Police in the media:
A critical analysis of Police Ten 7

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A dissertation submitted to
Auckland University of Technology
in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Bachelor of Arts (Honours) in Criminology

2021

School of Social Sciences & Public Policy

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Abstract

The reality-TV show *Police Ten 7* has been under recent scrutiny by an Auckland Councillor and has stated that the show feeds racist stereotypes where young brown men are portrayed as "brutish" (Radio New Zealand, 2021c). This study seeks to determine whether his assumptions are correct by undertaking a content analysis of the TV show Police Ten 7 and highlighting the relevance of the findings through cultivation theory and labelling theory. In doing so, it seeks to analyse the show's portrayal of alleged offenders and reveal any disparities concerning the treatment of Māori and Pasifika individuals compared to Pākehā and their attitudes towards the police.

Several international studies have documented and investigated reality crime shows with results indicating an apparent inclination of ethnic minorities or non-white individuals to be intrinsically criminal (Dixon & Linz, 2000; Monk-Turner et al., 2007; Oliver, 1994, 2003; Oliver et al., 2007). In contrast, at a national level, literature on reality crime shows is almost non-existent, with the only study conducted in 2012 on *Police Ten 7*. Hence, this dissertation addresses a significant gap in the literature.

This research is based on 12 episodes taken from Season 27, Episodes 27-38, of *Police Ten 7*. The episodes were aired on New Zealand television from October 17th, 2020, to January 28th, 2021. Through content analysis, several variables were developed in collecting data relating to demographics, offences and arrests, time, verbal aggression, missing clothing, and gang connections.

The findings confirm that Māori and Pasifika are portrayed more often as criminals than police officers and are represented across more offence divisions than individuals identified as Pākehā. Further discrepancies were found in the substantially disproportionate TV airtime spent on each ethnic group. Overall, the study supports and confirms the results of previous research while also presenting several new findings, therefore, adding to the overall body of literature in the field.

Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

Attestation of Authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

_____	10/01/2022
Signature	Date

Acknowledgements

SIC • PARVIS • MAGNA

‘Greatness from small beginnings’

This Honours dissertation is the culmination of many hours of tears, blood, and sweat poured into every page and word. The completion of this research would not have been possible without several people who have blessed me with their knowledge, wisdom, support, and aroha during the entirety of my academic journey.

First and foremost, I would most especially like to give thanks to Dr Antje Deckert not only for the support and role you have played as my supervisor but for taking a chance on a young Māori boy all those years ago and letting me come back to AUT. The belief you had in me from that day has come to fruition and pushed me to better myself in my academic journey. Thank you for the knowledge and, most significantly, the time you have spent guiding me to succeed.

Secondly, I thank my secondary supervisor, Dr Juan Tauri, for providing the necessary cultural support during this research and breaking things down into simpler terms. Your name has come up several times in journals and books during my studies. The work you have done and continue to do for our people and Indigenous people worldwide is genuinely selfless. Thus, it was a pleasure to have you critique and support me.

Thirdly, I want to thank the criminology department and all the lecturers that I have met and pushed me during the course of my studies. A special thank you to Kirsten Stewart, Laumua Tunufa’i, and John Buttle. Your classes have helped shape the ideologies I have as a criminologist today.

To my friend Davis Pham, I thank you, friend. Thank you for pushing me to pursue postgraduate study a couple of years ago. Thank you for all the advice you have given me over the years and teaching me how to programme again. Without you, this research would not have been completed as well.

To my friends, Martha Fonise and Nirisha Singh, thank you for making classes fun and supporting me. The bonds we have forged over this year are something I hope does not fade. Thank you, my friends, thank you. (SHOTTIES, LADS! LOL)

Lastly, I give thanks to my whānau and, most significantly, my wahine Savanah Wijohn. Thank you for being my rock, pushing me to be my best, and challenging me when necessary. Without you, I would never have succeeded at all, so I thank you for bringing out my latent potential in all facets of life.

I hope this research serves as a calling for future Indigenous research and Indigenous perspectives of policing in New Zealand. This research is for my people, my Pasifika and Māori brothers and sisters.

He aha te mea nui o te ao?
He tāngata, he tāngata, he tāngata.

Ngā mihi nui ki a koutou!

Chapter 1 Introduction

Indigenous peoples across the globe have suffered under the enforcement of various legal policies and are continually exploited by media platforms and institutions. It is clear that the media, more specifically news platforms and companies, hold a significant influence over society and their perceptions of the criminal justice system and its key players (Allen & Bruce, 2017; Bradley & Walters, 2019; Bull, 2017; Doyle, 1998; Gilchrist, 2010; Harding, 2006; McGovern & Lee, 2010; McGregor, 2017; Oliver, 2003; Simmons & Lecouteur, 2008; van Dijk, 2016). Such media consumption can influence how an individual interprets reality, which can also shift their beliefs and attitudes towards an area, issue, or story (Allen & Bruce, 2017; Barnes et al., 2012; Doyle, 1998; McCreanor et al., 2014; Nairn et al., 2011; van Dijk, 2016). While applying such beliefs and attitudes to crime stories has actively damaged individuals' societal views by inciting irrational fears, society can also be blamed for choosing to consume such media (Bull, 2017). There is a focus within New Zealand media that Māori are 'the problem' that Māori are criminals, radicals, and dangerous (Barnes et al., 2012; Gregory et al., 2011; Matheson, 2007; McCreanor et al., 2014). Similar stories and portrayals are found within other Indigenous groups, such as the Aboriginal peoples of Australia and the Inuit and Metis peoples of Canada (Dell & Kilty, 2013; Gilchrist, 2010; Harding, 2006; McCausland, 2004; Simmons & Lecouteur, 2008).

1.1 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study and the researcher's intent was to investigate the portrayal of Māori and Pasifika individuals in crime media from a national context. Thus, the medium of *Police Ten 7* was selected to be investigated by the researcher. The researcher's interest in the topic stems from various research and assignments conducted in their undergraduate studies on the overrepresentation of Māori people in the New Zealand criminal justice system as a whole. As of September 2021, Māori make up 52.5% of the total prison populace (Department of Corrections, 2021). While the findings may differ from the official crime statistics, they reflect how the producers and New Zealand Police portray Māori and Pasifika people in crime media. Nevertheless, the study used a content analysis approach where several coding variables were drafted and used to analyse the show *Police Ten 7*.

1.2 Dissertation overview

Chapter 2 – Literature Review

Chapter 2 establishes the tone for this dissertation by delving into the literature on the position of police officers in society as gatekeepers of the criminal justice system and how their role and other factors play into the overrepresentation of Indigenous people across the globe. It also discusses the perspectives of the NZ Police towards Māori and vice-versa and issues such as unconscious bias and systemic racism. An overview of crime and racism in the media is provided, followed by Indigenous portrayals, both international and national, in the media. This chapter concludes with a discussion on police and crime shows and the research questions that guide this dissertation. The research questions are as follows; (1) Does 'Police Ten 7' portray Māori and Pasifika differently compared to Pākehā? If so, how? (2) What are the attitudes of Māori and Pasifika towards police in the show? (3) Is the portrayal of Māori and Pasifika in Police Ten 7 an accurate representation of the official statistics by offence? (4) What geographic areas are policed or shown more frequently in the show?

Chapter 3 – Methodology

Chapter 3 presents the show's format and the research design. This research draws on the transformative worldview and incorporates both a reductionist and an advocacy position. This research promotes awareness of Māori and Pasifika portrayals in crime media and advocates for change of said portrayals. It is guided by the following theories: cultivation theory and critical criminology, specifically labelling theory. Cultivation theory focuses on how people perceive media and the lasting effects media have on people (Morgan et al., 2014). Labelling theory focuses on how people internalise and conform to the labels that are placed upon them (Bradley & Walters, 2019; Tunufa'i, 2013). This study employs content analysis to present findings in a quantitative format as a research method.

Chapter 4 – Findings

Chapter 4 presents the data collection and content analysis results of season 27 episodes 27–38 of *Police Ten 7*, which aired on New Zealand television from the 17th of October 2020 to the 28th of January 2021. Various findings are presented relating to demographic data, offences and arrests, time, verbal aggression, missing clothing, and gang connections. Subsequently, some findings are also contrasted with official statistics drafted from official sources such as Statistics New Zealand and the NZ Police.

Chapter 5 – Discussion

Chapter 5 delves into the interpretation and analysis of the data presented in Chapter 4. Firstly, addressing the research questions specified at the end of Chapter 2 and then discussing the findings under consideration of relevant theories. As mentioned in the literature review, ideas such as Māori and Pasifika portrayed as the 'other' are explored and how this negatively affects the audiences' perception of the two social groups.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

The literature review will first delve into police as the gatekeepers of the criminal justice system and overrepresentation. Secondly, the police, unconscious bias, and systemic racism within New Zealand are addressed. Lastly, an overview of crime and racism in the media will cover the following subtopics: media platforms, Indigenous peoples in the media both internationally and nationally, and TV crime shows.

2.1 Gatekeeping and Overrepresentation

Police officers are said to be the criminal justice system's gatekeepers, possessing the authority to enforce the law and arrest individuals to maintain justice and peace (Latu & Lucas, 2008). They decide whether a person should be investigated or prosecuted for an offence (Linkhorn & Dawson, 2019). However, research shows that police officers do not always apply and enforce the law fairly across various communities and societies (Hook, 2009a; Neusteter et al., 2019). Furthermore, the potential for bias is vital as several studies on policing and applying various frameworks, and policies indicate that participation within the criminal justice system is determined and dependant on the organisation (Bradley & Walters, 2019; Neusteter et al., 2019; Rasmussen, 2020). Therefore, the methods of policing that officers utilise can significantly affect various communities and individuals' experiences of the criminal justice system. This is evident in the case of community policing, where officers prioritise community involvement and presence to develop the police-community relationship (Segrave & Ratcliffe, 2004; Skogan, 2004). Results from utilising a community-based approach include increased levels of police legitimacy, and the community gain a deeper understanding of the officer's role (Crowl, 2017; Segrave & Ratcliffe, 2004; Skogan, 2004).

On the other hand, issues start to arise when police make uninformed decisions, either due to lack of training or scarcity of resources (Rasmussen, 2020) or when they target specific crimes and over-police certain areas and communities (Cunneen & Tauri, 2016). A police officer holds a significant amount of power and responsibility. As a result, these gatekeepers largely determine access to programmes or whether people are arrested (see, for example, Rasmussen, 2020).

Minorities, Indigenous peoples, and people of colour tend to fall under the regimes of mass incarceration, victimisation and over-policing tactics where such individuals become falsely equated with criminality by the gatekeepers (Bradley & Walters, 2019; Cunneen & Tauri, 2016; Maxwell & Smith, 1998; Neusteter et al., 2019). For example, in New Zealand, the arrest statistics by offence overrepresent Māori across most categories. These higher arrest rates translate into higher conviction and incarceration rates (Bradley & Walters, 2019). Māori adults make up 44% of total convictions across all offences in New Zealand (Stats NZ, 2021b). Furthermore, statistics from 2015 show that Māori made up just over 50% of the general prison population (Linkhorn & Dawson, 2019). This compares to Māori being representative of 16.5% of the general New Zealand population (Stats NZ, 2019a, 2021b). This can be interpreted as Māori being intrinsically criminal and more likely to commit a crime and be convicted of an offence or that there are fundamental flaws within New Zealand's criminal justice system. Such statistics may also reflect negatively on the NZ Police, as skewed statistics may represent police officer racial bias and negative attitudes towards and negative perceptions of Māori (Maxwell & Smith, 1998).

Similar statistics on the overrepresentation of Indigenous people are seen in other settler-colonial states such as Canada, Australia, and the US. Statistics within the Canadian criminal justice system of Indigenous inmates within federal institutions show they make up 28% of the prison population while only comprising 4.1% of the general Canadian population (Department of Justice, 2020). Similar numbers and overrepresentation can be seen in the Australian jail population, where Aboriginal people account for 28% of the prison population. However, they make up 3% of the general Australian population (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2018). In the case of the US and Native Americans in prison, it is hard to quantify as they are often represented under the category of 'other' compared to 'Black', 'White', and 'Hispanic' (Cunneen & Tauri, 2016). Native Americans are still overrepresented. The Bureau of Justice Statistics (2020) identified that American Indian and Alaskan Natives (AIAN) had an incarceration rate of 401 per 100,000 AIAN capita. Deckert (2014) provides additional information that enables a thorough comparison of imprisonment rates across the four settler-colonial states. For their social group, Australian Aboriginals had an incarceration rate of 1,178 per 100,000, Canadian First Nations had a rate of 507 per 100,000, US First Nations (Native American and

Native Hawaiian) had a rate of 809 per 100,000, and Māori had a rate of 791 per 100,000 (Deckert, 2014).[1]

However, it is hard to pinpoint one reason why Indigenous people are overrepresented across the criminal justice systems of many settler-colonial states. Instead, we can attribute it to many factors that have progressively expanded over time (Bradley & Walters, 2019; Cunneen & Tauri, 2016). Factors including but not limited to the following will be discussed: colonisation, acts and legislation, and law enforcement practices.

A significant factor that has played a prominent role in overrepresentation is colonialism. Thus, understanding the effects and ongoing impact of colonialism on modern society is critical in the deconstruction and comprehension of the criminal justice system. Colonisation was essentially the practice of assimilation and then later amalgamation, where Indigenous groups were forced to adhere to a new system established by European settlers (Cunneen & Tauri, 2016; Moon, 1993, 2002). This practice of colonisation essentially altered the lives of many Indigenous peoples as land, language, cultural traditions and their lives were stripped from them (Cunneen & Tauri, 2016; Jackson, 1987, 1988; Moon, 1993). However, some scholars argue against the colonial factors and contexts that affect Indigenous overrepresentation in the criminal justice system (Snowball & Weatherburn, 2008; Weatherburn, 2010). Tauri (2013) states that such scholars have blatantly ignored Indigenous research methods and data gathering. Instead, they use Western methods and statistical analyses that are ineffective in Indigenous research; most notably they ignore the structural nature of Indigenous engagement with criminal justice, preferring to focus on individual proclivity (to commit crime) and criminogenic influences (such as drug and alcohol addiction) (Cunneen & Tauri, 2016; Smith, 2012; Webb, 2017).

In the context of New Zealand, an entirely new government and justice system was placed over all inhabitants during the 1800s. However, this system was alien to Māori (Cunneen & Tauri, 2016; Jackson, 1988, 1990). The legal system and the government implemented various measures and laws to oppress and criminalise Māori through acts such as the *Native Land Act 1865*, the *Native School Act 1867*, and the *Tohunga Suppression Act*

[1] Statistics from Deckert's report were retrieved from: Australian Bureau of Statistics 2006, 2012; Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics 2006; Statistics Canada 2009; Statistics New Zealand 2007a, 2007b.

1907 (Cunneen & Tauri, 2016; Moon, 1993). Also, other acts such as the *Domestic Violence Act 1995* have been shown to have some level of influence on how Māori and Pasifika people are dealt with in the criminal justice system (Hook, 2009a, 2009b). Furthermore, Māori are also victims of unfair processes in the criminal justice system, where sentencing and convictions are handed out more often to those of Māori descent, significantly contributing to Māori overrepresentation (Bradley & Walters, 2019; Latu & Lucas, 2008).

The practices of state agencies, particularly the police, may significantly impact arrest statistics, imprisonment figures, and overrepresentation (Jackson, 1988; Linkhorn & Dawson, 2019; Webb, 2017). As stated prior, the way in which police enforce the law is not done fairly, with specific communities, areas, and people being targeted by different police tactics and practices (Jackson, 1988). During the COVID-19 pandemic of 2020, Māori still continued to be disproportionately targeted with various experiences of police warnings, court proceedings, and offences (Deckert et al., 2021; Stanley & Bradley, 2020, 2021).

2.2 New Zealand police perspectives, unconscious bias/systemic racism and Māori perceptions of police

Singer and Singer (1984) conducted one of the earliest studies on attitudes that officers in the NZ Police have towards different ethnic groups using a quantitative approach through an attitude scale. The study revealed which adjectives participants associated with the ethnic groups most. Māori were associated with the following adjectives: by recruits – friendly, law-breaking, and generous; as for the adjectives selected by senior policemen – humble, friendly, dumb, ignorant, dirty, law-breaking, and generous. When compared to the adjectives associated with English immigrants, there is a clear bias and difference. Recruits associated the following adjectives with English immigrants: impatient, talkative, boastful, clever, knowledgeable, clean, law-abiding, and generous.

Two reports were conducted in 1998 inquiring into Māori perceptions of the NZ Police and NZ Police perceptions of Māori. Both of the inquiries were commissioned by the NZ Police and Te Puni Kokiri to Victoria Link (James, 2000; Maxwell & Smith, 1998;

Whaiti & Roguski, 1998).[2] Due to the reports being co-commissioned by the NZ Police, there may be some bias within the reports, and some findings may have been redacted to refrain from tarnishing the NZ Police's reputation and image. These considerations are based on the fact that the NZ Police are known for guarding data and research findings as they have restricted access to information and banned researchers in the past (NZ Herald, 2015). The first report investigated police perceptions of Māori and collected data using questionnaires, and it is arguably one of the most significant reports to date into NZ Police perceptions (Maxwell & Smith, 1998). Results were very mixed in the study where there was justification for some of the biases officers held towards Māori and Pasifika people. However, some participants believed officers had a zero-tolerance attitude towards offenders of such ethnicities. As a result, Māori overrepresentation within the criminal justice system reflects the inconsistencies of policing, which may further reflect prejudice and police attitudes (Bradley & Walters, 2019; Cunneen & Tauri, 2016; Elers, 2012; Jackson, 1988; Latu & Lucas, 2008; Linkhorn & Dawson, 2019). Further, findings in the report indicate that a third[3] of participants were more likely to suspect Māori of committing an offence and inquire/question Māori if seen driving a 'flash' vehicle (Maxwell & Smith, 1998). The study was self-reported by officers and respondents through questionnaires; therefore, some may have omitted their true beliefs.

Later that year, Te Whaiti and Roguski (1998) conducted a qualitative report titled *Māori perceptions of the police*. Findings showed that Māori had negative attitudes and a distrust of authority in general and that negative experiences with the police further reinforced such distrust and attitudes. As a result, Māori were less likely to aid officers and seek help from the police, and there was also an overall distrust towards the Police Complaints Authority. For example, a few respondents stated the difficulties of laying a complaint against an officer when it is their word against yours.

More recently, literature has emerged that discusses the NZ Police and the role of 'cultural liaison' officers in preventing crime and community policing (Heyer, 2019).[4] While the study does not explicitly examine police perceptions of Māori, it investigates the role of officers who interact proactively within Māori communities. Therefore, Heyer's (2019)

[2] In 1997 the NZ Police and Te Puni Kokiri commissioned research from Victoria Link on Perceptions of Māori and Police. The first being *Māori Perceptions of Police*, by Pania Te Whaiti and Michael Roguski from He Pārekereke. The second being *Police Perceptions of Māori*, by Gabrielle Maxwell and Catherine Smith from the Institute of Criminology.
[3] A total of 737 respondents were apart of Maxwell & Smiths (1998) study.
[4] Cultural liaison officers who are Māori are called Iwi liaison officers.

study may provide insights into police interactions with Māori. The study explored why officers opted to be cultural liaison officers, what training and programmes were used in preparing the officers for the role, and how the role could be improved. Reasons for the respondents' wanting to be a cultural liaison officer were to give back and make a positive difference within their communities (Jaeger & Vitalis, 2005), intervention, preventing issues in their communities, and improving the overall relationship between police and their community. While some respondents said the role was rewarding, many believed there needs to be more trust within the NZ Police to allow cultural liaison officers to perform their jobs and commitments to Te Tiriti. Another significant finding of the study was that simply increasing the ethnic diversity of officers, for example, Māori, will not directly lead to organizational change if the officers are not allowed to be 'Māori'. Subsequently, officers who are simply recruited because of their indigeneity or ethnicity will not be able to use their cultural competencies, therefore leading to little engagement with communities (Bartkowiak-Théron & Asquith, 2015; Heyer, 2019).

NZ Police have consistently sought to increase the diversification of their force through various recruitment strategies and initiatives (Carter, 2018; Kaipara, 2021; Kidd, 2012; New Zealand Police, 2019a, 2019b; Thomas, 2014). However, in addressing community engagement and overrepresentation, an increasing ethnic representation may be insignificant (Bartkowiak-Théron & Asquith, 2015; Heyer, 2019; Whaiti & Roguski, 1998). Steve Elers, a former policeman, touched more on the issue and stated that he wished to see an increase in Māori representation of those who are 'Māori' *and* in touch with their Tikanga and Te Ao Māori worldview (Jaeger & Vitalis, 2005) compared to officers who just "happen to be Māori" (Thomas, 2014). This is exemplified in the statistics collected from the 2013 census, where over 16% of Māori[5] did not know their Iwi (Stats NZ, 2013). Despite seeking more ethnic diversity across the NZ Police force, one Māori woman was rejected twice in her application process to become an officer. She believes she 'upset' an officer during a stage of the process (Satherley, 2018). From this perspective, it is plausible to assume that the NZ Police also gatekeep during the recruitment process, deciding who gets to be part of the 'boys in blue'. Having said that, officers of ethnic backgrounds other than Pākehā[6] remain optimistic and seek to bridge

[5] According to the 2013 census 668,724 people were of Māori descent while only 598,605 identified as Māori.

[6] Māori, Pasifika, and Asian officers in both Jaegar and Vitalis (2005) and Heyer's (2019) study sought to make a difference in their community.

cultural differences, make a change, and repair the overall overrepresentation of ethnic groups within the criminal justice system (Heyer, 2019; Jaeger & Vitalis, 2005). Nonetheless, NZ Police have been embroiled in several controversies over the years, most recently being called out by the public and media for photographing Māori youth and storing the images in their database (Radio New Zealand, 2021a, 2021e). Furthermore, NZ Police have been consistent in their reasoning for several years, pinning actions that could be quantified as racist practices to "unconscious bias" (Radio New Zealand, 2021b). Police Commissioner Andrew Coster has admitted to the NZ Police having unconscious bias but disagrees that police are racist (Forbes, 2021; Radio New Zealand, 2021c). Coster also stated that the media tends to focus on the extreme ends of issues where there is no "middle ground" because it "doesn't sell or make great TV" (Radio New Zealand, 2021c).

2.3 Indigenous Representation in the media and Crime Shows

Media consumption and use have vastly changed since the 20th century, where accessibility to various news and social media outlets are now at the tip of an individual's fingers (Dunas & Vartanov, 2020; Lotz, 2018; Morgan et al., 2014; Taneja et al., 2012; Zhang & Hingle, 2017). Issues might arise from ardent media consumption, such as propagating fraudulent or slanted news, which is extremely common in the media, affecting Indigenous peoples (Gilchrist, 2010; Gregory et al., 2011; Harding, 2006; McCausland, 2004; McCreanor et al., 2014).

2.3.1 International media portrayals of Indigenous people

Indigenous peoples internationally are taken advantage of through various media and news platforms where stories get contextualised to fit a false or skewed narrative. This narrative or storytelling of events is described as an 'objective truth' in news reporting (McCausland, 2004).

A qualitative study investigated various newspaper articles, television and radio interviews of two 'riot' events in the Sydney suburbs of Redfern and Macquarie Fields (Simmons & Lecouteur, 2008). The study extracted and analysed data in relation to the cause of conflict, attributions of blame from a group versus individual comparison, and attributions of blame from a stable versus temporary standpoint. A total of nine extracts from various sources were taken, although only two extracts and the latter riot event will

be discussed. The Redfern riots are attributed to the death of a 17-year-old Aboriginal boy.[7] Locals believed the boy had died due to being chased by police and claimed that harassment and abuse by police were common in the area. In retaliation for the boy's death on the same night, 200 residents and police officers engaged in a riot, which journalists dubbed "The Redfern Riot."

In comparison, in Macquarie Fields, four nights of rioting were sparked by 200 local youth and police concerning the deaths of two non-Indigenous boys aged 17 and 19-years-old. Their deaths were also the result of a police chase where they crashed into a tree. In one extract about Redfern, broad statements such as "Police and Aboriginal relations are bad" and "Young people have no fear of the police, and many grow up expecting to go to prison" were made. According to Simmons and Lecouteur (2008), the over-generalizing position of "Aboriginal" links the construction of young Aboriginal people with the expectation of going to prison, contributing to the perception of Aboriginal people as inherently criminal. In the Macquarie Field case, however, the media portrayed the riot as something abnormal and caused by a group of young thugs, and it was out of character for such a thing to happen there (Simmons & Lecouteur, 2008).

Similar portrayals of Indigenous peoples are found in Canada. Gilchrist (2010) explored the difference in coverage of disappearances/murders between Aboriginal women and White women. Several articles were analysed in relation to how many times the victim was mentioned in any capacity and how many articles discussed the victim or case. Results found that a total of 511 times missing White women were mentioned in the local press, while only 82 times were Aboriginal women mentioned. Similar ratios are found in the number of articles discussing the victim/case. A total of 187 articles were written concerning the White women, while a smaller total of 53 articles were written about the missing Aboriginal women. Harding (2006) states that news issues concerning discourse on Aboriginal people and issues have broadly remained consistent for over a century where the dominant interests of the populace are reported upon and protected while Aboriginal interests are not, as they are identified as a threat and abnormal. While this sentiment may ring true, there are some cases of an ethnocentric framework prevalent in some news media and the inclusion of Aboriginal voices in said media (Harding, 2006).

[7] T.J Hickey a 17-year-old Aboriginal boy had died through being impaled by a fence after a bicycle crash.

2.3.2 National media portrayals of Indigenous people

The growth and impact of technology also coincide with the increasing number of news and media companies, organisations, and outlets (McCreanor et al., 2014). This growth and use of technology have also affected how we receive and perceive media, specifically crime media and cultural representation (Allen & Bruce, 2017; Barnes et al., 2012; McCreanor et al., 2014; Nairn et al., 2011). However, the consumption of media by New Zealanders has evolved and changed, with online formats being added to traditional sources, such as newspapers. Māori have been portrayed as uncivilised, violent, and savages since the European invasion of Aotearoa, and such stereotypes have influenced the representation and relationship of such terms with Māori in contemporary society (Allen & Bruce, 2017; Bull, 2017; Cunneen & Tauri, 2016; Linkhorn & Dawson, 2019; Moon, 1993, 1993; Nairn et al., 2006, 2011).

A study conducted in 2014 investigated newspaper items from 2007 and 2008. A data subset of 110 stories was grouped as part of the crime category and found that over 80 of the stories had labelled Māori as criminals (McCreanor et al., 2014).[8] Māori had made up just under half of those accused or arrested for crimes within the total data subset of 156 people accused.[9] In contrast, 30 offenders were described as Māori or Pasifika from that subset. It indicated that Māori were overrepresented in proportion to the New Zealand populace, this time through media association. McCreanor et al. (2014) further selected two stories and used a discursive analysis to show the rhetoric and interpretation between the two. In the first case, a Māori man named Heremaia Smith, head of a Māori department was charged with several sexual offences against allegedly underaged females. A generalised reaction of disgust was made prominent by the New Zealand Herald and the further pinning of the failure of care by Māori institutions. In the other story, two helicopter pilots, David and Morgan Saxton, had stolen a large amount of pounamu that belonged to a Māori tribe. Seven articles covered the story, and only one identified David Saxton as Pākehā, with the latter implying it was opposing iwi interests. The majority of articles highlighted the repercussions and that the offenders were ordered to pay reparations to the tribe for an amount of $300,000. Supporters had conducted a protest on the side of the two offenders, noting that the punishments were unjust, stating that the imprisonment term of two years was ‘harsh’ compared to other crimes such as

[8] 100 crime stories were initially analysed although a further 10 was added after re-examining the raw dataset.
[9] 156 people were found to be accused, arrested, or sought for crimes, Māori made up 76 of the 156.

violence and sexual offences. Instead, it was the tribe who was suffering under negative connotations, with a journalist simply dismissing the value of the pounamu. Furthermore, claims of pressuring police and hiring private investigators by the tribe were also made, further highlighting the Māori tribe as the 'bad guys'. The point is that there is a stark difference between both stories, especially when the offender is Māori compared to one who is Pākehā (Allen & Bruce, 2017; Barnes et al., 2012; Coxhead, 2005; Gregory et al., 2011; McCreanor et al., 2014; Nairn et al., 2011).

Further media scrutiny and misrepresentation were identified by Allen and Bruce (2017) in their analysis of news media representations of South Auckland. The authors conducted a content and textual analysis of 388 articles from various news sources in 2014.[10] The findings were consistent with other literature depicting South Auckland as being outside of the social and cultural norms of an otherwise Pākehā centric perspective. Furthermore, 38% of articles focused on criminal activity by Māori and Pasifika people, where a common theme was skewering and sensationalising topics to further defame both cultures and increase negative stereotypes. Nairn et al. (2011) point out that due to the significant culture in New Zealand is that of Pākehā, the overarching customary beliefs, values, and practices become determined by said group. Moreover, anything that branches or defers from this 'normal' and Pākehā centric culture is abnormal and, therefore, more newsworthy (Nairn et al., 2011). Also, as identified in an earlier study, the issue is not one of the recent times but has been a consistent issue for several years as pointed out by Coxhead (2005), Māori people are equated with a crime where the negative portrayal is amplified with such crime stories.

2.3.3 Police and crime shows'

Police and reality-based crime shows have become staples in the media since the last century. They have helped provide insight into what police officers do as part of their job (Lawson & Lawson, 2016). However, like mainstream media depictions of crime, reality crime shows do not match actual crime levels, nor do they reflect the entire spectrum of police activity (Monk-Turner et al., 2007; Smolej, 2011). Furthermore, ethnic minorities and Indigenous people tend to appear disproportionately in such programmes, leading to an exaggerated association of crime with both groups (Dixon & Linz, 2000; Loggins,

[10] Sources include NZ Herald (100 articles), Stuff (93 articles), One News (99articles) and 3 News (96 articles).

2009; Monk-Turner et al., 2007; Oliver, 1994, 2003; Podvoiskis, 2012; Prosise & Johnson, 2009). According to Oliver (1994, 2003, 2007), Black men shown in such reality crime shows are overrepresented, as they are portrayed in ways that make them appear more dangerous and guilty.

Oliver's study in 1994 sampled and analysed 76 episodes from the following five programs: *America's Most Wanted, Cops, Top Cops, FBI, The Untold Story,* and *American Detective*. Focusing on how characters were portrayed across the programs, either as officers or criminal suspects, was used as the unit of measurement for their analysis (Oliver, 1994). Variables such as gender, race, aggressive behaviour toward police and victims, types of offences, and the resolution of the crime or incident were all coded. The study found that 49.7% of offences shown across the programmes were all focused on murder. However, according to the Department of Justice's (1991, as cited in Oliver, 1994) statistics at the time, murder made up less than 0.2% of offences in America. Findings from a more recent study show that 30% of crimes shown in a Finnish crime programme were assaults, and a further 25% focused on homicide (Smolej, 2011). Nevertheless, the programs also had a high-resolution rate where offenders were shown to be arrested, with 69% of all criminal suspects being shown as such (Oliver, 1994). Lastly, Black and Hispanic people were more likely to be portrayed as criminal suspects, while White people were shown more as police officers.[11] A broad but general statement is that such programmes seek to legitimize the actions of police, whether their reaction is that of an aggressive nature the show will pose that the dangerous circumstances require such methods (Prosise & Johnson, 2009).

Doyle (1998) argues that reality-based crime and police shows influence consumers by creating long-term social and cultural shifts that influence the beliefs and attitudes of an individual and how they interpret similar situations and circumstances they have seen on the show. An emphasis is further placed on the police's perspective where the camera follows the police around and is positioned to make the viewer feel as if they are there 'riding along next to the police' (Doyle, 1998). Shows like *Cops* contribute to people's perceptions of the police and their role. Furthermore, while more dramatized and made

[11] 77% of all Black characters on the show were portrayed as a criminal suspect, 85.9% of all Hispanic characters were portrayed as a criminal suspect, 38.4% of all White characters were portrayed as a criminal suspect. While for characters portrayed as police officers: Black 23%, Hispanic 14.1%, and White 61.6%.

for entertainment, fictional crime-based shows also influence consumers' views of crime-related topics and issues (Fabianic, 1997).

A Master's thesis conducted by Gabrielle Margaret Podvoiskis in 2012 investigated the NZ-based show "Police Ten 7". It aimed to answer whether the show reflected the realities of contemporary policing. From a national perspective on crime shows, this is the only piece of literature that explicitly examines reality crime shows in New Zealand at the time of this dissertation. Findings from Podvoiskis's (2012) study reflect similar portrayals as those found in mainstream media within New Zealand. Māori and Pasifika people were found to be typically more involved in offences relating to violence. In contrast, New Zealand European offenders were starkly underrepresented in correlation to violence. Podvoiskis's research also found that the coverage of incidents typically focused on offences relating to drugs, with 52% of the cases in the show. However, as with any official statistics, stories, or news put out by the NZ Police, one must take caution when disseminating the content. As stated, prior content released by the police is dictated by the police, and this is especially true concerning reality crime shows as entertainment (Eschholz et al., 2002; Lam, 2014).

Nonetheless, this study replicates some aspects of Podvoiskis's thesis. It focuses on addressing the concerns of Auckland councillor Efeso Collins by delving into how Māori and Pasifika are portrayed in the show. Furthermore, much has changed since the Podvoiskis study, as the show host has changed from Pākehā Graham Bell to Rob Lemoto, who is Tongan and grew up in South Auckland (Shadwell, 2014). Because the literature on reality crime programmes in New Zealand is relatively sparse, this study will address a gap in the present research literature.

Research Questions

This research attempts to answer the following research questions in addressing the gap in reality-TV crime shows from a national context:

(1) Does ‘Police Ten 7’ portray Māori and Pasifika differently compared to Pākehā? If so, how?

(2) What are the attitudes of Māori and Pasifika towards police in the show?

(3) Is the portrayal of Māori and Pasifika in Police Ten 7 an accurate representation of the official statistics by offence?

(4) What geographic areas are policed or shown more frequently in the show?

Chapter 3 Research Design and Methodology

3.1 Police Ten 7 Format

The show's format for the second most recent season of *Police Ten 7* has now blended the structure of the “incidents” or crime stories with the “cases”, or otherwise known as the wanted offenders. In previous seasons, all the cases were typically presented together at the end. Presently in the 2020–2021 season, the show opens with various images from the incidents and cases of the show, with the narrator, Rob Lemoto, giving a brief breakdown of what the audience can expect in the episode. The first incident follows, with another briefing by the narrator of what is being investigated or responded to by the officers on screen. The camera will follow the scene from start to finish and end, typically with the incident's resolution where the offender/suspect is arrested, charged, fined, or let off with a warning.[12] During the scene the narrator sometimes commented on what is happening and explaining what is going on or making general comments about the offender or suspect.

At the end of each incident, a case follows, showing an offender who is wanted for a specific crime, providing details on their name, offence, ethnicity, age, height, build, where the offender has contacts, and the offender's risk level. Some offenders, for example, are referred to as "armed and dangerous," and they should be avoided and not approached at all times. While a case is typically brief and is presented after an incident, a final case is shown after the last incident of the episode, going more in-depth into the details of the case. Following the last case of an episode, the show presents the narrator and host of the show, Rob Lemoto, who discusses the last case with another detective or officer. After the last case, the narrator, Rob Lemoto, asks the audience to provide any information they have concerning the case or any of the cases shown in the episode through the *Police Ten 7* Website, Facebook page, or to call to speak to a case officer directly. This research analyses the content of 12 *Police Ten 7* episodes retrieved from

[12] However, some incidents did not focus on the offender/suspect at all and instead focused on a victim or the police response instead, this was omitted from the study due to little relevance towards the research question.

the 2020/21 season, specifically episodes 27-38 of season 27.[13] The researcher made this selection due to the recency of the season and episodes and their accessibility. The episodes selected were aired on NZ television from October 17th, 2020, to January 28th, 2021. Episode 39 of season 27 was not selected due to the episode being a 'special' episode with the best moments from the entire season. Also, further reasoning for selection is the comparability between the findings and official statistics.

3.2 Research Design

3.2.1 Researcher worldview

This research employs a transformative worldview and also draws perspectives from advocacy research. The transformative worldview originated from individuals that believed the existing postpositivist worldview and perspectives were invalid when concerning marginalized individuals and issues pertaining to social justice, discrimination, and oppression (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Research that employs a transformative worldview focuses on advocacy and reform, thus promoting and raising awareness for change. In this study, changing the portrayal of Māori and Pasifika in crime media is advocated for.

3.2.2 Research Theories

Cultivation Theory

Cultivation theory concerns the consumption and audiences' perception of media and the influence that media have on their thoughts and behaviour (Morgan et al., 2014). For example, the constant depiction of Māori as the 'other' and lesser through media platforms and stories, especially on television, influences consumers to believe and hold said stereotypes as factual. Returning briefly to cultivation theory, two processes describe the effects and influence of media consumption. The first is described as *resonance* and correlates to the consumption of television and their everyday experiences, which can resonate with each other, thus amplifying the effects of cultivation (Morgan et al., 2014). The second process is called *mainstreaming* and refers to how media consumption reinforces ideas through a daily bombardment of informative content (Morgan et al., 2014). This is explained in the example earlier, where the audience will start to integrate

[13] Across the 3 most recent seasons the total number of episodes has varied slightly. Season 26 (2019) 38 Episodes, Season 27 (2020) 39 Episodes, Season 28 (2021) 40 Episodes.

the ideologies presented by the media as their own highlighting the relevance of this theory to the study. For example, in the context of the show showing an overrepresentation of Māori offenders the audience will believe that the majority of Māori are criminal which is further reinforced by New Zealand media.

Labelling Theory

Critical criminology is a theoretical perspective that branches out into several theories and strands, although the main theory of concern and of relevance to this study is labelling theory. Furthermore, such stereotypes can influence people from the same ethnic group as those who are negatively portrayed to associate and label themselves accordingly. Labelling theory was made prominent by various scholars such as Frank Tannenbaum and Howard Becker. In layman's terms labelling theory is the act of people internalising and conforming to the labels placed on them (Bradley & Walters, 2019; Tunufa'i, 2013). Relevance of this theory to this study is highlighted by Tunufa'i's (2013) study where he states that media label young gang members as wannabe gangsters and they will go out to prove to the world that they are a real gangster. Therefore, labels may have a criminogenic effect.

3.2.3 Research Methods

Content Analysis

Qualitative content analysis is a systematic research method that uses various strategies to analyse and categorise data where inferences, key trends, themes, and issues can be identified (Bryman, 2016). Hsiesh and Shannon (2005) identify two approaches to a content analysis study, a conventional approach and a directed approach. A conventional format of content analysis is used when the existing literature is scarce and allows the researcher to gather data openly as the data helps guide the researcher to develop coding variables and categories (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). On the other hand, content analysis that uses a directed approach is typically more structured in the sense that existing theories and research help determine coding schemes, key concepts, and variables (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). In this research, a combination of a conventional and directed approach is used. The researcher uses predetermined coding structures for most variables as described used in a previous study on Police Ten 7 and as described in the next section.

However, other variables that have not been identified in previous research were newly developed.[14]

3.3 Coding tools, variables, definitions, and reliability

Incident Area & Time

The area and time an incident took place were coded according to the narrator's statement about them. In the few instances where the area was not stated, it was coded as 'unclear'. If the narrator failed to state the time, it was coded according to whether it was light outside (daytime) or dark (night-time).

Gender

Gender was coded for police officers and offenders/suspects. Gender was coded according to the narrator's statement and physical appearance and processed into three categories: male, female, and unidentifiable.[15] For example, the narrator referred to the offender or suspect by their first name, where the coder could further confirm their gender with their physical appearance. If an offender or suspect is not shown on camera, hooded, masked, or too pixelated where the coder could not determine their gender, the coder noted this as unidentifiable.[16] Gender in the cases section of the show was stated by the narrator, with details being provided on screen.

Ethnicity

Ethnicity was coded for police officers in the incidents section and offenders in the incidents and cases section.[17] For *Police Ten 7* 'incidents', if ethnicity was not explicitly stated, the coder used phenotype to help further determine the ethnicity of an officer or offender/suspect. Also, Asian and Indian were merged for data concerning officers as the annual report from the NZ Police (2018) merges the two. Other factors that helped the

[14] Original variables developed by the researcher include Incident Area & Time, Missing clothing items, and viewing time see 3.3 Coding tools… for further information.
[15] Phenotype characteristics such as height, body shape, sound of voice and hair were taken into consideration.
[16] In some cases where there were multiple suspects/offenders the camera did not show or only briefly showed the individual on screen where the camera angle made it difficult to determine their gender as well as ethnicity.
[17] Offenders/suspects were often blurred/pixelated, and their name was not always stated making it hard to determine their ethnicity.

coder determine ethnicity in the incidents section include voice/accent and name. The ethnic groupings used are discussed below.

For *Police Ten 7* 'cases', ethnicity was primarily coded according to the information shown on the screen. For example, information pertaining to the offender's first and last name could help identify the offender's ethnic group. Sometimes, the narrator makes statements about the ethnic group of the offender. If ethnicity was not explicitly stated or hard to identify, the coder relied on phenotype and other information on screen to determine the ethnic group to which the offender most likely belonged. The ethnic groups used were European, Māori, Pasifika peoples, with a generic category of Polynesian when the individual could not be accurately identified as Māori or Pasifika, and lastly, unidentifiable when the subject could not be associated with any group.[18] The category of unidentifiable was replaced with "No Offender Description" regarding the cases section as some offenders had no description and could not be identified by police. The combined category of Polynesian was created as sometimes the narrator did not identify the offender and stated, "our offender tonight is of Māori or Polynesian descent." Thus, this category was used when the narrator could not identify the offender as well as when the coder could not accurately distinguish whether a police officer was Māori or Pasifika.

Offence categories

The Australia and New Zealand Society of Criminology (ANZSOC) offence classifications were used to code for the offences presented in the TV show. The reasoning for coding offence categories was to draw accurate comparisons and view the disparities between ethnic groups and the offences for which offenders had committed or were wanted. Offences were coded into each division from 1 to 16 as found in the ANZSOC offence classification.[19] The coder recorded and determined which division best fit incidents and cases through the narrator's statement. For instance, the narrator

[18] As this study focuses on Māori and Pasifika representation the categories of Asian and Indian were not of relevance to the purpose of this study. Furthermore, the data showed 0% across almost all categories for either of the two ethnic groups with their only being 1 appearance of an Indian offender across all episodes. Nonetheless, figures and tables that were specific to ethnicity of offenders/suspects omitted the Asian and Indian ethnic groups from the data.

[19] Offense classification by Division as found in the ANZSOC is as follows: 01 – Homicide and related offences, 02 – Acts intended to cause injury, 03 – Sexual assault and related offences, 04 – Dangerous or negligent acts endangering persons, 05 – Abduction, harassment, and other offences against the person, 06 – Robbery, extortion, and related offences, 07 – Unlawful entry with intent/burglary, break and enter, 08 – Theft and related offences, 09 – Fraud, deception and related offences, 10 – Illicit drug offences, 11 – Prohibited and regulated weapons, and explosives offences, 12 – Property damage and environmental pollution, 13 – Public order offences, 14 – Traffic and vehicle regulatory offences, 15 – Offences against justice procedures, government security, and government operations, and 16 – Miscellaneous offences.

stated why the two officers were investigating an incident at the beginning of each incident. Regarding the cases section, information on the screen was shown of what the offender was wanted for and stated by the narrator.

Incident Resolution

The incident resolution was coded twice. It was coded first according to the action taken by the officer. In the first coded instance, resolution for incidents was coded and divided into three categories: 'warning/cautioned/let go', 'arrested/charged' and lastly, 'unclear' when the outcome was unable to be determined.[20] For example, in the case of an offender being arrested or detained, this was coded as 'arrested/charged' in the first instance.

The incident resolution was coded a second time according to the final outcome by the officer/narrator using the ANZSOC offence classifications. In the coding of the second outcome, if the offender was arrested or charged, the narrator typically stated what the offender was being arrested/charged for. After the narrator's or officers' statement about the offence, the coder then identified which offence was committed and coded it by the offence classifications. Lastly, in some cases, the incident resolution was not shown or stated by the narrator; therefore, impossible to determine thus, coded as 'unclear'. Similar to 'offence categories, the incident resolution was coded to view what each ethnic group was being specifically arrested for. For example, Māori were found to be arrested/charged more, or Māori were found committing crimes relating to Division 08.

Verbal aggression

Verbal aggression was identified and coded for in the incidents section between the offender/suspect and police. Verbal aggression was coded for if an individual swore or yelled without directing these utterances at anyone, specifically "Fuck, I live in Waverley" or "The bro was like nah fuck that you're not even the grandad and I was like fuck you, man". Threats of violence were also recorded: "You know if I ever see you on the street again, I'm going to fucken KO you". Two sub-categories recorded verbal aggression specifically directed towards the police (including insulting the police) and swearing at police. For example, "Bitch white boy, that's why I can fuck your Mrs whenever I want bitch" or "No one likes you, everyone knows you're ugly, you're ugly

[20] Warning/cautioned was coded for when the offender/suspect has been warned or cautioned for their actions by the police. Let go was defined and used by the coder when the officer for whatever reason let the offender/suspect go. For example, if a suspect was in fact innocent and had not committed a crime and were let go. Arrested/charged was coded for when the offender was detained or charged.

bitch". Furthermore, the coder confirmed verbal aggression when the TV show editors replaced a word with a beeping sound.

Missing clothing

Missing clothing items were also coded for when the offender was missing any of the following clothing items during the incident: a t-shirt or an upper garment, pants or shorts, a dress, or shoes. In the case of an offender/suspect missing a t-shirt, a lack of clothing signifies the brutishness that Auckland councillor Efeso Collins had discussed, as the offender/suspect was portrayed as a brute and bare-chested.[21]

Gang connection

Mentioning any gang connections or affiliations towards the offender was recorded if stated by the narrator. For example, the narrator could say, "This offender has connections to the Mongrel Mob and is considered dangerous," indicating a gang connection. Gang connections were recorded to view which ethnic groups were associated with gangs by the narrator. Individuals who associate or are in gangs are stereotypically linked with violence and crime, thus indicating brutishness.

Viewing time

Lastly, the amount of time spent on an incident/case and offender/suspect was coded to view the discrepancies of TV airtime spent on different ethnic groups. Thus, coding for viewing time allowed the coder to view which ethnic group was given more screen time, showing what type of offenders or suspects *Police Ten 7* focuses on. The coder used a stopwatch to time from the beginning of the case to the end, signified by the narrator's opening statement and the transition into the following incident or case. A stopwatch was also used to record the screen time of an offender.

3.4 Limitations

There are disadvantages to using content analysis as a research method, and some studies utilising the research method have been criticised for being atheoretical (Bryman, 2016). Further limitations of the research method include disregarding the context from which

[21] Distinguishment between offenders who were shown without a shirt vs shoes and other clothing items are discussed in Chapter 5.

the data was produced, from which the output only represents what was analysed at a surface level (Bryman, 2016).

While Excel was used for data entry and calculations to minimise human error, the study suffers from some limitations. Firstly, there are limitations concerning the coding variables and data collection. Ethnicity could not always be accurately determined, more so within the incidents section than the cases section, affecting the reliability of the ethnicity data. As with most research, human error may have affected data collection, where there may be some coding errors or miscalculations. Although, this was minimised as much as possible by using the programming codes and shortcuts found in Microsoft Excel, where some of the data collection and all of the data analysis were automated. Secondly, while the coder used a coding guide to help determine the occurrence and appearance of the variables in the show, as with most content analysis research, it is difficult to decipher without some of the researchers' interpretation (Bryman, 2016).

3.5 Data Analysis

Analysis of the findings was conducted in an Excel spreadsheet using programming codes such as “SUM”, “AVERAGE”, and “COUNTIFS” to retrieve and output the data in tables and graphs. For example, if the variable Auckland appeared five times in the spreadsheet's incidents section, the coder used “COUNTIFS” to grab the number of times the variable appeared and output it into a graph; this was done for several variables. Values for tables were retrieved similarly, except data was collected and pasted into a table format and then converted into percentages using the percentage function. Values regarding the mean and total amount of viewing time were calculated using the “SUM” feature to calculate the total viewing time and the “AVERAGE” feature to gather the mean viewing time.

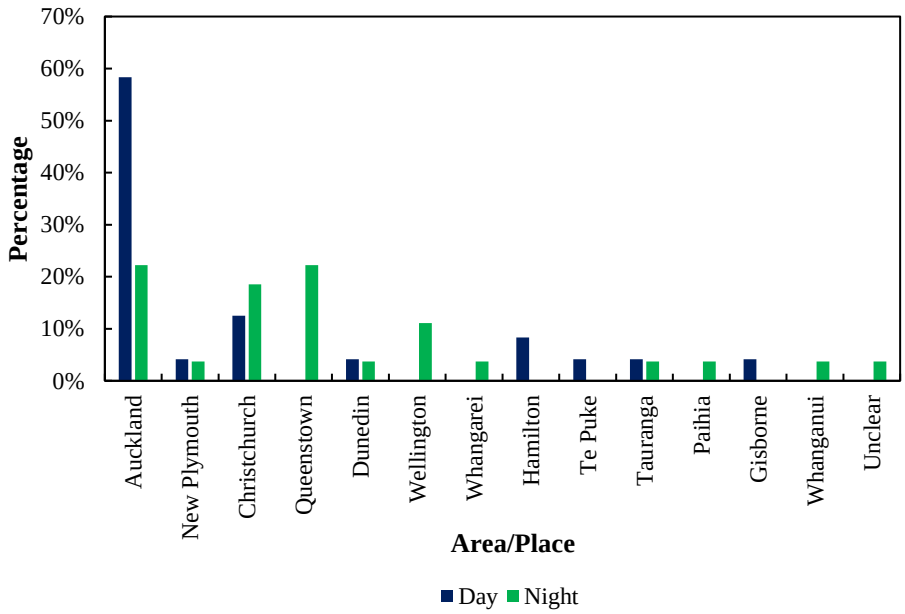
Chapter 4 Findings

The chapter is split into two sections. The first section provides coded statistics taken from the "incidents" of *Police Ten* 7 and compares retrieved data subset with official demographic data and official offences and arrest data. The second section focuses on the *Police Ten* 7 "cases," also comparing coded statistics to official statistics. A total of 51 incidents and 43 cases were recorded across twelve episodes.

4.1 Incidents

This section explores data collected from the incidents part of *Police Ten 7.*

Figure 1. Area Frequency (Incidents): Police Ten 7



Note. Figure 1 shows the area and time an incident occurred. Total no. of incidents recorded n= 51. Day n= 24, night n= 27. Total percentage of incidents by area (day + night) = Auckland 39%, New Plymouth 4%, Christchurch 16%, Queenstown 12%, Dunedin 4%, Wellington 6%, Whangarei 2%, Hamilton 4%, Te Puke 2%, Tauranga 4%, Paihia 2%, Gisborne 2%, Whanganui 2%, and unclear 2%.

As seen in Figure 1, police investigations in Auckland mainly were undertaken during the day. The percentage of incidents in Auckland throughout the day was 58%. Other notable areas in which incidents occurred were Christchurch, Queenstown, and Wellington. In Christchurch, 13% of all incidents occurred during the day, and 19% of all incidents

occurred during the night. Incidents in Queenstown only occurred at night, with 22% of incidents occurring there. Wellington is the last significant area, representing 11% of all incidents at night. As indicated in the numerical totals for day and night findings, most incidents across all the areas occurred at night rather than during the day. Only 1 (4%) incident at night was recorded in an area where it was unclear as the narrator did not specify where the incident took place for that one instance.

Table 1. Ethnicity Appearance by Area Frequency (Incidents)

	Māori	Pasifika Islander	Polynesian	European	Unidentifiable
Auckland	26%	32%	11%	16%	16%
New Plymouth	50%	0%	0%	50%	0%
Christchurch	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%
Queenstown	20%	0%	0%	80%	0%
Dunedin	0%	0%	0%	50%	50%
Wellington	67%	0%	33%	0%	0%
Whangarei	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Hamilton	50%	0%	0%	0%	50%
Te Puke	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Tauranga	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Paihia	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%
Gisborne	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Whanganui	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%
Unclear	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%

Note. Table 1 expands upon Figure 1 and breaks down the statistics by the ethnic group of offenders/suspects. Total area frequency no. n= 49, Auckland n= 19, New Plymouth n= 2, Christchurch n= 8, Queenstown n= 5, Dunedin n= 2, Wellington n= 3, Whangarei n= 1, Hamilton n= 2, Te Puke n= 1, Tauranga n= 2, Paihia n= 1, Gisborne n= 1, Whanganui n= 1, Unclear n= 1. Table 1 Does not account for multiple offenders. For example, if an incident had two Māori offenders, this was only coded with a value of 1. As stated in footnote 18, data concerning Asian or Indian ethnic groups were omitted still; 1 incident in Auckland focused on an Indian offender. Another incident that was omitted was in Queenstown, where it was a 'false alarm', and there was no offender.

Table 1 displays the overall proportion of ethnic groups in the locations categorised from the incidents section of *Police Ten 7*. As previously mentioned, most incidents occurred in Auckland, with 26% focusing on Māori offenders/suspects, 32% Pasifika Islander's, 11% Polynesian, 16% European, and the coder could not identify 16% of offenders/suspects. Māori offenders/suspects made 16 appearances across the areas shown in Table 1. Māori and European offenders/suspects appeared in a broader range of regions than Polynesian offenders/suspects. Māori tended to be most represented in smaller cities and regions, showing a higher representation of Māori in rural settings.

Europeans were shown the most in areas in the South Island and were the only ethnic group to appear in Christchurch. Pasifika Islanders only appeared in Auckland, reflecting some accuracy as identified in the 2018 census 63.9% of the Pasifika population lives in Auckland (Stats NZ, 2018b).

Table 2. Area Frequency by Ethnic Total (Incidents)

	Māori	Pasifika Islander	Polynesian	European	Unidentifiable
Auckland	31%	100%	67%	16%	60%
New Plymouth	6%	0%	0%	5%	0%
Christchurch	0%	0%	0%	42%	0%
Queenstown	6%	0%	0%	21%	0%
Dunedin	0%	0%	0%	5%	20%
Wellington	13%	0%	33%	0%	0%
Whangarei	6%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Hamilton	6%	0%	0%	0%	20%
Te Puke	6%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Tauranga	13%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Paihia	0%	0%	0%	5%	0%
Gisborne	6%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Whanganui	0%	0%	0%	5%	0%
Unclear	6%	0%	0%	0%	0%

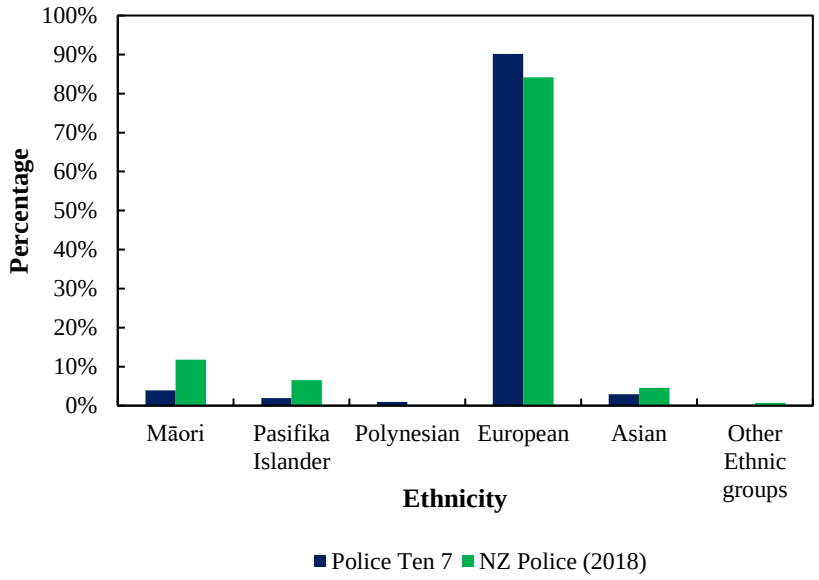
Note. Table 2 expands upon Figure 1 and breaks down the statistics for each individual ethnic group of offenders/suspects. For example, the majority of Māori offenders appeared in Auckland.

Table 2 shows the total percentage of appearance for each individual ethnic group and the areas they appeared as collected from the incidents section of *Police Ten 7*. For instance, Māori offenders/suspects frequently appeared in Auckland, Wellington and Tauranga with 31%, 13% and 13%. Pasifika Islander offenders/suspects only appeared in Auckland. Comparatively, most European offenders appeared in Christchurch and Queenstown with 42% and 21%.

4.1.1 Demographic Data

This section compares demographic results to data sets from the 2017/18 Annual NZ Police Report and the 2014 Annual Apprehensions data table obtained from Statistics New Zealand. Officer gender, officer ethnicity, officer age, and offender gender, offender ethnicity, and offender age are represented by graphs.

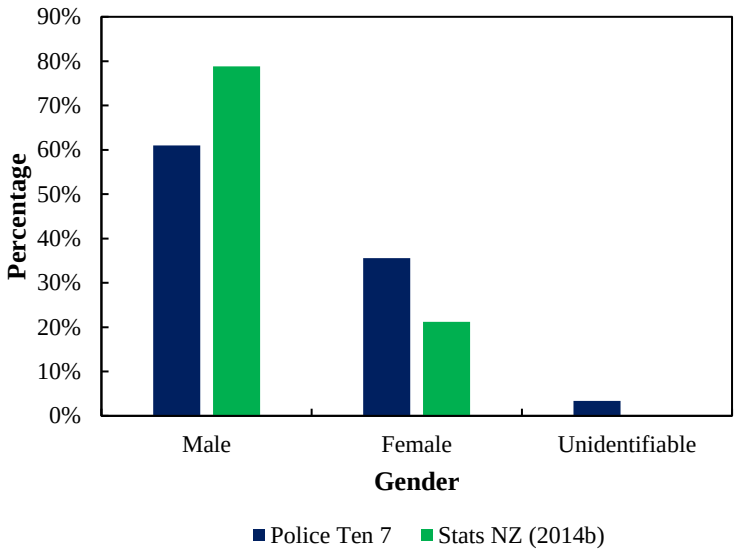
Figure 2. Officer Ethnicity (Incidents) Comparison: Police Ten 7 & NZ Police (2018)



Note. The genders of Asian & Indian were merged in this graph as the NZ Police do not record the genders separately compared to Statistics New Zealand. The "other ethnic groups" data subset was taken from the Annual report of the NZ Police (2018) and is only applicable to data from said source. Also, NZ Police recorded New Zealand European/Pākehā and European as separate ethnic groups; for the purpose of this graph, they were merged. Total no. of officers recorded from *Police Ten 7* n= 102, Māori n= 4. Asian n= 3, Pasifika Islander n= 2, Polynesian n= 1, European n= 92.

Figure 2 compares the ethnic statistics recorded by the show's coder with official ethnic data from NZ Police (2018). 90.2% of officers were recorded as European by the coder, 3.9% as Māori, 2% as Pasifika Islander and 2.9% as Asian. As for the official statistics, 84.2% of all police employees in the NZ Police force are European, 11.8% Māori, 6.5% Pasifik Islanders, 4.6% Asian, and 0.7% other ethnic groups. Just as Māori and Pasifika police officers are under-represented in real life, they are also under-represented in the show.

Figure 3. Offender/Suspect Vs Apprehended Gender Comparison (Incidents): Police Ten 7 & Statistics NZ (2014b)

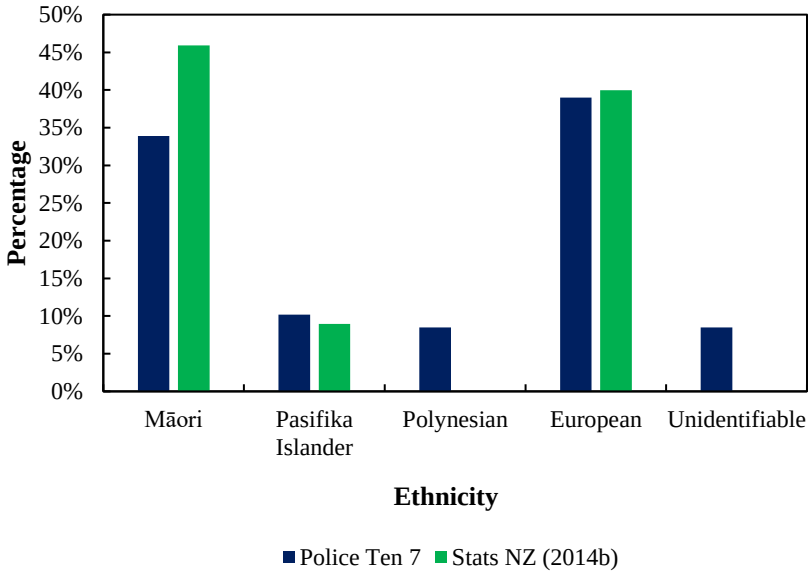


Note. The gender category "Unidentifiable" is only applicable to statistics collected from *Police Ten 7* as it was used when the coder could not identify the gender grouping of the offender. Total no. of offenders/suspects recorded from *Police Ten 7* n= 59, Male n= 36, Female n= 21, Unidentifiable n= 2.

As shown in Figure 3, a total of 59 offenders/suspects appeared across the 51 incidents. The majority of offenders/suspects shown in *Police Ten 7* were men (62%). Women made up 35%, and the gender of 3% of offenders could not be identified. Regarding the 3% of offenders who could not be identified, this was concerning two offenders in separate incidents. The first incident focused on three offenders, where one of the unidentifiable offenders was only briefly shown on screen. It was further difficult to associate the offender with a gender due to the incident being at night with the offender wearing a hoodie and having their face pixelated. The second incident focused on the offence itself. The police searched for an offender who committed arson; the offender was found on CCTV fully hooded, making it difficult to determine. Compared to the official apprehension statistics, 78.8% of all people apprehended across all offences were men, and 21.2% were women (Stats NZ, 2014b).[22]

[22] Gender data retrieved from Statistics New Zealand was taken out of the Crime data set "Annual Apprehensions for the latest Fiscal years."

Figure 4. Offender/Suspect Ethnicity (Incidents) Comparison: Police Ten 7 & Statistics NZ (2014b)



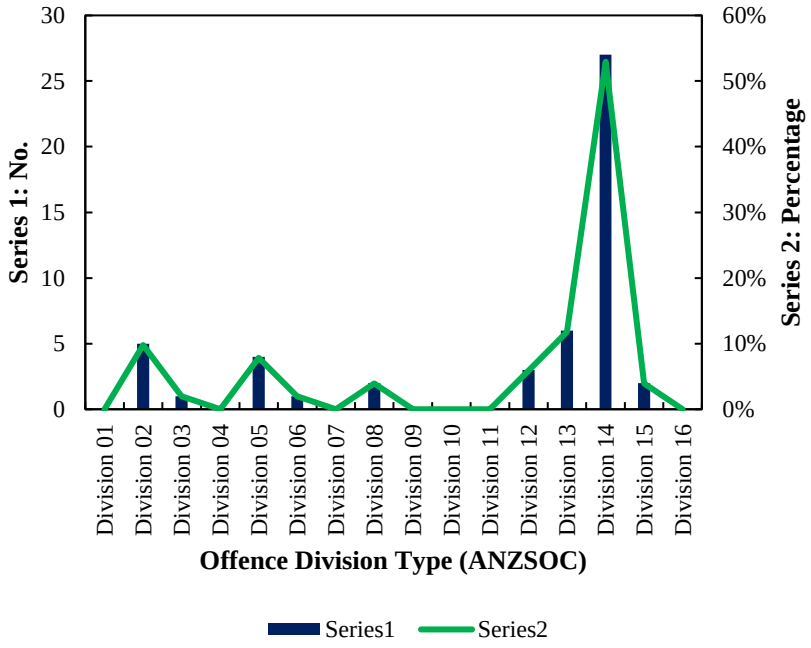
Note. Figure 4 shows the recorded no. of offenders/suspects by ethnicity from the incidents section in comparison to crime data from Statistics New Zealand "Annual Apprehensions for the latest Fiscal years". Total no. of offenders/suspects recorded from *Police Ten 7* n= 59, Māori n= 20, Pasifika Islander n= 6, Polynesian n= 5, European n= 23 and Unidentifiable n= 5. As stated in footnote 19, there was the appearance of one Indian offender; however, this data was omitted due to its irrelevance to this study.

Figure 4 breaks down the statistics from Figure 3 by ethnicity and also compares the data to the official statistics. Māori made up 34% of all the offenders/suspects that appeared in the incidents section, Pasifik Islanders 10%, Polynesian 8%, European 39%, and offenders/suspects who could not be identified made up 8%. Regarding Pasifika and European offenders/suspects, findings were similar to those of the official statistics, with 9% and 40% for the official data. However, Māori were slightly underrepresented as the official statistics show a value of 46%.

4.1.2 Offences & Arrest Data

This section explores offence and arrest data collected from the show and is compared against ethnicity.

Figure 5. Offences Investigated by Division Type (Incidents): Police Ten 7

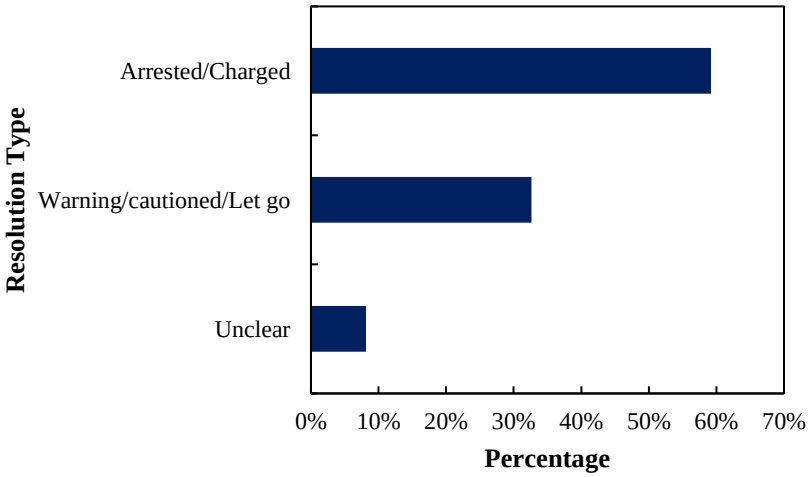


Note. Refer to footnote 19. for a full description of the Offence Type categories. Total no. of offences recorded in the incidents section n= 51. Division (D) 01 n= 0, D02 n= 5, D03 n= 1, D04 n= 0, D05 n= 4, D06 n= 1, D07 n= 0, D08 n= 2, D09 n= 0, D10 n= 0, D11 n= 0, D12 n= 3, D13 n= 6, D14 n= 27, D15 n= 2, and D16 n= 0.

Figure 5 refers to the offences shown and investigated by *Police Ten 7* for all incidents. A total of 51 offences occurred. Division 14 (Traffic and vehicle regulatory offences) offences were the reason for most incidents being investigated, with a value of 53%. Thus, just over half of all incidents were being investigated for traffic offences. Other notable divisions include 02 (Acts intended to cause injury), 05 (Abduction, harassment, and other offences against the person), and 13 (Public order offences). Incidents that involved assault (Division 02) made up 10% of the incidents shown; also, 8% of incidents focused on harassment (Division 05). Lastly, Division 13, which was public order offences, occurred the second most, with 12% of incidents being investigated for said offence. Some statistics are severely underrepresented and overrepresented compared to the official statistics of charges prosecuted against adults by offence type. For instance, Division 14 made up over 50% of the incidents in the show, while in the official statistics, Division 14 consisted of only 17% of all offences (Stats NZ, 2021a).[23]

[23] Data concerning charges prosecuted against adults by offence type was taken from the fiscal year of 2019/2020.

Figure 6. Incident Resolution Rate (Incidents): Police Ten 7



Note. See footnote 20 for coding information. Figure 6 quantifies the initial outcome of all incidents recorded from *Police Ten 7* into three resolution types. Figure 6 shows the initial resolution taken by officers in the show. Total no. of resolutions recorded n= 49, Arrested/Charged n= 29, Warning/Cautioned/Let go n= 16 and Unclear n= 4.

Figure 6 shows the incident resolution rate for all incidents. 59% of all incidents lead to an offender being arrested/charged. In 33% of all incidents, the individual was either warned, cautioned, or let go, and only 8% of all incidents had an unclear outcome.

Table 3. Incident resolution rate by Ethnicity (Incidents)

	Māori	Pasifika Islander	Polynesian	European	Unidentifiable
Unclear	0%	75%	25%	0%	0%
Warning/cautioned/Let go	31%	6%	0%	56%	6%
Arrested/Charged	38%	7%	7%	34%	14%

Note. Table 3 expands upon the total incident resolution rate found in Figure 6 by the total ethnicity statistics of offenders/suspects. As stated in Figure 6 total no. of resolutions recorded n= 49, Arrested/Charged n= 29, Warning/Cautioned/Let go n= 16 and Unclear n= 4. Example of data interpretation: 38% of all offenders/suspects who were arrested/charged were Māori.

Table 3 shows a total breakdown of the initial resolution of an incident by ethnicity. As such, 38% of all offenders/suspects who were arrested/charged were Māori, 7% Pasifika Islander, 7% Polynesian, 34% European, and 14% could not be identified. Offenders/suspects who were warned, cautioned or let go by a police officer consisted of

31% Māori, 6% Pasifika Islander, 56% European, and 6% could not be identified. In only four incidents where the resolution was unclear, three concerned Pasifika offenders and one concerned a Māori offender. In contrast, combining the categories of Māori, Pasifika Islander, and Polynesian nets the following resolution rate: 100% Unclear, 38% warned/cautioned, and lastly, a total of 53% were arrested. Thus, the offenders arrested/charged on the show who have a darker skin colour are heavily overrepresented.

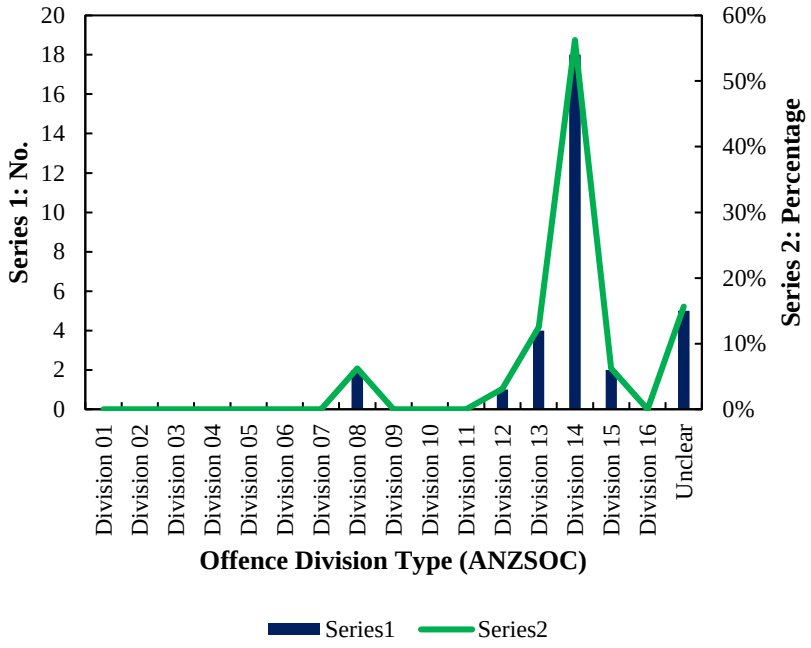
Table 4. Incident resolution rate by Ethnicity 2 (Incidents)

	Māori	Pasifika Islander	Polynesian	European	Unidentifiable
Unclear	0%	50%	33%	0%	0%
Warning/cautioned/Let go	31%	17%	0%	47%	20%
Arrested/Charged	69%	33%	67%	53%	80%

Note. Table 4 expands upon the incident resolution rate found in Figure 6 by each ethnic group of offenders/suspects. As stated in Figure 5 Total no. of resolutions recorded n= 49 Arrested/Charged n= 29, Warning/Cautioned/Let go n= 16 and Unclear n= 4. Example of data interpretation: 69% of all incidents involving Māori led to an arrest/charge.

Table 4 presents the incident resolution rate by ethnic group separately. Regarding Māori offenders/suspects, 31% were warned, cautioned, or let go, and they also had the highest arrest rate, with 69% being arrested or charged. In contrast, 53% of incidents involving European offenders/suspects led to an arrest, and 47% were warned, cautioned, or let go. Lastly, 17% of Pasifika Islander offenders/suspects were warned or let go, 33% were arrested, and 50% of the incidents had an unclear outcome.

Figure 7. Incident Resolution Rate by Offence Classification: Police Ten 7



Note. Refer to footnote 19 for a description of the offence division types. Figure 7 shows the incident resolution rate by the offence classification and final outcome stated by the narrator/officer. D01 n= 0, D02 n= 0, D03 n= 0, D04 n= 0, D05 n= 0, D06 n= 0, D07 n= 0, D08 n= 2, D09 n= 0, D10 n= 0, D11 n= 0, D12 n= 1, D13 n= 4, D14 n= 18, D15 n= 2, D16 n= 0, and Unclear n= 5.

Figure 7 shows the final outcome or resolution of an incident where the officer has arrested the offender, and they have been charged for their offence. Division 14 had the most resolutions, with 56% of offenders being arrested and charged for traffic and vehicle regulatory offences. Division 13 (Public order offences) was the second most common offence for arrests with 13%. In the incidents section, Division 15 (Offences against justice procedures, government security, and government operations) is grossly underrepresented as just over 20% of adults were prosecuted for a Division 15 breach in 2019/20 (Stats NZ, 2021a).

Table 5. Offence Division Type (ANZSOC) by Resolution & Ethnicity (Incidents)

	Māori	Pasifika Islander	Polynesian	European	Unidentifiable
Division 01	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Division 02	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Division 03	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Division 04	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Division 05	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Division 06	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Division 07	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Division 08	50%	0%	0%	0%	50%
Division 09	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Division 10	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Division 11	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Division 12	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Division 13	25%	0%	0%	50%	25%
Division 14	44%	11%	0%	39%	6%
Division 15	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Division 16	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Unclear	0%	60%	20%	20%	0%

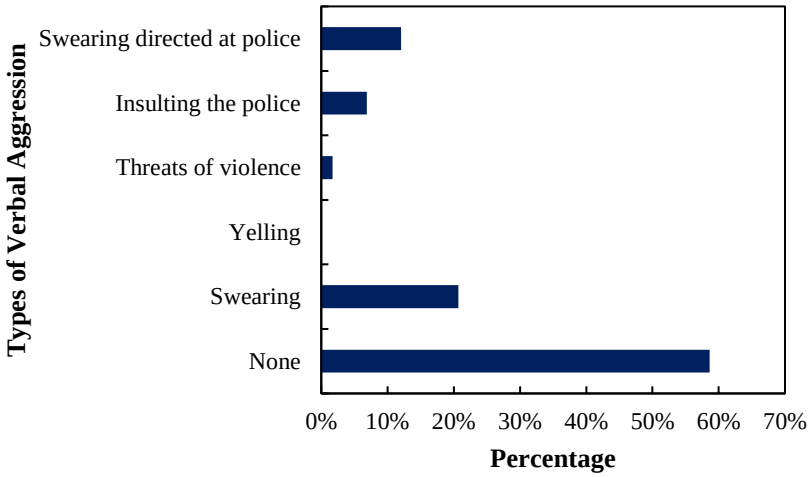
Note. See Figure 6 for further detail on division values. Table 5 provides statistics on the offence division type by ethnicity retrieved from the incidents section of *Police Ten 7*.

Table 5 breaks down the data shown in Figure 6, where the total resolution percentage for each offence division type is organised by ethnic group. Māori made up the following percentages: D08 (Theft and related offences) 50%, D13 (Public order offences) 25%, D14 (Traffic and vehicle regulatory offences) 44%, and D15 (Offences against justice procedures, government security, and government operations) 100%. Pasifika Islander's only accounted for D14 (Traffic and vehicle regulatory offences) in the incidents section making up 11% of offenders arrested or charged for said offence. Europeans were only arrested for D13 (Public order offences) and 14 (Traffic and vehicle regulatory offences).

4.1.3 Additional data findings & categories

This section presents findings of a qualitative nature in quantitative form. Figures concerning the portrayal of offenders, the occurrence of verbal aggression, offenders shown missing clothing items, police-to-offender interaction, and the amount of time spent on

Figure 8. Verbal Aggression Occurrence (Incidents): Police Ten 7



Note. Not an indicator for prediction. Percentage of verbal aggression type by offenders/suspects in the incidents section. Total no. of verbal aggression occurrence n= 58, Swearing directed at police n= 7, Insulting the police n= 4, Threats of violence n= 1, Yelling n= 0, Swearing (In general) n= 12, and None n= 34.

Verbal aggression in Figure 8 was shown to occur several times throughout the show, although 59% of the time, no verbal aggression occurred from an individual/offender. Swearing directed at police occurred 12% overall, insulting the police 7%, threats of violence 2% and swearing in general occurred the second most, at 21%.

Table 6. Verbal Aggression Occurrence by Ethnicity

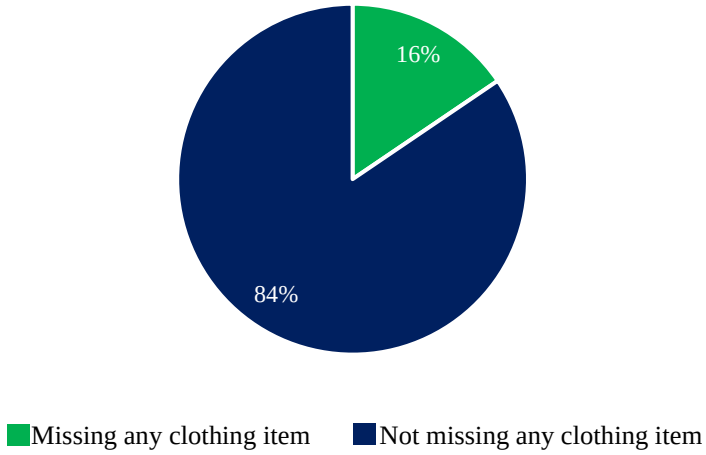
	Māori	Pasifika Islander	Polynesian	European	Unidentifiable
Swearing	58%	0%	8%	25%	8%
Yelling	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Threats of violence	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Insulting the police	50%	0%	0%	50%	0%
Swearing directed at police	29%	0%	0%	71%	0%

Note. Refer to Figure 8 for verbal aggression type totals. Total percentage of verbal aggression occurrence by ethnicity of offenders/suspects in the incidents section. Swearing by Māori n= 7, Polynesian n= 1, European n= 3, Unidentifiable n= 1. Yelling n= 0. Threats of violence by Māori n= 1. Insulting the police by Māori n= 2 and European n= 2. Swearing directed at police by Māori n= 2 and European n= 5.

Table 6 refers to the total occurrence of verbal aggression by ethnicity. Of all the offenders who swore in general, Māori made up 58%, Polynesian 8%, European 25%,

and 8% could not be identified. No offenders/suspects were found yelling. One individual was found to have used threats of violence and was of Māori descent. A total of four individuals were found insulting the police, split evenly between Māori and Europeans. Lastly, European offenders were found to be swearing directly at police more than any other ethnicity, with 71%.

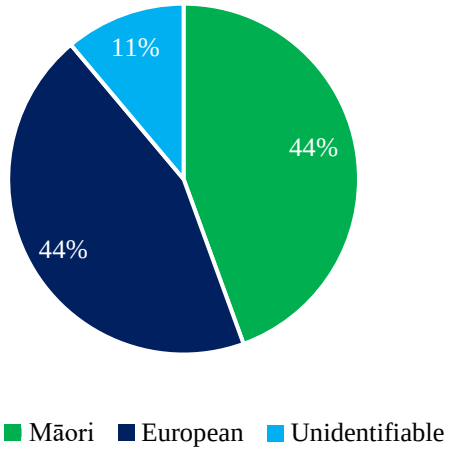
Figure 9. Offenders shown without a clothing item (Incidents): Police Ten 7



Note. Figure 9 was coded regarding the offender missing any clothing item, i.e., shirt, pants, shoes, socks, dress etc. Refer to "3.3 Coding tools" for more information. No. of offenders not missing any clothing item n= 49, missing any clothing item n= 9.

Figure 9 shows the percentage of offenders shown either missing or not missing any clothing item. 15.5% of offenders were shown missing a clothing item, while 84.5% were not missing any clothing item. In only two of the incidents, the offender was shown to be missing a shirt. The rest were shown without shoes or socks. The first incident occurred at night in Christchurch. The offender, who was believed to be European, was shown without a shirt at the end of the incident. The second incident occurred during the day in the town centre of Te Puke, with the offender believed to be of Māori descent and remaining bare-chested throughout the entire incident.

Figure 10. Offenders missing any clothing item by Ethnicity: Police Ten 7



Note. Total no. of offenders missing a clothing item n= 9. Māori missing a clothing item n= 4, European n= 4, Unidentifiable n= 1.

Figure 10 breaks down the number of offenders/suspects who are shown to be missing a clothing item in the show. Māori and European offenders/suspects both made up a percentage of 44, and 11% could not be identified.

Table 7. Time spent on Incident and Offender (Incidents)

	Incident	Individual/Offender
Mean	4.07	3.21
Minimum	2.18	1.56
Maximum	5.34	5.28

Note. The average amount of time spent on the Incident and Minimum and Maximum average on the Incident.

Table 7 shows the total time-averaged for all incidents recorded from the twelve episodes. On average, the amount of time spent on incidents was 4 minutes and 7 seconds, while 3 minutes and 21 seconds on average were spent on individuals/offenders.[24] The lowest amount of time spent on an incident was 2 minutes and 18 seconds, while for offenders/suspects, it was 1 minute and 56 seconds. Moreover, lastly, the maximum amount of time spent on an incident was 5 minutes and 34 seconds, while for offenders/suspects, it was 5 minutes and 28 seconds.

[24] Coding the mean for Table 4 was done so twice by calculating the average amount of time spent on each incident in one episode and was repeated twelve times. After an average time was collected for all episodes this was averaged again to show the true average time spent on an incident in the show.

Table 8. Time spent on Offenders/Suspects by Ethnicity Categories

	Māori	Pasifika Islander	Polynesian	European	Combined (Māori/P.I./Polynesian)
Mean	6.48	3.08	2.37	6.37	4.59
Total	54.21	12.30	7.52	59.36	74.43

Note. The average and total amount of time spent on the offender/suspect by ethnic categories in the incidents section is formatted as mm: ss (minutes: seconds).

Table 8 shows the average and total time spent specifically on the offender/suspect by ethnicity. Māori offenders/suspects had an average of 6 minutes and 48 seconds of screen time. And a total of 54 minutes and 21 seconds of screen time. Similarly, the European offenders/suspects screen time average was 6 minutes 37 seconds and a total of 59 minutes and 36 seconds. Pasifika Islander offenders/suspects had the lowest average and total amount of screen time, with 3 minutes and 8 seconds on average and 12 minutes and 30 seconds total.

Table 9. Time spent on Incidents by Ethnicity Categories

	Māori	Pasifika Islander	Polynesian	European	Combined (Māori/P.I./Polynesian)
Mean	8.12	3.30	3.32	8.37	6.01
Total	65.33	14.01	10.37	77.31	90.11

Note. The average and the total amount of time spent on incidents regarding ethnic categories and formatted as mm: ss (minutes: seconds).

Table 9 shows the average and total time spent on the incident involving each ethnic group. Subsequently, incidents that involved Māori had an average screen time of 8 minutes and 12 seconds and a total time of 65 minutes and 33 seconds. Incidents with European offenders/suspects had the highest screen time, with 8 minutes and 37 seconds on average and 77 minutes and 31 seconds in total. Lastly, incidents concerning Pasifika Islanders had an average of 3 minutes and 30 seconds and a total time of 14 minutes and 1 second. As indicated by Tables 6 and 7, there is an apparent disparity towards the showing of Māori offenders on screen.

Table 10. Gang Connection Occurrence (Incidents) by Ethnicity

	Māori	Pasifika Islander	Polynesian	European	No offender Description
Gang mentioned	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Gang not mentioned	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

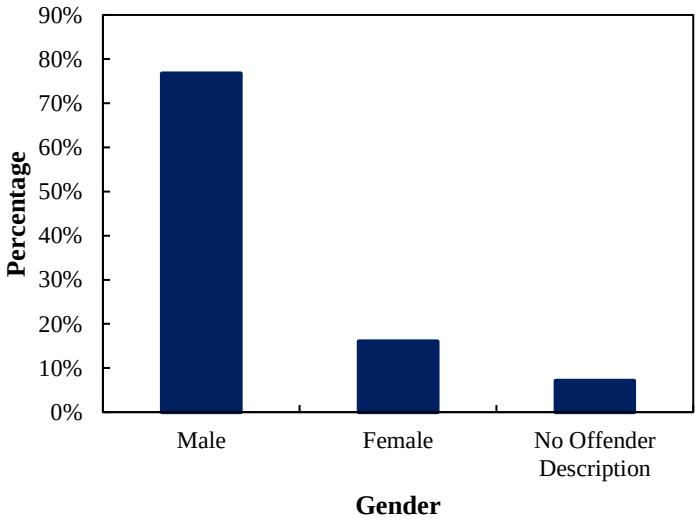
Note. Total no. of offenders recorded in incidents section n= 59.

A gang connection was only mentioned in one incident concerning 3 Māori males believed to be wearing mongrel mob patches. However, none were found with the patch in question.

4.2 Cases and "Wanted" Data

This section explores data collected from the cases part of *Police Ten 7* across all twelve episodes.

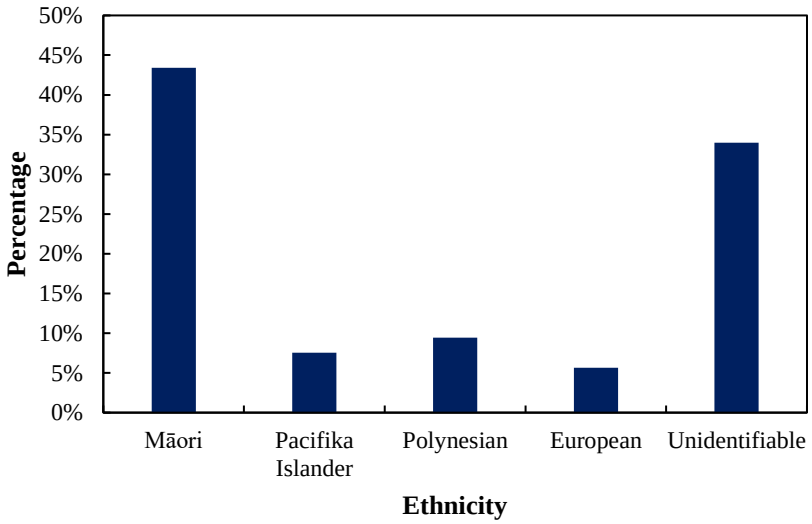
Figure 11. Offender Gender (Cases): Police Ten 7



Note. Figure 11 shows the total number of offenders (n=56) shown by gender for all cases across all twelve episodes on the show. Male n= 43, Female n= 9, No Offender Description n= 4

Figure 11 shows that 76.8% of all offenders that appeared in the cases section were men, while 16.1% were women, and only 7% of offenders' genders could not be identified.

Figure 12. Offender Ethnicity (Cases): Police Ten 7



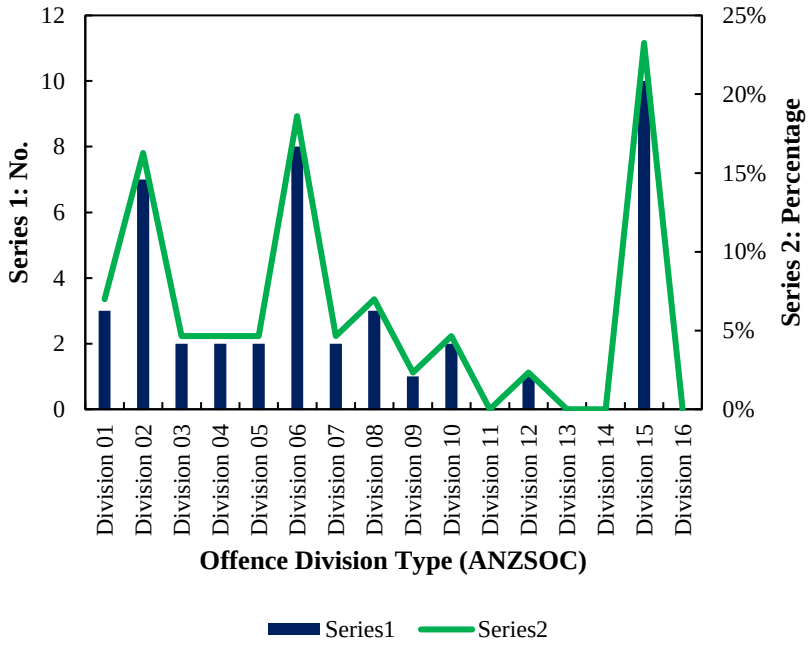
Note. Figure 12 expands upon Figure 11 and breaks down the data into different ethnic groups. Māori n= 23, Pasifika Islander n= 4, Polynesian n= 5, European n= 3, No Offender Description n= 18

Figure 12 shows Māori made up 43% of all offenders shown in the cases section across all episodes of the show; 34% had no offender description and could not be identified; 8% were Pasifika Islanders; 9% were Polynesian, and 6% were European.

4.2.1 Offences & Arrest Data

This section explores offence data through offence types and comparing said data with the offender ethnicity data shown in Figure 11.

Figure 13. Offence Type (Cases): Police Ten 7



Note. See footnote 19 for details on the offence divisions. Figure 13 shows the offences offenders were wanted for in the cases section. Refer to "3.3 Coding tools" for more information on how the data was coded and the definitions for offence types. Total offence types recorded n= 43. D01 n= 3, D02 n= 7, D03 n= 2, D04 n= 2, D05 n= 2, D06 n= 8, D07 n= 2, D08 n= 3, D09 n= 1, D10 n= 2, D11 n= 0, D12 n= 1, D13 n= 0, D14 n= 0, D15 n= 10, and D16 n= 0.

Figure 13 shows the specific offence divisions offenders were wanted for in the cases section. As shown in the graph, D02 (Acts intended to cause injury), D06 (Robbery, extortion, and related offences), and D15 (Offences against justice procedures, government security, and government operations) are the offences for which offenders are wanted for the most, with 16%, 19%, and 23% of all offences recorded being made up of said 3 divisions. As D15 was recorded at 23% when compared to the official statistics of charges prosecuted against adults, specifically adults who were convicted, 22.8% of adults were convicted of D15 in 2019/20 (Stats NZ, 2021a). The rate for D02 was slightly skewed upwards of the official statistics, where 9.5% of adults were convicted for D02 in 2019/20 (Stats NZ, 2021a). And lastly, D06 was significantly overrepresented, where 19% was recorded from the show. D06 only makes up 0.4% of the official statistics that adults are convicted of (Stats NZ, 2021a).

Table 11. Offence Division Type (ANZOC) by Ethnicity (Cases)

	Māori	Pasifika Islander	Polynesian	European	No Offender Description
Division 01	0%	0%	33%	0%	67%
Division 02	71%	14%	0%	0%	14%
Division 03	0%	50%	0%	0%	50%
Division 04	50%	0%	0%	0%	50%
Division 05	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Division 06	13%	0%	38%	0%	50%
Division 07	50%	0%	0%	50%	0%
Division 08	33%	33%	0%	33%	0%
Division 09	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%
Division 10	50%	0%	0%	50%	0%
Division 11	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Division 12	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%
Division 13	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Division 14	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Division 15	90%	0%	0%	0%	10%
Division 16	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

Note. See footnote 19 for details on the offence divisions. See Figure 13 for further detail on specific offence division values. Table 11 expands upon the data in Figure 13 by ethnicity. Total offence type n= 43. Total offence type by Ethnicity for Māori n= 21, Pasifika Islander n= 4, Polynesian n= 5, European n= 3, and offenders with no description n= 10.

Table 11 shows the offences offenders from different ethnic groups were wanted by percentage. Māori offenders, in general, appeared more often than those from other ethnic groups, with 21 offenders wanted for offences in the cases section. In almost all instances' Māori offenders were wanted for D15 (Offences against justice procedures, government security, and government operations), with 9 out of the 10 offenders being identified as Māori. Such representation is vastly imbalanced, as Māori made up 48% of all offenders/suspects apprehended for D15 in 2014 (Stats NZ, 2014b).[25] D02 also appeared seven times in the cases section, with 71% being Māori offenders who were wanted for acts intended to cause injury and assault. D09 (Fraud, deception and related offences) only appeared once regarding a Pasifika offender. European offenders only appeared once for each offence: D07 (Unlawful entry with intent/burglary, break and enter), D08 (Theft and related offences), and D10 (Illicit drug offences), making 3 appearances in the cases

[25] Apprehensions statistics by offence division and ethnicity are only up to the latest year of 2014.

section. Only 1 case was associated with D12 (Property damage and environmental pollution) with an offender believed to be Polynesian.

4.2.2 Gang connections & time

Figure 14. Gang Connection Occurrence (Cases): Police ten 7

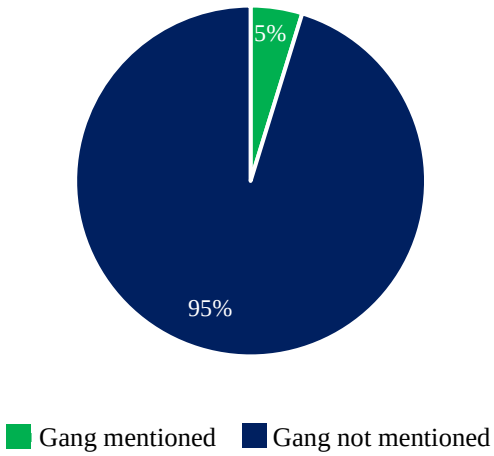


Figure 14 shows the percentage of how many times a gang connection was mentioned across each case in *Police Ten 7*. A gang connection was only mentioned twice (5%) out of the 42 cases. Both times were the mongrel mob mentioned in the cases as the offenders were stated to have affiliations with the said gang, and both were Māori men.

Table 12. Gang Connection Occurrence (Cases) by Ethnicity

	Māori	Pasifika Islander	Polynesian	European	No offender Description
Gang mentioned	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Gang not mentioned	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

Note. Total no of cases recorded n= 42. A gang connection was only mentioned twice for two offenders, both being Māori men.

Table 13. Time spent on Cases by Ethnicity Categories

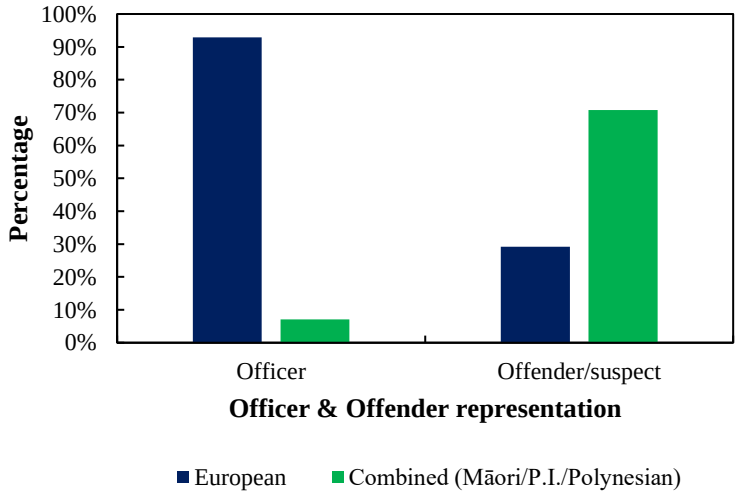
	Māori	Pasifika Islander	Polynesian	European	No offender Description	Combined (Māori/P.I./Polynesian)
Mean	0.35	1.09	2.42	0.17	2.36	1.14
Total	6.27	4.36	13.29	0.52	23.22	24.32

Note. The average time spent on the case and total time spent for each ethnic category are formatted mm: ss (minutes: seconds).

Table 13 shows the average and total time in the cases section by ethnicity. Māori had an average screen time of 35 seconds and a total time of 6 minutes and 27 seconds in the cases section. Pasifika Islanders had an average of 1 minute and 9 seconds on screen and 4 minutes and 36 seconds in total. Polynesian offenders had the highest average time on-screen with 2 minutes and 42 seconds and the second-most total time with 13 minutes and 29 seconds.[26] Europeans were severely underrepresented in the cases section across all offence divisions, which was reflected in the amount of time spent on said ethnic group. An average of 17 seconds and a total time of 52 seconds was spent on European offenders.

4.3 Additional data and findings

Figure 15. Officer & Offender representation (Incidents + Cases)



Note. Figure 15 shows the specific values concerning officer & offender representation for European & a combined category of Māori/P.I/Polynesian in a percentage format. European officer total percentage n= 93%, total n= 92. Combined (Māori/P.I./Polynesian) officer total percentage = 7%, total n= 7. European offender/suspect total percentage = 29%, total n= 26. Combined (Māori/P.I./Polynesian) offender/suspect total percentage = 71%, total n= 63.

Figure 15 shows the officer and offender representation from both the incidents and cases section of the show. Overall, 93% of officers shown were European, while only a combined percentage of 7% were Māori and Pasifika peoples. Europeans only made up 29% of the offender total while Māori and Pasifika peoples made up the majority with 71%.

[26] See "ethnicity" in 3.3 Coding tools.

Table 14. Adults convicted in court 2020/21 Statistics NZ (2021b)

	Māori	Pasifika Islander	European	Total
Division 01	45%	10%	37%	92%
Division 02	47%	11%	34%	91%
Division 03	55%	13%	33%	102%
Division 04	31%	10%	46%	87%
Division 05	29%	7%	40%	76%
Division 06	46%	9%	45%	100%
Division 07	65%	17%	21%	102%
Division 08	58%	10%	38%	106%
Division 09	59%	7%	39%	105%
Division 10	41%	6%	43%	90%
Division 11	41%	6%	52%	98%
Division 12	54%	8%	42%	104%
Division 13	51%	9%	38%	98%
Division 14	44%	9%	43%	97%
Division 15	37%	10%	38%	85%
Division 16	57%	10%	33%	99%
Division Total	45%	10%	37%	92%

Note. Table 14 shows data retrieved from Stats NZ (2021b) adults convicted in court by sentence type – most serious offence fiscal year 2020/21 period. As the data includes multiple ethnicity information, some people will have been counted across several ethnicities resulting in a sum higher than 100%. As stated in footnote 18, data concerning other ethnic groups were omitted; thus, the total percentage represents the sum of the three ethnic groups in the table.

Table 15. Time spent on Offenders/Suspects by Ethnicity Categories (Incidents + Cases)

	Māori	Pasifika Islander	Polynesian	European	Combined (Māori/P.I./Polynesian)
Mean	5.04	1.26	1.47	5.02	2.45
Total	60.48	17.06	21.21	61.38	99.15

Note. The average time spent on the case and total time spent for each ethnic category are formatted mm: ss (minutes: seconds).

Table 15 shows the average and total amount of time spent on offenders/suspects from both the incidents and cases section of the show. A total of 60 minutes, 48 seconds was spent on Māori offenders, Pasifika offenders equalled 17 minutes, 6 seconds, and lastly, European offenders had 61 minutes, 38 seconds of screen time.

Table 16. Offence Division Type (ANZOC) by Ethnicity (Incidents + Cases)

	Māori	Pasifika Islander	Polynesian	European	Unidentifiable/No Offender Description
Division 01	0%	0%	33%	0%	67%
Division 02	71%	14%	0%	0%	14%
Division 03	0%	50%	0%	0%	50%
Division 04	50%	0%	0%	0%	50%
Division 05	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Division 06	13%	0%	38%	0%	50%
Division 07	50%	0%	0%	50%	0%
Division 08	40%	20%	0%	20%	20%
Division 09	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%
Division 10	50%	0%	0%	50%	0%
Division 11	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Division 12	0%	0%	50%	0%	50%
Division 13	25%	0%	0%	50%	25%
Division 14	44%	11%	0%	39%	6%
Division 15	92%	0%	0%	0%	8%
Division 16	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

Note. Table 16 shows merged data from Tables 5 and 11. Total offences recorded n= 75. D01 n= 3, D02 n= 7, D03 n= 2, D04 n= 2, D05 n= 2, D06 n= 8, D07 n= 2, D08 n= 5, D09 n= 1, D10 n= 2, D11 n= 0, D12 n= 2, D13 n= 4, D14 n= 18, D15 n= 12, and D16 n= 0.

Table 16 shows that overall, Māori were represented in a wider array of offence divisions than any other ethnic group, whereas Pasifika and European offenders both appeared in 5 offence divisions.

Chapter 5 Discussion

This research examined the representation of Māori and Pasifika individuals in the reality crime show Police Ten 7. The research sought to determine whether Māori and Pasifika were portrayed differently in comparison to Pākehā, the attitudes Māori and Pasifika held towards police, the representation of Māori and Pasifika by the ANZSOC offence divisions, and lastly the geographical representation of Māori and Pasifika.

This chapter will focus on explaining the findings as presented in Chapter 4. Critical explanations, ideas, and meanings will be presented through a detailed analysis concerning the findings, the extant literature, and relevant theories. Therefore, summarising what the findings mean from the content analysis of the 12 episodes, answering the research questions and presenting further questions which have arisen as a result. Lastly, recommendations and suggestions for future research will be provided at the end.

5.1 Research Questions

Addressing research Q1.

1) Does 'Police Ten 7' portray Māori and Pasifika differently compared to Pākehā? If so, how?

The content analysis of *Police Ten 7* yielded significant results regarding the representation of Māori and Pasifika peoples, especially when compared to the representation of Pākehā individuals. The first key finding concerned the ethnicity of officers presented in the show. Pākehā made up the vast majority of officers on *Police Ten 7*, representing a little over 90%. The representation of Māori and Pasifika officers pale in comparison, representing less than 3% for each ethnic group. To further highlight the differences, this disproportionate representation of Pākehā officers is higher than official statistics of police employees, as identified in the 2018 annual report (New Zealand Police, 2018). Even to this date, when combining the ethnic groups of New Zealand European/Pākehā (68%) and European (16.6%), 84.6% of police employees are predominantly white (New Zealand Police, 2021).

The percentage of Māori (12.3%) and Pasifika (6.8%) police employees has only increased by less than 1% for both ethnic groups (New Zealand Police, 2018, 2021). With the various amount of resources, campaigns, and recruitment strategies spent on increasing the diversity within the NZ Police, the question has to be asked why the percentage of Māori and Pasifika officers has barely increased (Kaipara, 2021; Kidd, 2012; New Zealand Police, 2018, 2019a, 2019b, 2021; Satherley, 2018). Furthermore, the annual report from 2018 indicated that NZ Police had workforce targets to deliver the same proportion of Māori constabulary staff as there are Māori in the general population (New Zealand Police, 2018). During the time of the said report, Māori were estimated to make up 15.8% of the New Zealand population (Stats NZ, 2018c, 2019b). If we assume the percentage of total police employees by ethnic group is the same for constabulary officers in the NZ Police, an additional 4% of Māori constabulary officers need to be recruited to meet their workforce target.[27] However, as of June 2021, estimates for the total population of Māori in New Zealand are now at 17.1% (Stats NZ, 2021c). The point is that despite the NZ Police's efforts they continue to underrecruit and the Māori population is growing at a faster rate than police recruitment is successful. Hence, the NZ Police always remain a step behind. Although, in defense of the NZ Police perhaps the under-representation of Māori and Pasifika officers is due to the areas shown, such statistics cannot be confirmed as they are either omitted from the NZ Police annual reports or unavailable.

These findings contradict the NZ Police's intention of wanting to increase Māori recruitment. Although the police have a significant say in what material is getting aired on the show, little effort appears to be made to use the show to attract more Māori or Pasifika officers by representing a proportionate number of Māori and Pasifika staff currently employed by NZ Police. The findings do not match the official employment statistics for the institution, showing that there is a clear bias or agenda of what the NZ Police force looks like, which is white and blue. On the other hand, as shown in Figure 4, the ethnicity of identified offenders in the incidents section who were European (39%) and Pasifika (10%) were similar to the official statistics. At the same time, Māori offenders in the incidents section were underrepresented by 12% compared to the official stats. Nonetheless, these percentages start to become skewed in the cases section.[28] Māori

[27] Figure 2 identifies that Māori made up 11.8% of all NZ police employees as of 2018.
[28] See Figure 12 Offender Ethnicity (Cases).

(43%) made up the bulk of offenders who were wanted by the NZ Police, while the number of Pasifika (8%) and European (6%) offenders who were wanted paled in comparison. The picture and bias become very clear when looking at the officer to offender representation, where the data shows Europeans predominantly as officers (93%) and Māori/P.I./Polynesians as offenders (71%).[29] This representation of non-white offenders and white officers is consistent with the literature (Monk-Turner et al., 2007; Oliver, 1994, 2003; Podvoiskis, 2012). Also, these findings confirm the overrepresentation of Māori and Pasifika people as offenders in correlation to the general population of New Zealand (Stats NZ, 2018a, 2019b).

The representation of Māori and Pasifika peoples as police officers in *Police Ten 7* is lower than the official statistics serves to further perpetuate an image of a white police force to the Māori and Pasifika viewership, which is detrimental to these ethnic groups as they are not being presented as belonging to the institution (Monk-Turner et al., 2007; New Zealand Police, 2021; Oliver, 1994; Podvoiskis, 2012). In addition, the overrepresentation of Māori and Pasifika people as offenders presents issues as the presentation of these two ethnic groups as offenders further reinforce to viewers ideas of Māori and Pasifika peoples being intrinsically criminals (Allen & Bruce, 2017; Barnes et al., 2012; Bradley & Walters, 2019; Cunneen & Tauri, 2016; Gregory et al., 2011; Matheson, 2007; Maxwell & Smith, 1998; McCreanor et al., 2014; Neusteter et al., 2019; Podvoiskis, 2012). These kinds of misrepresentations can have criminogenic effects. For example, findings from a 2013 thesis suggest that youth gang members labelled as ‘wannabes’ will go out to prove and legitimise themselves as real gang members (Tunufa’i, 2013). In line with labelling theory, viewers who are Māori and Pasifika may start to conform and label themselves accordingly as an offender and not as potential police officers, which could be achieved if the producers and the NZ Police deemed so (Bradley & Walters, 2019; Tunufa’i, 2013).

The second key finding concerns the resolution of incidents and whether an offender was arrested or warned. Compared to official apprehension data from 2014, the show portrayed higher arrest rates for all ethnic groups (Stats NZ, 2014b). Official apprehension statistics indicate that resolutions concerning Māori was 33%, Pākehā was

[29] See Figure 15 Officer & Offender representation (Incidents + Cases).

25%, and Pasifika peoples were 5% (Stats NZ, 2014b).[30] Warnings for each ethnic group were lower in official statistics than on the TV show, with 11% of resolutions concerning Māori being warnings, 14% for Pākehā, and 3% for Pasifika peoples (Stats NZ, 2014b). Nevertheless, the findings still indicate that incidents arrests were more prevalent in the show as 69% of incidents involving Māori led to an arrest, 33% for Pasifika, and 53% for Pākehā.[31] Therefore, the findings reveal that the producers overrepresent arrests, highlighting the sensationalist nature of *Police Ten 7*. Several scholars indicate that the importance of legitimacy and satisfaction of the police force by the public is integral to shaping the public's perception and value toward authority (Crowl, 2017; Hinds & Murphy, 2007; Kristina, 2009; Tyler, 1997). According to cultivation theory, viewers of *Police Ten 7* might believe that most police interactions lead to arrests. If so, this may increase levels of police legitimacy and reiterate the nature of police being tough on crime and creating safer communities (Gerbner et al., 2002; Morgan et al., 2014). Therefore, leading to the audience's perception of the police and their role becoming distorted.

Another perspective suggested by my analysis is the overrepresentation of arrests is being used to incentivise potential police recruits to believe they will be arresting offenders rather than issuing warnings, so they will have "better work stories". A study conducted in 2020 identified the importance of narratives and storytelling within the NZ Police to legitimise and co-create values in helping change the police culture, which is also used to aid recruitment, training, and development in the organisation (Macaulay & Rowe, 2020). Therefore, this research claims that the same importance of narratives and storytelling is used in Police Ten 7 as drivers for recruitment and legitimising the NZ Police and their role in the community. However, the truth of policing and their role is exaggerated where their job is more mundane than what they portray (Kelling, 1999; Stephenson, 2021). The reality that the show fails to encapsulate, or perhaps the producers omit, is the administrative nature of the police. Findings indicate that *Police Ten 7* skews the role of their officers to be exciting, showing only the best moments as identified in previous literature relating to police and crime shows (Kelling, 1999; Podvoiskis, 2012; Stephenson, 2021).

[30] Apprehension resolutions for each ethnic group were made up by merging the totals from the following: Family Group Conference Youth Justice, Prosecutions, and Youth Aid Section.
[31] See Table 4 Incident resolution rate by Ethnicity 2.

The third key finding and the most novel, thus adding to the body of knowledge on crime shows, and an indisputable indicator for the disproportionate focus on Māori and Pasifika peoples is through the screen time dedicated to offenders and suspects. The findings of this study on the screen time dedicated to offenders from the 12 episodes investigated present irrefutable evidence that *Police Ten 7* focuses on Māori and Pasifika offenders, mainly Māori.[32] A combined total of 99 minutes were spent on Māori and Pasifika offenders/suspects, while for Pākehā, this value was 61 minutes. This focus further portrays to the audience that the 'offender' label directly correlates to Māori and Pasifika individuals (Bradley & Walters, 2019; Tunufa'i, 2013). It is unclear why the producers and NZ Police have placed more emphasis on both ethnic groups. However, these findings show further consistency with the literature in how media and crime shows' focus on ethnic minorities, Indigenous, and non-white people as the 'bad guys', possibly indicating the racist nature of *Police Ten 7* and crime shows in general (Barnes et al., 2012; Bull, 2017; Cotter et al., 2008; Doyle, 1998; Eschholz et al., 2002; McCreanor et al., 2014; Monk-Turner et al., 2007; Oliver, 1994; Podvoiskis, 2012; Stephenson, 2021).

The fourth and last key finding concerns the data on offenders who were missing clothing items and the occurrence of gang connections by ethnic groups, and their relation to brutishness as identified by Auckland Councillor Efeso Collins (Radio New Zealand, 2021c). The findings collected show that while several people were shown to be missing some clothing item, the most notable instances concerned two separate offenders shown without an upper garment or otherwise bare-chested.[33] One identified as Pākehā and the other as Māori by the researcher. While both were shown as bare-chested conveying some levels of brutishness, it was apparent the show placed more emphasis on the incident concerning the Māori offender as he was shown bare-chested throughout the entire incident compared to the Pākehā man. That said, consumers of *Police Ten 7* should take caution and be mindful when watching the show as the producers and NZ Police have complete control over what is aired on TV when it comes to *Police Ten 7*. *Police Ten 7* is a show made for entertainment and should not be taken as a testament to the realities of crime and policing.

The editors clearly dedicated more screen time to Māori offenders who were shouting humorous statements, such as, "Can we boost it eah I needa piss eah before I piss on your

[32] See Tables 8, 9, 13, and 15.
[33] See Figures 9 and 10.

chair, I'm telling you the truth please?", "Bro I been hanging for a piss before yous fucking got me about half an hour ago", the officer responds with "You'll just have to hold it, the station's just on the other side of the bridge", to which the offender replies "Nah cousin that doesn't matter cousin, fuck I have to go cousin". However, in the other case concerning the Pākehā man, some offensive statements are made, he provokes the officers, yet they do not show the offender bare-chested until he is being put into the cells, where we only get to see the offender take his shirt off and walk into the cell. Such biased depictions only further stimulate the idea that Māori are brutish or otherwise savages (Bull, 2017; Cunneen & Tauri, 2016; Gregory et al., 2011; Jackson, 1990). While the decision making remains unclear of what is approved to be shown on *Police Ten 7,* a clear overall agenda is being portrayed across the board.

The second part of this key finding is the occurrence and mentioning of gang connections throughout *Police Ten 7*. While very few gang connections were mentioned compared to the number of offenders and suspects that appeared in the show, the association of a gang connection was only mentioned with offenders who were Māori.[34] Consequently, questions are raised as to why gang connections, specifically Mongrel Mob connections, were only mentioned concerning Māori offenders. The producers and NZ Police may be conveying the image to viewers that only Māori are gang members and wish to induce fear and other racial stigmas of Māori (Barnes et al., 2012; Bull, 2017; Coxhead, 2005; Cunneen & Tauri, 2016; Maxwell & Smith, 1998; Webb, 2017). However, the researcher remains uncertain, and more evidence is required to support these claims.

Additionally, it should be noted that not all gangs in New Zealand are entirely made up of Māori as there are gangs who are entirely Pākehā (Coxhead, 2005; Gilbert, 2013; Kelsey & Young, 1982). In fact, most gang origins are tied to Pākehā communities and individuals. According to Gilbert (2013), the Mongrel Mob was founded by Europeans. However, people still tend to affiliate gangs with Māori and Polynesian people. Unsurprisingly, only Māori were mentioned to have gang connections in the show, possibly indicating "Māori-bashing" (Barnes et al., 2012; Bull, 2017; Coxhead, 2005; McCreanor et al., 2014; Walker, 2004). Nevertheless, considering the number of articles and resources spent concerning gangs by the New Zealand media and the NZ Police, it is

[34] See Tables 10 and 12, and Figure 14.

surprising that organised crime and gang-related activities are considerably absent from *Police Ten 7* (NZ Herald, 2021; Radio New Zealand, 2020, 2021d, 2021f).

We speculate that responses and justifications for this disproportionate representation are the arguments that these statistics reflect the official crime statistics where Māori commit more crime. However, this is not the case where the official crime statistics overrepresent Māori in proportion to their population. The findings also reveal that the TV show overrepresents Māori in proportion to the official crime statistics and the Māori population. Furthermore, such face value justifications fail to consider the impact of colonialism on our institutions and the criminal justice system (Cunneen & Tauri, 2016; Jackson, 1987, 1988, 1990; Moon, 1993, 2002). Colonialism has affected the institution of the NZ Police, which has further affected how the police present information and data and whom they choose to share their information and data. As stated previously in Chapter 2, "there may be some bias within the reports, and some findings may have been redacted to refrain from tarnishing the NZ Police's reputation and image" where this research applies this statement to reflect *Police Ten 7* also.

To summarise the findings and answer the first research question, *Police Ten 7* does portray Māori and Pasifika peoples differently compared to Pākehā. Māori and Pasifika people on the show are overrepresented in correlation to being an offender, having higher arrest rates, more screen time than Pākehā, and are connected to gangs.

Addressing research Q2.

2) What are the attitudes of Māori and Pasifika towards police in the show?

The representation of verbal aggression was used as an indicator of negative attitudes of Māori and Pasifika peoples towards the NZ Police. The findings in this study display that Māori showed more verbal aggression overall than any other ethnic group.[35] The actual number of Māori offenders who had shown some form of verbal aggression was a little under half of all Māori offenders shown in the incidents section. Still, Māori offenders were shown across the board as more verbally aggressive. Furthermore, two Māori offenders were the only ones shown threatening police "You know if I ever see you on the street again, I'm going to fucken KO you". While not shown on screen, an officer states to the other offender, "You're under arrest, you threatened to kill me my friend".

[35] See Figure 8 and Table 6.

These statements and findings also support the argument that Māori men are presented as brutish and intrinsically violent to the audience (Allen & Bruce, 2017; Bull, 2017; Coxhead, 2005; Cunneen & Tauri, 2016; Maxwell & Smith, 1998; Radio New Zealand, 2021c). These findings also point towards Māori having a lack of respect for authority, possibly due to their pre-existing distrust of the NZ Police (Heyer, 2019; Radio New Zealand, 2021a, 2021b, 2021e; Whaiti & Roguski, 1998).

On the other hand, Pākehā offenders were found to be swearing directly at police the most in televised incidents. This may also indicate that Pākehā have a lack of respect for authority. However, in linking these findings with the incident resolution rate, we know that Pākehā were warned more and arrested less overall than Māori offenders. Therefore, it can be inferred that Pākehā get away with such verbal aggression more than Māori. This representation shows the audience that you are more likely to receive a slap on the wrist for stepping out of line if you are white. Applying the cultivation theoretical perspective to these findings present to the audience the brutishness mentioned above of brown men and play into the narrative of Māori as savages (Cunneen & Tauri, 2016; Gerbner et al., 2002; Moon, 1993, 2002; Morgan et al., 2014). However, in the case of Pākehā offenders found swearing directly at police more, people run to their defence, coming up with any justification and excuse for their actions (McCreanor et al., 2014).

Interestingly, Pasifika people had no instances of verbal aggression towards police. Thus, in the case of Pasifika peoples and verbal aggression, there are no associations of brutishness with the group. As a result, only Māori were shown to be brutish through their threats of violence towards police, once again adding more fuel to the negative depictions of Māori in *Police Ten 7*. Māori offenders are represented as having a more rebellious and violent nature towards the NZ Police. Pasifika peoples, on the other hand, were not shown committing any verbal aggression thus, portraying them as more docile and respectful to the NZ Police. However, the nature of these crime shows must be reiterated, which is that *Police Ten 7* is an entertainment show supported by the police for the police. As such, the audience is being shown what the producers and the NZ Police want them to see (given that NZ Police play a role in the show's editing). Therefore, the actual levels of verbal aggression they encounter in the community may be significantly higher or lower.

Addressing research Q3.

3) Is the portrayal of Māori and Pasifika in Police Ten 7 an accurate representation of the official statistics by offence?

Firstly, the official statistics, as displayed in Table 14, show that there are offenders of different ethnic groups across all offence divisions from D01–D16 (Stats NZ, 2021b). Subsequently, official statistics also show that no ethnic group had 0% representation across any offence division (Stats NZ, 2021b). The findings show that only D11 (Prohibited and regulated weapons and explosives offences) and D16 (Miscellaneous offences) were not presented at all on the show. Also, while D01–D15 was shown in correlation to offenders, this was unbalanced in relation to the ethnic groups, therefore, unreflective of the official statistics. For example, the findings show that only Māori offenders were wanted for D05 (Abduction, harassment and other offences against the person), but compared to the official data, Pasifika peoples and Pākehā are also wanted for this offence category.[36]

The first key finding concerning the research question is that overall, Māori appeared across the most offence divisions in both the incidents and cases section of the show.[37] In comparison to the official statistics, the findings show that Māori were overrepresented in the following divisions: D02 (Acts intended to cause injury), D04 (Dangerous or negligent acts endangering persons), D05 (Abduction, harassment and other offences against the person), D10 (Illicit drug offences), and D15 (Offences against government procedures, government security and government operations).[38] Yet, when compared to Pākehā, they were only represented across D07 (Theft and related offences), D08 (Fraud, deception and related offences), D10 (Illicit drug offences), D13 (Public order offences), and D14 (Traffic and vehicle regulatory offences). While Māori also appeared in the same offences as Pākehā, this does not dispute the fact that they are associated with more serious offences than Pākehā. Once again, representation in such serious offences confirms to the audience that Māori are brutish (Radio New Zealand, 2021c). Through a higher representation in several offence divisions, a higher representation as offenders, and more screen time dedicated to Māori offenders, it becomes further evident what the producers and the NZ Police want to be shown when it comes to people who are Māori.

[36] See Tables 11 and 14.
[37] See Tables 5 and 11.
[38] See Table 16.

Auckland Councillor Efeso Collins identified that “the show feeds into racial stereotypes,” to which the findings clearly represent this statement (Radio New Zealand, 2021c). In relation to cultivation theory and the processes of mainstreaming and resonance, overrepresentation in these offences only confirms the following stereotypes to the audience, that Māori are violent, dangerous, drug users, and have no respect for authority (Barnes et al., 2012; Bull, 2017; Coxhead, 2005; Cunneen & Tauri, 2016; Gerbner et al., 2002; Maxwell & Smith, 1998; McCreanor et al., 2014; Morgan et al., 2014; Whaiti & Roguski, 1998). Also, in showing the offences above in relation to Māori, the audience and potential police recruits may believe that these are the offences they will be arresting Māori for in the future, which is stretching the truth of police interactions.

The second key finding concerns the overrepresentation of Pasifika offenders in D03 (Sexual assault related offences), D08 (Theft and related offences), and D09 (Fraud, deception and related offences). While the sample of offenders is small compared to the official statistics, thus possibly skewing the findings slightly, Pasifika offenders were significantly overrepresented percentage-wise in the three mentioned divisions. Notably, Pasifika peoples were the only ethnic group associated with D03 with a sexual assault case. Only two offenders were identified across the show's entirety with D03 although, the other offender could not be identified. In both instances, the host Rob Lemoto and officers rarely berate and demean offenders in the show. However, sexual assault cases must be the exception as statements include “This man is a menace to society” and “Sexual assaults of this nature are abhorrent and must be stopped”. The show presents a clear agenda that sexual assault is not acceptable. However, the audience may also infer that sexual assaults are related to Pasifika peoples as they are the only ethnic group associated with such an offence.

To answer the research question, the portrayal of Māori and Pasifika peoples are not an accurate representation of the official statistics by offence division. Māori and Pasifika peoples are overrepresented in various offence divisions, showing higher percentages in most offence divisions where they are represented.

Addressing research Q4.

4) What geographic areas are policed or shown more frequently in the show?

The first key finding in relation to the research question concerns the various areas that were shown and policed across both the North and South Islands of New Zealand. In no particular order, these areas included: Auckland, New Plymouth, Christchurch, Queenstown, Dunedin, Wellington, Whangarei, Hamilton, Te Puke, Tauranga, Paihia, Gisborne, and Whanganui. Furthermore, a slight difference was identified concerning the time an incident occurred, with just over half of the incidents occurring at night. Findings also indicate a significant disposition towards the presentation of urban crime. Most incidents are concentrated in the major cities of New Zealand, such as Auckland, Christchurch, Queenstown, and Wellington. In relation to victimisation rates, people who lived in main urban areas were more likely to be victims of one or more offences than those living in minor urban areas and rural areas (Ministry of Justice, 2020). From a surface level, the results show some similarities with the official statistics for annual recorded offences in 2014, where 33% of the recorded offences occurred between the police districts of Waitemata, Auckland, and Counties Manukau (Stats NZ, 2014a).[39] Regarding cultivation theory and resonance, these findings resonate with the audience that the majority of crimes and incidents occur at night and in the major cities of New Zealand (Gerbner et al., 2002; Morgan et al., 2014).

The second key finding relates to the ethnic groups and areas that they appeared in. Additionally, when comparing the findings to the official statistics found in the 2018 census, Māori are mainly overrepresented in the areas where they appear.[40] Māori generally made up just under 30% of the total population of all areas in New Zealand by their regional council and only made up over 30% in the Northland region with 36% and the Gisborne Region with 53% of the region's populace being Māori (Stats NZ, 2018a). On the other hand, Europeans were starkly underrepresented, as for each region in New Zealand, they made up over 70–90% of the populace, except for the Auckland and Gisborne regions, with 54% and 58% (Stats NZ, 2018a).

Consequently, findings point towards the show focusing on the policing of Māori in both urban and rural areas. While for Pasifika and European people, there is a focus on urban

[39] See Figure 1 for comparison.
[40] See Table 1.

crime. Therefore, viewers' perceptions may become warped where they may feel unsafe in urban or rural cities when seeing a person who is Māori. Also, as Pasifika people were only represented in Auckland, the audience may feel unsafe seeing a Pasifika person in said city. Additionally, the viewer may also associate the areas in which the offenders appeared with crime.

5.2 Conclusion

Viewers of *Police Ten 7* are bombarded with skewed negative connotations of Māori and Pasifika peoples, which is detrimental to how these two ethnic groups are viewed by society. The findings prove that *Police Ten 7* reinforces existing conceptions of Māori and Pasifika peoples being lesser, criminal, savages, brutish, and dangerous. While Podvoiskis's (2012) suggest that their research does not indicate whether the police act unfairly, unprofessional, nor do police knowingly or unknowingly target victims or offenders, the current study demonstrates that is not true. The Police Commissioner himself stated that unconscious bias exists within the NZ Police (Forbes, 2021).

However, this research has positioned itself to confirm the allegations and claims made by Auckland Councillor Efeso Collins that the show portrays brown men as brutish and criminal (Radio New Zealand, 2021c). Since the NZ Police are directly part of the decision making and editing of the show to make such statements where Podvoiskis suggests that the show is solely for entertainment and does not target offenders is somewhat invalid. *Police Ten 7* directly aligns with the literature where brown people are portrayed in crime media as the "other" (Allen & Bruce, 2017). *Police Ten 7* is a cop-centric show, presenting a biased narrative view from the NZ Police. It also reflects the overrepresentation and targeting of Māori and Pasifika peoples, as shown in the literature. The figures and tables in this study speak for themselves.

The show further adds to the levels of distrust that Māori and Pasifika peoples have of the NZ Police (Heyer, 2019; Radio New Zealand, 2021a, 2021b, 2021e; Whaiti & Roguski, 1998). Ironically, Police Commissioner Andrew stated that the media focuses on extreme ends of issues where there is no middle ground as it "doesn't sell or make great TV" (Radio New Zealand, 2021c). However, this research proves that *Police Ten 7* does the same. To conclude, this research shows clear and direct evidence that *Police Ten 7*

reinforces to viewers that Māori and Pasifika peoples are criminals and Pākehā are the officers policing the two.

5.3 Future Research

Despite these promising findings from the research, questions remain. Further work is required to confirm and validate these findings. Possible future research could investigate two separate seasons of Police Ten 7, identifying the visible differences and changes, thus utilising a comparative and content analysis. Additionally, it is suggested that using a critical discourse analysis could yield more robust results. This approach could examine the nuances throughout the narrator's and police officer's speech in the episode. With the constant evolution of technology, future software will be developed that can comprehensively analyse audio or media files and output a fully transcribed document, allowing the researcher to identify language patterns. Another angle to consider in future research is the police's perspectives on their role in the community at a local level, which provides further insights into their role's actual realities and views on offending.

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