. Elderly
9. **Political orientation**
 - a. Centrist/Swing Voter
 - b. Conservative/ Right wing
 - c. Liberal/Left wing

9.2. Radio NZ Election Coding Sheet

00. Date: ____

01. Story identification number (plus news outlet):

NZRadio ____

02. Which election week is it?

First week _**Second week** _**Third week** _**Fourth week** _

03. What day?

From Monday to Friday _

04. Gender of the author of the text

1. Male _**2. Female** _**3. Not identified** _

05. News format

1. Intro to news item by news presenter ____**2. News item:****2.1. Presenter and reporter talking** ____**2.2. Presenter and non-media source talking** ____**2.3. Reporter and non-media sources** ____**2.4. Reporter and mixed media/non-media sources** ____**3. Wrapping up by news presenter** ____**4. Whole item** ____

06. Story genre

1. News piece _**2. Opinion piece** _**3. Interview** _

07. Story telling frame

4. Strategic _**1. Issue** _**2. Mixed** _

08. News story's topic (*to be refined once pilot week done*)

1. **Arts**
2. **Business and Economy**
3. **Celebrity news / Entertainment**
4. **Crime**
5. **Crisis**
6. **Defence**
7. **Disaster**
8. **Education**
9. **Employment**
10. **Environmental issue**
11. **Health**
12. **Housing**
13. **Immigration**
14. **Inequality / Poverty**
15. **Intelligence**
16. **International news**
17. **Local Government**
18. **Maori affairs**
19. **Personal profile**
20. **Political process**
21. **Polls**
22. **Race relations**
23. **Religion**
24. **Science & technology**
25. **Sport**
26. **Transport**
27. **Other**

09. Reference to party policies

1. **Yes**
2. **No**

10. Whose party's policy is mentioned (only if 'yes' answer to 9)

- 1.1. **National Party**
- 1.2. **NZ First**
- 1.3. **ACT New Zealand**
- 1.4. **Labour Party**
- 1.5. **The Alliance**
- 1.6. **Democratic Party for Social Credit**
- 1.7. **The Greens**
- 1.8. **Aotearoa Legalise Cannabis Party**
- 1.9. **Maori Party**
- 1.10. **Internet Party**
- 1.11. **Mana movement**
- 1.12. **Internet-Mana coalition**
- 1.13. **Conservative Party of New Zealand**
- 1.14. **United Future New Zealand**
- 1.15. **Focus New Zealand**

11. What policies are mentioned?

1. **Arts**
2. **Business and Economy**
3. **Celebrity news / Entertainment**
4. **Crime**
5. **Crisis**
6. **Defence**
7. **Disaster**
8. **Education**
9. **Employment**
10. **Environmental issue**
11. **Health**
12. **Housing**
13. **Immigration**
14. **Inequality / Poverty**
15. **Intelligence**
16. **International news**
17. **Local Government**
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19. **Personal profile**
20. **Political process**
21. **Polls**
22. **Race relations**
23. **Religion**
24. **Science & technology**
25. **Sport**
26. **Transport**
27. **Other**

12. Reference to electorate:

1. **General seat/voters__**
2. **Maori seat/voters__**
3. **Not mentioned__**

13. Global Governance

1. **National**
2. **International**
3. **Global**

14. Sources (S) - either direct quote (**DQ**), or reported speech (**RS**) Here it is also necessary to click the Source Gender (SG). The Source Gender could be Male (**M**), Female (**F**), Transgender (**T**) or Not identifiable (**N**).

--See the next two pages--

	1 st /SG	2 nd /SG	3 rd /SG	4 th /SG	5 th /SG	6 th /SG	7 th /SG	8 th /SG	9 th /SG
Political Parties									
National Party									
NZ First									
ACT NZ									
Labour Party									
The Alliance									
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The Greens									
ALCannabis									
Maori P.									
Internet P.									
Mana movement									
Int-Mana Coal									
Conservative									
United Future NZ									
Focus NZ									
Other sources									
Academia									
Anonymous									
Business and Economy									
Celebrities / Ent.									
Central Government									
Intelligence									
Law and order									
Local Government									
Media/Other journalists									
Medical									
Members of Public									
Military									
NGO/C.S.O									
Prof. Association									
Pollsters									
Public Services									
Religion									
Sport									
Think tank									
Trade union									
<i>Not identified</i>									
<i>Other</i>									

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8. **Julian Crawford (ALCP)** _
9. **Te Ururoa Flavell (Maori)** _
10. **Laila Harre (Internet Party)** _
11. **Hone Harawira (Mana movement)** _
12. **Harre & Harawira (Int-Mana P.)** _
13. **Colin Craig (Conservative Party)** _
14. **Peter Francis Dunne (Future NZ)** _
15. **Ken Rintoul (Focus NZ)** _

16. Reference to social groups: (We record explicit word or synonym)

1. **Disability**
 - a. Able-bodied
 - b. Disabled
2. **Ethnicity/Race/Citizenship**
 - a. European
 - b. Maori
 - c. Asian
 - d. Pacific
 - e. MELAA
 - f. New Zealanders
 - g. Pakeha
 - h. Foreigners
3. **Religion**
 - a. No religion
 - b. Buddhist
 - c. Christians
 - d. Muslims
 - e. Hindu
4. **Socio-economic status**
 - a. Low-income
 - b. Middle-income
 - c. High-Income
 - d. Beneficiaries
 - e. Unemployed
5. **Sexual orientation**
 - a. Homosexual
 - b. Bisexual
 - c. Heterosexual
 - d. Asexual
6. **Marital status**
 - a. Married/Civil union/Partnership
 - b. Single
7. **Gender**
 - a. Women
 - b. Men
 - c. Transgender
8. **Age**
 - a. Young
 - b. Middle aged
 - c. Elderly
9. **Political orientation**
 - a. Centrist/Swing Voter
 - b. Conservative/ Right wing
 - c. Liberal/Left wing

9.3. NZ Herald Election Coding Sheet

00. Date: ____

01. Story identification number (plus news outlet):

NZH ____

02. Which election week is it?

First week __

Second week __

Third week __

Fourth week __

03. What day?

From Monday to Friday

On the weekend

04. Gender of the author of the text

1. Male __

2. Female __

3. Not identified __

05. Length/duration

1. up to ¼ of a page __

2. up to ½ of a page __

3. up to ¾ of a page __

4. more than ¾ of a page __

06. Story genre

1. News piece __

2. Opinion piece __

3. Interview __

07. Story telling frame

1. Strategic __

2. Issue __

3. Mixed __

08. News story's topic (*to be refined once pilot week done*)

1. **Arts** _
2. **Business and Economy** _
3. **Celebrity news / Entertainment** _
4. **Crime** _
5. **Crisis** _
6. **Defence** _
7. **Disaster** _
8. **Education** _
9. **Employment** _
10. **Environmental issue** _
11. **Health** _
12. **Housing** _
13. **Immigration** _
14. **Inequality / Poverty** _
15. **Intelligence** _
16. **International news** _
17. **Local Government** _
18. **Maori affairs** _
19. **Personal profile** _
20. **Political process** _
21. **Polls** _
22. **Race relations** _
23. **Religion** _
24. **Science & technology** _
25. **Sport** _
26. **Transport** _
27. **Other** _

09. Reference to party policies

1. **Yes**
2. **No**

10. Whose party's policy is mentioned (only if 'yes' answer to 9)

- 1.1. **National Party**
- 1.2. **NZ First**
- 1.3. **ACT New Zealand**
- 1.4. **Labour Party**
- 1.5. **The Alliance**
- 1.6. **Democratic Party for Social Credit**
- 1.7. **The Greens**
- 1.8. **Aotearoa Legalise Cannabis Party**
- 1.9. **Maori Party**
- 1.10. **Internet Party**
- 1.11. **Mana movement**
- 1.12. **Internet-Mana coalition**
- 1.13. **Conservative Party of New Zealand**
- 1.14. **United Future New Zealand**
- 1.15. **Focus New Zealand**

11. What policies are mentioned?

1. **Arts**
2. **Business and Economy**
3. **Celebrity news / Entertainment**
4. **Crime**
5. **Crisis**
6. **Defence**
7. **Disaster**
8. **Education**
9. **Employment**
10. **Environmental issue**
11. **Health**
12. **Housing**
13. **Immigration**
14. **Inequality / Poverty**
15. **Intelligence**
16. **International news**
17. **Local Government**
18. **Maori affairs**
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20. **Political process**
21. **Polls**
22. **Race relations**
23. **Religion**
24. **Science & technology**
25. **Sport**
26. **Transport**
27. **Other**

12. Reference to electorate:

1. **General seat/voters__**
2. **Maori seat/voters__**
3. **Not mentioned**

13. Global Governance

1. **National**
2. **International**
3. **Global**

14. Sources (S) - either direct quote (DQ), or reported speech (RS) Here it is also necessary to click the Source Gender (SG). The Source Gender could be Male (M), Female (F), Transgender (T) or Not identifiable (N).

--See the next two pages--

	1 st /SG	2 nd /SG	3 rd /SG	4 th /SG	5 th /SG	6 th /SG	7 th /SG	8 th /SG	9 th /SG
Political Parties									
National Party									
NZ First									
ACT NZ									
Labour Party									
The Alliance									
DMFSC									
The Greens									
ALCannabis									
Maori P.									
Internet P.									
Mana movement									
Int-Mana Coal									
Conservative									
United Future NZ									
Focus NZ									
Other sources									
Academia									
Anonymous									
Business and Economy									
Celebrities / Ent.									
Central Government									
Intelligence									
Law and order									
Local Government									
Media/Other journalists									
Medical									
Members of Public									
Military									
NGO/C.S.O									
Prof. Association									
Pollsters									
Public Services									
Religion									
Sport									
Think tank									
Trade union									
<i>Not identified</i>									
<i>Other</i>									

15. Political Leaders:

1. **John Key (NZ National Party) _**
2. **Rt Hon Winston Peters (NZ First) _**
3. **Jamie Whyte (ACT New Zealand) _**
4. **David Cunliffe (Labour Party) _**
5. **Kay Murray (The Alliance) _**
6. **Stephnie de Ruyter (DPSC) _**
7. **M. Turei & R. Norman (The Greens) _**
8. **Julian Crawford (ALCP) _**
9. **Te Ururoa Flavell (Maori) _**
10. **Laila Harre (Internet Party) _**
11. **Hone Harawira (Mana movement) _**
12. **Harre & Harawira (Int-Mana P.) _**
13. **Colin Craig (Conservative Party) _**
14. **Peter Francis Dunne (Future NZ) _**
15. **Ken Rintoul (Focus NZ) _**

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