

# ‘Us’ and ‘Them’ in the News: The Case of Race



Suzanne Woodward

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Why are Africans still hungry? Terrence Leahy explains in this discussion paper. [goo.gl/zGJUpt](https://goo.gl/zGJUpt) #Africa #Food #FoodSecurity #Farming



9/04/18, 3:32 PM

**Flightbae™** @justcallmeBABA · 1d

And by 'single mother' you mean Widow of 5. Her husband died of cancer but the media will do any amount of mental gymnastics to avoid suggesting that healthy and successful black families exist.

**Yahoo Lifestyle** @yahoolifestyle

Single mother of 5 proudly poses with children in law school graduation photos: 'We did it' [yhoo.it/2qn6U5t](https://yhoo.it/2qn6U5t)



242 30.6K 87.7K

## Key Points

- Gatekeeping
- Agenda-setting
- Framing
- Othering
- Discursive Constructions
- Discourse Analysis
- Race and News:
  - Institutional racism
  - Overt/Inferential racism

### Māori media

- Cartoons
  - Self-representation
  - Counter-narratives





## A key framework

News has ideological power because it can ...

- Represent ideas and values which protect and legitimate the existing order of domination
- Fail to represent or misrepresent those ideas and values which could pose an ideological threat to dominant groups

## The ideological power of sources

“News represents *who* are the authorised knowers and *what* are their authorised versions of reality” (Schudson, 2003)

NEW ZEALAND

Political Roundup: Who gets to decide if Simon Bridges is 'Maori enough?'

28 Feb, 2018 6:04pm

© 11 minutes to read

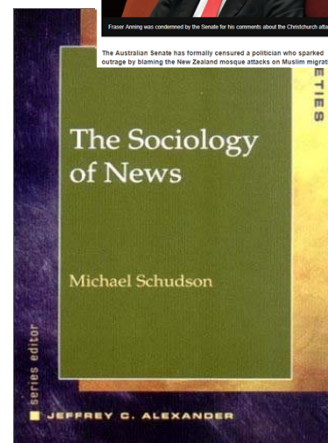
Fraser Anning: Australian MP censured for 'appalling' Christchurch remarks

© 3 April 2019

Christchurch mosque shootings



Fraser Anning was condemned by the Senate for his comments about the Christchurch attacks. The Australian Senate has formally censured a politician who sparked outrage by blaming the New Zealand mosque attacks on Muslim migration.



## Stuart Hall

“Journalists speak of ‘the news’ as if events select themselves. Further, they speak as if what is the ‘most significant’ news story, and which ‘news angles’ are most salient, are divinely inspired. Yet of the millions of events which occur every day in the world, only a tiny proportion ever become visible as ‘potential news stories’ and of this proportion, only a small fraction are actually produced as the day’s news in the news media.”



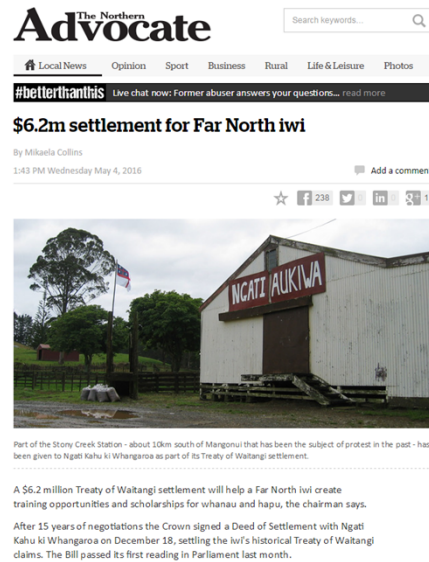
Hall, S. (1973). The determinations of news photographs. In S. Cohen & J. Young (Eds.), *The manufacture of news: Social problems, deviance and the mass media*. (pp. 176-190). Beverly Hills: Sage Publications

## Framing

- Workers offered to settle the industrial dispute for an increase of 2% in wages, but management demanded they only get 1%.
- Management offered to settle the industrial dispute with an increase of 1% in wages, but workers demanded 2%.

# Māori and Media

- 1) **lack of control Māori have historically had over media representations of themselves and their culture**
- 2) **representations of Māori have been constructed with a Pākehā audience in mind**
  - Treaty claims as a threat to “us”
  - Māori as “Other”; the construction of “us” and “them”



# Stereotypes





- “The intricate, often subtle ways in which white perspectives shape the framing of news reports concerning race-related issues can have a profound effect on public attitudes to racial discrimination (as well as on those of government policy makers), an effect which an otherwise conscientious white newswriter might never have intended” (Stuart Allen).

## The New Zealand Herald


[National](#)
[Opinion](#)
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[World](#)
[Sport](#)
[Entertainment](#)
[Life & Styl](#)

**Simon Collins**

Simon Collins is the Herald's social issues reporter.

### Ngati Whatua to close Auckland's Okahu Bay for tribal event

10:27 AM Friday Feb 20, 2015

## Media Images of Waitangi Day



The New Zealand Herald

Search keywords...

National

Opinion

Business

Technology

World

Sport

Entertainment

Life & Style

Claire Trevett

Claire Trevett is the New Zealand Herald's deputy political editor.

Email Claire

@CTrevettNZH

Waitangi Day: No trouble for John Key as he's welcomed on to Te Tii Marae

11:19 AM Thursday Feb 5, 2015

Northland

Politics

Treaty of Waitangi

Waitangi Day

☆

f 165

8

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Prime Minister John Key and Government ministers have been welcomed on to Te Tii Marae in Paihia this morning.

Photo / Jason Oxenham

Prime Minister John Key and Government ministers have been welcomed on to Te Tii Marae without incident.



Focus: Jacinda's game-changing Waitangi Day

6 Feb, 2018 12:19pm

f

Waitangi has turned on the heat for Jacinda Ardern's historic visit to the country's birth place. Has the new Prime Minister changed Waitangi Day forever?



NEW ZEALAND

## Destiny Church leader Brian Tamaki rolls in to Waitangi

5 Feb, 2019 2:24pm

© 3 minutes to read



Tamaki arrived with a large number of supporters, including "reformed" gang members.

NZ Herald

## Treaty Settlements

- '\$169 million Tūhoe settlement'
- 'Treaty claims settled at 2% of their value'
  - <https://www.radionz.co.nz/news/te-manu-korihi/386579/should-iwi-pay-capital-gains-on-traditional-assets>

The Crown apologises to Tūhoe for past dealings that breached the Crown's obligations under the Treaty of Waitangi. These include:

- indiscriminate raupatu, wrongful killings, and years of scorched earth warfare
- denying Tūhoe the right of a self governing Urewera Reserve by subverting the Urewera District Native Reserve Act 1896
- excluding Tūhoe from the establishment of Te Urewera National Park over their homelands
- wrongly treating Lake Waikaremoana as Crown property for many years.



## “Undue Privileges From Treaty Settlements”

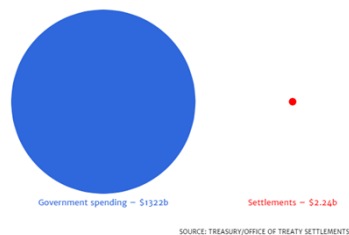
- Focus of media coverage of Treaty settlements is on the amount of redress (“taxpayers’ money”) given to iwi
- Statements by Chris Finlayson, Minister of Treaty Settlements, about what the redress is for are, if reported, mentioned in passing or at end of story.



## Some estimations of Treaty settlements

- Settlements return about 2% of the current value of the land and other resources taken from iwi.
- Office of Treaty Settlements: ‘many commentators estimate that the losses to Māori amount to tens of billions of dollars.’
- In recognition of this, every Deed of Settlement has a clause in it along the lines of: ‘(Iwi) has not received full compensation and that this is a contribution to New Zealand's development’

Treaty settlements are a tiny fraction of total Government spending since 1993



SOURCE: TREASURY/OFFICE OF TREATY SETTLEMENTS

## UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples 2007: Article 16

- Indigenous peoples have the right to establish their own media in their own languages and to have access to all forms of non-indigenous media without discrimination.
- States shall take effective measures to ensure that State-owned media duly reflect indigenous cultural diversity. States, without prejudice to ensuring full freedom of expression, should encourage privately owned media to adequately reflect indigenous cultural activity.

### Report of the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms of Indigenous People, Rodolfo Stavenhagen, 2005.

“66. ...newspaper and television are **fairly unbalanced** in their treatment of Maori people and issues. A minority of newspapers as well as television programmes included themes relevant to Maori. Often programmes portray Maori as **unfairly having benefits** which are denied to others. Some of the most prominent media often highlight the potential or actual Maori control over significant resources as a threat to non-Maori.

...

Sir Bob Jones says his Māori Gratitude Day column was satire. So what was he satirising?

DAVE ARMSTRONG  
Last updated 12:48, February 13 2018



Sir Bob Jones says it should be clear his NBR column was a "joke take". (the photo)

ADAM HOLLANDS/REUTERS

... Another recurrent issue is the portrait of Maori as poor managers, either corrupt or financially incompetent. In general, the study reported that “bad” news about Maori predominated over “good” news. In some media **denigrations and insulting comments about Maori** were reported. These findings are of special concern to the Special Rapporteur and highlight **a systematic negative description** of Maori in media coverage, an issue that should be addressed through the anti-racism provisions of New Zealand’s Human Rights Act.”

## Also from this Report

“27. The Special Rapporteur considers that the notion that Maori have received undue privileges from Treaty settlements, which has been floated in the media and by some politicians, lacks any substance whatsoever.”



## Demonstrating ‘salience’

- The order of news items in a bulletin, or the stories chosen to go on the front page (and the size of their headlines)
- The amount of coverage
- The use of photographs to support the report
- The period of prolonged reporting

## News and the “Other”



**The news media commonly project a sense of a collective national “us” which is opposed to “them”**

**- Them**

War machine  
Censorship  
Kill  
Destroy  
Hordes  
Cowardly  
Blindly obedient  
Ruthless  
Fanatical  
Cause civilian casualties  
Shot out of the sky

**- Us**

Army, Navy and Air Force  
reporting guidelines  
eliminate/neutralise  
take out  
lads/troops  
cautious  
loyal  
resolute  
brave  
cause collateral damage  
high rate of attrition

(terms all used in British press reporting of first Gulf War – Stuart Allen)

## Othering

- We all divide people into “us” and “them” – our sense of identity
- Makes difference more important, and places value judgements on it.
- “Othering” defines the self, or the group one belongs to, as superior and the Other as inferior
- Real life consequences





- While minorities can “Other” majority groups, they don’t (usually) have the power to action this is in a way which inflicts real consequences on the Other
- Racism = prejudice + power



## News and the Other

- The result of constant othering of particular groups in the media is the promotion and consolidation of a certain ‘commonsense’ racism
- Justify and help maintain racial inequalities



WORLDPOST 02/21/2017 07:02 pm ET

## Trump's 'Us vs. Them' Politics Raises Warning Of Global Fallout

Amnesty International sees a dangerous model in his "poisonous" rhetoric and policies.

### Amnesty hits out at Trump's 'us vs them' rhetoric

A report says narratives of blame are back to 1930 levels



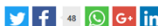
US President Donald Trump speaks after touring the National Museum of African American History and Culture in Washington | Image: Evan Vucci AP/Press Association Images



8:00 22 Feb 2017  
Jack Quann  
08:00 Wednesday  
22 February 2017

Human rights group Amnesty International says politicians wielding "a toxic, dehumanising 'us vs them' rhetoric" are creating a more divided and dangerous world.

It has launched its annual assessment of human rights.



### Op-Ed The science behind Donald Trump's 'us versus them' rhetoric



By Shabana Saba



In Case You Missed It

A celebrity secret for the Supreme Court's odd couple

On the history: John Roberts could be the Supreme Court's

# USA TODAY

NEWS SPORTS LIFE MONEY TECH TRAVEL OPINION 63° CROSSWORDS WASHINGTON VIDEO STOCKS

## Trump again calls media 'enemy of the people'

David Jackson, USA TODAY Published 10:54 a.m. ET Feb. 24, 2017 | Updated 12:24 p.m. ET Feb. 24, 2017

Why are we still focused on targeting innocent people for arbitrary bans and ugly stereotypes?



(Photo: European Press Agency)

Us vs. them. Divide and conquer. It's an incredibly effective and time-tested strategy, and we're seeing it used, yet again, by the Trump administration as it moves lightning quick to implode our democracy.

During the early days of the United States the wealthy landowners used us vs. them to pit poor white workers against enslaved Africans. After all, it wouldn't do to have those two groups banding together to rise up against the powerful few. Instead, better to give the poor white folks at least one group of people toward whom they could feel superior, and it was easy enough to use skin color and other physical and cultural differences to drive that wedge in deep.

Black people were demonized, made out to be either hyper aggressive beasts (men) or hyper sexual wantons (women). Crimes were invented and applied to them. The myth of white women's sanctity was used to give white men something to fight to protect from their alleged aggression, something that's had deadly consequences time and again.



Donald J. Trump  
@realDonaldTrump

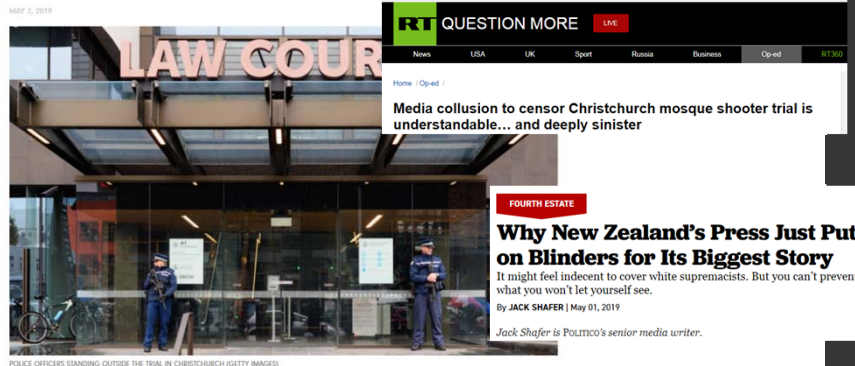
Follow

The FAKE NEWS media (failing @nytimes, @NBCNews, @ABC, @CBS, @CNN) is not my enemy, it is the enemy of the American People!

10:48 AM - 18 Feb 2017

51,281 162,370

# Christchurch



Overseas critics don't get why our terror trial reporting restrictions matter

<https://thespinoff.co.nz/media/02-05-2019/overseas-critics-dont-get-why-our-terror-trial-reporting-restrictions-matter/>

May 2019

### Christchurch trial: New Zealand media agree to curb white supremacy coverage

Reporting guidelines devised and signed by five major news organisations  
 1 May 2019



A copy of the agreement, signed by the heads of RNZ, TVNZ, Mediaworks, NZME and Stuff, says they fear the accused could use his trial “as a platform to amplify white supremacist and/or terrorist views or ideology”, and preventative action needed to be taken to limit his audience and exposure.

“We are also mindful of our role as the ‘eyes and ears of the public’ in the context of court reporting,” the agreement states.

“In this instance, we acknowledge the particular importance of this function, given the many victims’ friends and families outside [New Zealand](#) who may otherwise be unable to engage in the trial process.”



## Stuart Hall: ‘The West and the Rest’

- [discourse](#) which lumps all “non-Western” countries together as inferior to so-called Western countries.
- The notion of the West is also a [discursive construction](#) – that is, it is constructed through language, it is not determined by geography.
  - East/West?
  - ‘New’ world?



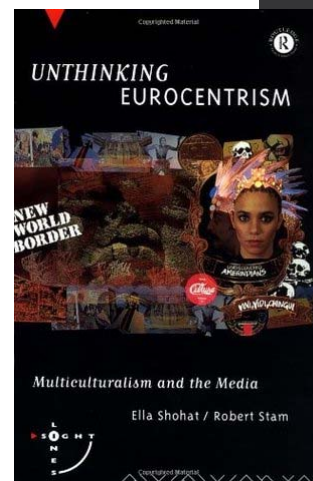
## Michel Foucault:

- Questions the notion of 'Truth', 'facts'
- Real effects in practice, because people act on what they see as 'true'.
- It is power, rather than the facts about reality, which make things 'true', which produces 'knowledge'.
- **The question of whether a discourse is true or false is less important than whether it is effective in practice.**



## EUROCENTRISM

- an approach that takes European/Western values, judgements, beliefs and cultures as normal, natural and ideal
- makes European/Western values central, and dismisses others to the periphery

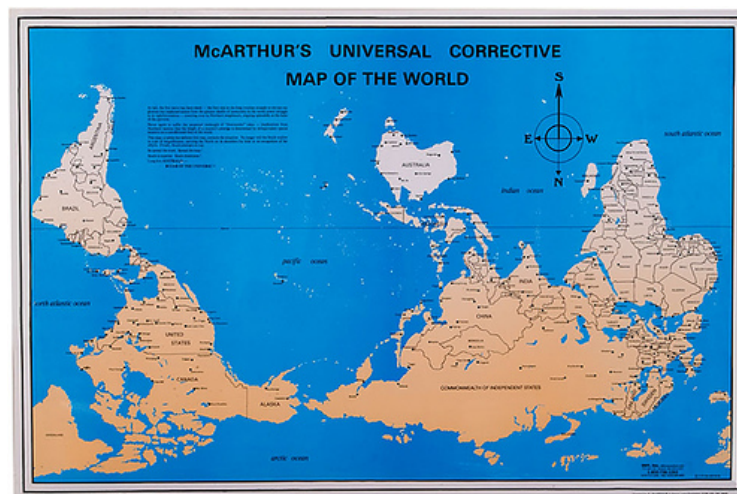




"Eurocentrism, like Renaissance perspectives in painting, envisions the world from a **single privileged point**. . . Eurocentrism bifurcates the world into the "West and the Rest" and organizes everyday language into **binaristic heirarchies** implicitly flattering to Europe: our 'nations,' their 'tribes'; our 'religions,' their 'superstitions'; our 'culture,' their 'folklore'; our 'art,' their 'artifacts'; our 'demonstrations,' their 'riots'; our 'defense,' their 'terrorism.' "

- Shohat, Ella and Robert Stam. "Unthinking Eurocentrism".

## Stuart McArthur



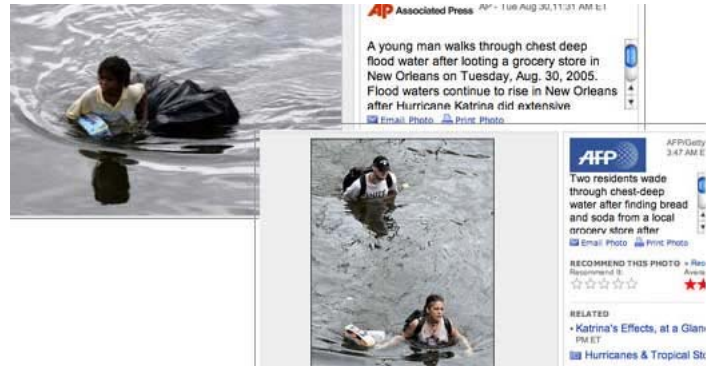
## Orientalism

- “Orientalism can be discussed and analysed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient – dealing with it by making statements about it, authorising views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism is a Western style for dominating, restructuring and having authority over the Orient.”

• (Edward Said *Orientalism* p. 3)



## Discursive Constructions



*Guardian*, announcing a series of articles on British Muslims after September 11:

“How much do we know about them?”

## Discourse Analysis

- Syntax
- Structure
- Genre
- Context
  
- Social characteristics/practices
- Ideology
- Power



- Refugee
- Immigrant
- Freedom fighter
- Terrorist
- Riot
- Protest



## Stuart Hall

- **Overt racism:** media give favourable coverage to what are explicitly or openly racist positions or arguments.
- **Inferential racism:** “those seemingly naturalized representations of situations where racist premises or propositions are being inscribed in the media covered *as a set of unquestioned assumptions*”.



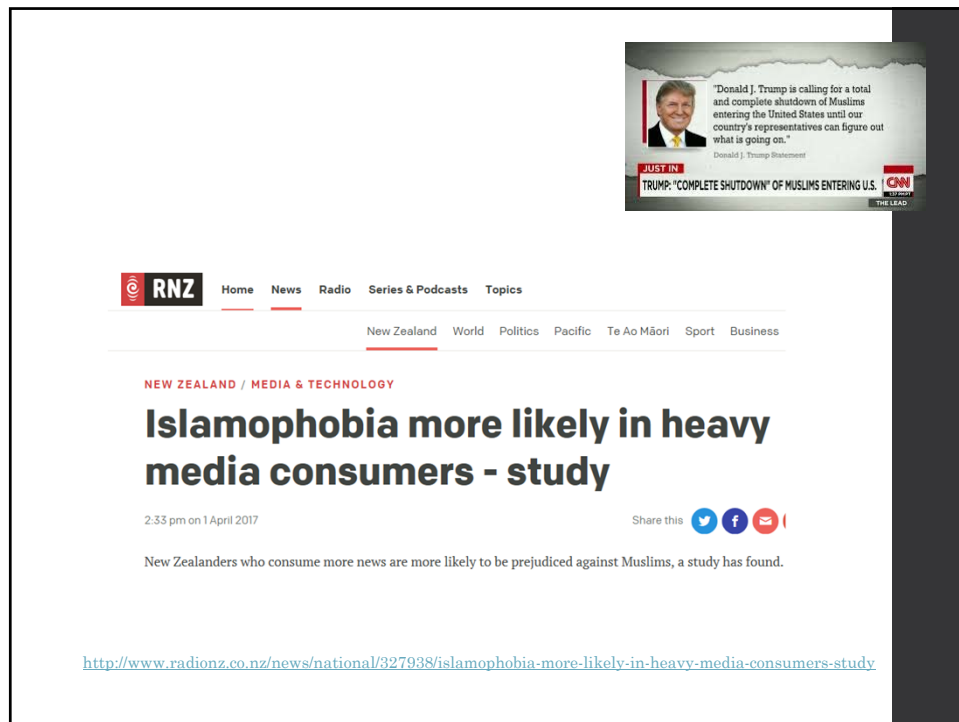


## Key Questions:

- Who is/is not quoted?
- Who is/is not given credence by title?
- Where are those cited positioned within the news report
- Whose ideas are supported/questioned?
- Which details are included or excluded?








## News and Indigenous peoples

- Unlike other ethnic minority groups, the historical relation of indigenous peoples to contemporary nation states gives them a distinctive foundation for particular legal and moral claims on the state
- Increased public activity by indigenous peoples to ask more assertively for both the return of resources taken from them, and for the wider acknowledgment of their languages and cultures
- This brings indigenous peoples into direct conflict with the State and the dominant culture, within which mainstream media is based



The collage includes several media snippets:

- separatism warning from Winston Peters** (dated 14 Feb 2019)
- Special privileges for Maori replace doing the right thing**
- Beaches Iwi Kiwi** (National Party logo)
- TREATYGATE** "Wake Up New Zealand We're Being Conned"
- NO POINT CELEBRATING WAITANGI DAY** (Cartoon by Paul Holmes)
- Duncan Garner: Dear NZ, how do we want to look in 20 years?**
- Martin van Beynen: Airport search does not justify Muslim victimhood**
- Paul Holmes: Waitangi Day a complete waste**
- No special privilege for Europeans anywhere** (with subtext: "Maori expect special privilege because they were the first inhabitants of New Zealand. Is this racist? You bet it is.")

- To different degrees, dominant media represent indigenous issues as a threat to the dominant group
- Indigenous peoples, then, are even more likely than other ethnic minority groups to be cast as a “them” to “us”, and a threat to “the nation”

- Efforts to reclaim their resources - puts them in conflict with the State
- Too often, mainstream media has represented such claims as “taking something away from “us”.
- Power of mainstream media in determining the majorities’ perceptions of indigenous peoples
- <https://thespinoff.co.nz/atea/30-03-2019/media-maori-and-me/>



## Wilson and Gutierrez (in Allen chapter)

- the coverage of people of colour by white news organisations goes through five developmental phases:
  - exclusionary phase
  - threatening-issue phase
  - confrontation phase
  - stereotypical coverage phase
  - multiracial coverage phase

## In New Zealand ....

The five developmental phases that Wilson and Gutierrez have discovered in American mass media are *not* chronological.

Instead, examples of the first four of these five developmental phases can be regularly observed.

To what extent is this still true in 2019?



<http://www.maoritelevision.com/news/national/native-affairs-media-panel>

## Native Affairs - Media Panel

By Mihingarangi Forbes 9:11pm, Monday 13 April 2015



When it comes to news the old saying is "If it bleeds it leads" and, when it comes to reporting on Māori, privilege and gravy trains make for better headlines than land alienation and inter-generational poverty.

## Mainstream Media

- Negative representations
- Misrepresentations
- Simplistic stereotypes
- Absence of Māori realities in "mainstream" news
- Romanticisation of Māori
- Historical inaccuracies

### Otago Daily Times

Dunedin 13 | 11 Wednesday, 12 April 2017 Send us news & photos

News Sport Life & Style Entertainment Business Regions Op

Wednesday, 12 April 2017

#### Woman's DNA 'full blooded Maori'

Facebook 0 Twitter 17

News » National

1 Comment

A DNA test appears to have found a woman with 100% Maori DNA.

An analysis of the DNA of Orini Kaipara (33) has shown that, despite her having both Maori and Pakeha ancestry, her genes only contain Maori DNA. That makes her, in her own words, a "full-blooded Maori".

Culturally, people identify as Maori through their whakapapa, while legally a person is defined as Maori if they are of Maori descent, even through one long-distant ancestor.

However, the intermingling of different ethnicities in New Zealand over the past 200 years means all Maori people are thought to have some non-Maori ancestry, so would not be expected to have 100% Maori DNA.

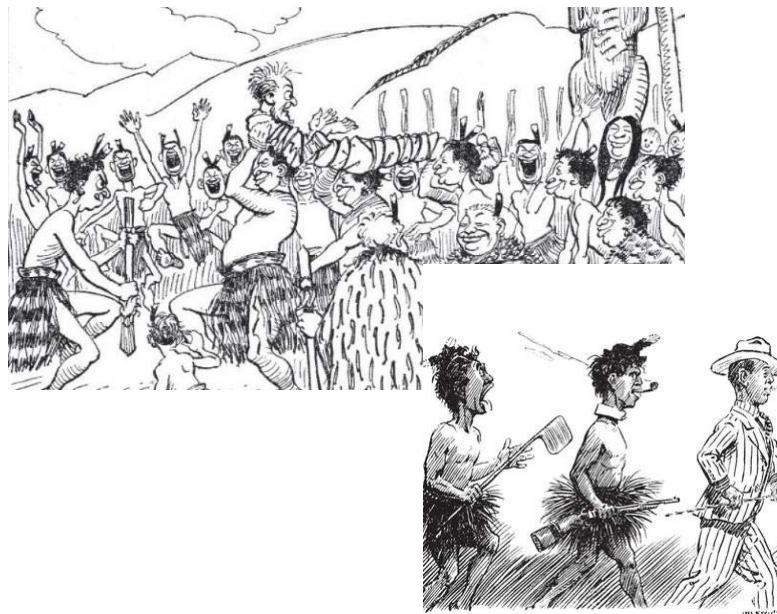


Orini Kaipara. Photos: Twitter

## Cartoons



<https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/politics/107316404/racism-and-cartoons-where-do-you-draw-the-line>  
<https://www.stuff.co.nz/life-style/103871652/cunning-deceitful-savages-200-years-of-mori-bad-press>



THREE GENERATIONS TO MAKE A GENTLEMAN™







## Indigenous media:

- 1) to rescue the language,
- 2) to increase self-esteem,
- 3) to combat negative images,
- 4) to work for great cohesiveness and, through this, for political influence,
- 5) to provide a visible and audible symbol of indigenous society,
- 6) to provide an outlet for creative production,
- 7) to provide a source of employment.

- Tangata Whenua
  - <http://news.tangatawhenua.com/>
- IndyMedia
  - <http://www.indymedia.org.nz/>



<http://www.maoritelevision.com/tv/shows/te-kaea>



## Refugees and Asylum Seekers



## Patterns from a range of studies

- “rather than being presented as people who are trying to escape threat, they are, in most cases, represented as *the* threat” (Bailey and Harindranath, 2003, 283)
- media reports draw on nationalistic discourses along themes of familiarity, security and a sense of community of ‘us’ and ‘our home’, which exclude asylum seekers (Saxton, 2003)

- News coverage of refugees and asylum seekers falls into binary oppositions which “constantly simplify complex situations, whether in debates about terrorism, which invokes the other as evil, or about refugees, which reach back to colonial representations of non-Western populations as duplicitous and dangerous to Western values” (Bailey and Harindranath, 2005, p. 277)
- Language used: ‘flood’, ‘tidal wave’

- The dominance of particular ways of framing asylum seekers means that the term itself has become degraded such that it seems to automatically suggest illegality



Syrian children last week at a refugee camp in Lebanon. Hassan Ammar/Associated Press





**EXCLUSIVE**

**REFUGEE £50K BID** Criminal refugee suing for £50K compo over 'false imprisonment' and attempts to deport him

NEWS >

**THE Sun** THE SUN, A NEWS UK COMPANY

London Now 10°C 3am 9°C

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**RAPIST'S £27K COMPO** Illegal immigrant jailed for rape attempt gets £27K for being in prison TOO LONG while victim gets just £7K

Qarani had no ID papers meaning officials could not prove his nationality and deport him

**EXCLUSIVE** By Richard Moriarty and Dean Wilkins  
10th April 2017, 12:23 am | Updated: 11th April 2017, 9:28 am

COMMENTS

AN illegal immigrant jailed for a rape attempt will get £27,000 compensation because he was in prison too long. It is almost £20,000 more than his victim received.

<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3045468/Up-700-feared-dead-migrant-boat-sinks-Libya-newspaper.html>

9:22 am dailymail.co.uk

**'Most catastrophic maritime tragedy since World War Two': More than 900 feared dead after migrants desperate to get into Europe rush towards rescue ship and capsize their packed fishing boat**

**CRAFT POSITION**  
19-APR-2015  
04:36:54  
Longitude: 12°40'N  
Latitude: 17°00'E  
Altitude: 10m

**AUTO IN BLACK HOT**

**LEVEL**  
10:15

The Italian Coast Guard (pictured) is coordinating the rescue operation, now involving dozens of navy and merchant vessels from Italy and Malta. So far, only 28 people have been rescued following the incident, which took place some 120 miles south of the Italian island of Lampedusa just after midnight Sunday. The 68ft fishing vessel, believed to have been carrying hundreds of African migrants, had sent out a distress call after a steering failure had left them adrift, and a Portuguese merchant ship arrived at the scene. However, as it approached, dozens of people, desperate to be saved, moved from one side to the other and the boat overturned (inset top right shows migrants arriving in Italy yesterday).

**PR: Christina Milian** rights for white jeans and plaid shirt as she leaves London after night out. The singer was looking remarkably fresh-faced.

**All things bright and beautiful: Emma** Reardon is a knock out in orange dress with matching lipstick for dinner with the girls. Knockout look.

**It's paid off: House of** Cards star Robin Wright on having no regrets about ditching Hollywood fame for family (and embracing turning 50 with a boytoy).

**How Zara Phillips** hit the exercise bike to get her fitness back after birth of baby Mia as she aims for Rio Olympics. Zara, 33, is vying for a place on Team GB.

**Pregnant Ashlee** Simpson and husband Evan Ross stack up on a block of groceries together. Couple could their Sunday for a shop.

**I don't like muscle** boys... a man has to be a man! Giorgio Armani officiates men who work out too much or 'dress homosexual' and women with breast.





**Newshub.**  
11 April 2017

AUCKLAND 24° 19°  
MORE WEATHER >

HOME NEW ZEALAND WORLD POLITICS SPORT HEALTH ENTERTAINMENT MON

## Brutal street fight filmed outside Polyfest

19/03/2017 | Sarah Templeton

Polyfest organisers have distanced themselves from a "disgusting" street fight caught on camera on Saturday afternoon near the south Auckland event.

Police have confirmed they were called to several incidents of "disorderly conduct and fighting outside the event" late Saturday afternoon and early evening.

Polyfest, an "important showcase of New Zealand's diverse cultures and a celebration of youth performance" according to its website, has been going since Wednesday.

Theresa Howard from Polyfest says they are disappointed to have the incident linked to the event.

"It's disgusting behaviour that we do take seriously, and we will be conducting our own internal investigation" she told Newshub.

**1 news now** NEW ZEALAND

## Raw: Video emerges of brutal south Auckland brawl outside Polyfest

Sun, Mar 19 | Share | Facebook | Twitter | G+ | Email

Source: 1 news

Video has been posted online of a street fight which took place outside Polyfest in Manukau.

In the video, a group of males can be seen fighting, with two of them forced to the ground before being kicked several times.

A Police spokesperson told 1 NEWS they attended the incident just before 4pm on Te Irirangi Drive outside the Manukau Sports Bowl after receiving "numerous" calls.

“Every culture has a right and a responsibility to present its own culture to its own people. That responsibility is so fundamental it cannot be left in the hands of outsiders, nor be usurped by them.” (Barclay, 1990: 127)



Barry Barclay (Ngiti Apa), filmmaker and theorist



Ngati, 1987

## Further Reading

- MĀORI EXPERIENCES AND RESPONSES TO RACISM IN AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND
  - [http://www.journal.mai.ac.nz/sites/default/files/MAI%20Journal%20Vol.2\\_2%20pages%2063-77%20Moewaka%20Barnes%20et%20al..pdf](http://www.journal.mai.ac.nz/sites/default/files/MAI%20Journal%20Vol.2_2%20pages%2063-77%20Moewaka%20Barnes%20et%20al..pdf)
- [Stereotypical Constructions of the Maori 'Race' in the Media 1](#)
  - M Wall - New Zealand Geographer, 1997 - Wiley Online Library
- [Media, racism and public health psychology](#)
  - R Nairn, F Pega, T McCreanor... - Journal of Health ..., 2006 - journals.sagepub.com
- [The association of crime stories and Maori in Aotearoa New Zealand print media](#)
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