

AUT Media Observatory

**News, politics and diversity in the 2014 New Zealand
General Election**

Researchers: Verica Rupar, Thomas Owen, Sarah Baker, Parma Nand,
Jane Scott, Craig Hoyle, Jose del Pozo Cruz, Jung Shaan Lee

Table of contents

Introduction

Summary of findings

Methodology

Media coverage of the elections

- Who writes about the elections: gender
- Frequency of coverage
- News genre
- Election topics
- Interest in party policies
- Elections and political geography

Diversity of voices in the election news

- Who talks in the election news?
- Reference to social groups
- Who do journalists talk to?

Space for public dialogue

- Stories and debates: *Dirty Politics* and the Moment of Truth
- Stories and political diversity
- Stories and social diversity

News media and Twitter-sphere

- Whom do journalists tweet to?
- What do journalists tweet about?
- How do journalists use Twitter?

List of tables

- Table 1: Gender of the author
- Table 2: Frequency of coverage
- Table 3: Story genre
- Table 4: News story's topic
- Table 4a: Story topics across media
- Table 6: Reference to party policy across media
- Table 7: Which party's policy is mentioned
- Table 8: What policy is mentioned
- Table 8a: Party policies mentioned across media
- Table 9: Reference to electorate
- Table 10: Global Governance
- Table 11: Political sources
- Table 12: Party leaders
- Table 13 Other sources (non-political party sources)
- Table 13a. Other sources across different platforms
- Table 14: Source gender
- Table 15 Type of speech
- Table 16: Reference to social groups
- Table 17: Political sources across four weeks
- Table 18: Proportion of mentions directed to each category by each category of users
- Table 19: Journalists role mentions directed by media
- Table 20: Journalists' role mentions directed at media
- Table 21: Percentage of political tweets
- Table 22: Keyword Twitter clusters
- Table 23: Reporters' tweets and political figures
- Table 24: Retweets
- Table 25: Most frequently used hashtags

List of Figures

- Figure 1: Intensity of coverage
- Figure 2: Reference to party policies
- Figure 3: Story genres before Moment of Truth
- Figure 3a: Story genres after Moment of Truth
- Figure 4: Gender of sources
- Figure 5: Gender of source, appearance of source and mode of speech
- Figure 6: Ethnicity and genre of news
- Figure 7: Form of news and social gap
- Figure 8: Number of mentions of Top 100 Twitter users

- Figure 9: Reporters' tweets and parties
- Figure 10: Timing of Dirty politics tweets

Introduction

Public interest in media performance increases dramatically at election time. Media are central to our understanding of the political and social worlds - and what political messages get on news media revive discussions of power and disparity, accuracy and fairness, social integration and identity, and political and social change. Academics warn that society depends on the quality of radio and television bulletins, print and online news for the efficiency of its democratic institutions¹. At election time - a period of high political activity - media's duty to alert the public to the issues of the day becomes visible, bringing additional responsibilities around the formation of public opinion, public engagement and the encouragement of political participation. While the Electoral Commission is charged with ensuring that general election advice is communicated to everyone eligible to vote regardless of sex, race, ethnicity, age, disability, sexual orientation or family status, the media's task is to ensure that members of the public are able to draw upon a 'diverse market place of ideas' in order to decide who to vote for².

Elections provide a context for looking closely at media and its provision of a diverse market of ideas. The New Zealand 2014 General Election and its media coverage are at the centre of this report. Described as a "no change election", an "indisputable - triumph for one man"³, the 2014 election brought the National Party a third term in office. Prime Minister John Key claimed it as "a victory for those who refused to be distracted and for those who knew a vote for National was a vote for a brighter future in New Zealand". On election night, John Key repeated a phrase often heard during the elections: "I will lead a Government that governs for all New Zealanders"⁴.

The Prime Minister's statement of inclusivity is the point of departure from which the AUT Media Observatory presents results of its analysis of diversity in media election coverage.

The project addresses three key research questions and issues:

¹ Carey (1997), Schudson (2000)

² Stromback and Kaid (2009)

³ John Armstrong, "Utter triumph for John Key" *The New Zealand Herald* (September 21, 2014), available at http://www.nzherald.co.nz/politics/news/article.cfm?c_id=280&objectid=11328656

⁴ "Election 2014: National win three more years with resounding win", *The New Zealand Herald* (21 September 2014), available at http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=11328664

1. Who is engaged in the election debate, which voices are heard, and who is talked about? Answers are presented in the section ‘Diversity of voices in the election coverage’.
2. What topics and spaces for citizens’ engagement are opened in the news media? Answers are presented in the section ‘Space for public dialogue’.
3. Who do journalists talk to in election time. Answers are presented in the section ‘News media and Twittersphere’.

To answer these questions, we conducted content analysis of political reports published in *The New Zealand Herald* newspaper (New Zealand’s leading daily print news publication), and broadcasted on *Morning Report* (Radio NZ, New Zealand’s public service radio broadcaster) and *ONE News at 6pm* (TVNZ, a commercially operated crown-owned enterprise). The report indicates main trends in the coverage, signalling issues for discussion rather than proving comprehensive conclusions.

Content analysis of a selected number of election news items published and broadcasted during the four weeks of the election campaign follows the method developed in the recent study of impartiality at the BBC⁵. This is followed by discourse analysis⁶ of a selected number of election editorials and commentaries that looks at the model applied to analysis of media discourse and by a network analysis of tweets⁷.

The New Zealand Herald, TVNZ’s *One News at 6pm* on-air bulletin, and National Radio’s *Morning Report* broadcast have been sampled for four weeks of election coverage to identify different forms of social narrative during the campaign. We look at story subject, genre of text, number of sources quoted, reporting mode (direct quote, reported speech, referred to), reference to social groups in terms of disability, ethnicity, religion, socioeconomic status, sexual orientation, marital status, gender, age and political orientation.

During the first week of analysis a list of journalists covering the election was compiled. The most prolific users posting content on Twitter among journalists covering the 2014 election were identified and then followed for four weeks. Journalists’ tweets have been analysed to address: who the journalists talk to (politicians, each other and citizens - (@mentions); and what they talk about (using #hashtags and key words as topic markers).

⁵ Wahl-Jorgensen et.al. (2013)

⁶ Following Fairclough’s (2000) model of analysis of news text

⁷ Using Ausserhofer and Maireder (2013)’s procedure of inquiry, as well as previous research undertaken by investigators in the School of Computer and Mathematic Sciences.

Summary of findings

- **Number of stories:** A total of 575 news stories over four weeks were collected. This included 116 from TVNZ (20.2% of the sample), 193 from Radio NZ (33.6% of the sample), and 266 from *The New Zealand Herald* (46.2% of the sample).
- **Reporters and gender:** The majority of journalists behind the election stories were male (62 percent). There was an approximate ratio of 2:1 for RNZ and TVNZ, but for NZH the ratio was closer to 3:1. Even in the cases where female political reporters outnumbered male colleagues, for example Radio NZ's *Morning Report*, male reporters' stories got on air more frequently.
- **News, opinions, interviews:** Two thirds of all reports were straight news items. Across the three different platforms, radio included the highest number of interviews. *Morning Report* had an almost equal number of news pieces and interviews, at 45.6% and 47.20% respectively. All but one of the TVNZ stories were news pieces.
- **Topics:** References to political process dominated the election coverage. The top three topics outside of political process were business (21%), polls (17%) and intelligence (10%). However, within the sample the three news outlets differed. For instance, on TVNZ's *One News at 6pm*, the leading topic was polls.
- **Reference to party policies:** Just over a third of stories (35%) mentioned party policies. *The New Zealand Herald* had more articles mentioning party policies than *Morning Report* and *One News at 6pm* (39.5%, 35.2% and 24.1%, respectively), but overall policies did not play a significant role in the coverage. Economy, housing, and inequality were the top three issues within party policies mentioned.
- **Political geography:** Only 13.6% of stories made references to specific electorates. When mentioned, it was usually concerning Māori seat electorates. Over 90 per cent of the coverage had an exclusively national focus, with Radio New Zealand featuring slightly more references to international and global governance issues.
- **Sources of news:** Political party sources (784) outranked all other sources combined (545) by a significant margin. National was the most frequent political source for election news stories (209), while members of the public were the most frequent non-political sources (215).
- **Gender of sources:** Nearly three quarters of people talking in the election news were male (71%).
- **Type of speech:** Direct speech dominated the news (87% of stories had direct quotes).

- **Reference to social groups:** Few references were made to social groups, but when they were, almost 20% deployed the broad category ‘New Zealanders’ (103).
- **Twitter use:** Journalists mainly interacted with other journalists (70% of @ mentions were of other media).
- **Type of tweets:** Political reporters’ tweets fell into three categories: discussion of news; social/work talk; and promotion and sharing via the retweet feature.
- **Interactivity:** There were 0.83 @ mentions per tweet.
- **Top politicians mentioned in journalists’ tweets:** John Key tops the list, but Judith Collins was second, mentioned more often by political reporters than David Cunliffe.

Methodology

The project *AUT Media Observatory: News, politics and diversity in the 2014 New Zealand General Election*⁸ was conducted by the AUT School of Communication Studies from August 23rd until September 19th – the four weeks leading up to the General Election on September 20th. This research project was conducted within a framework of content analysis⁹; one of the most well known methods of analysing media communication.

News Outlets: Background

This study used content analysis to investigate coverage of the elections in *The New Zealand Herald*, Radio NZ (*Morning Report*) and TVNZ (*One News at 6pm*). These news outlets were selected because of their reputation for comprehensive coverage of politics and because of their audience reach.

Radio New Zealand (RNZ) Ltd is a Crown entity company under the Crown Entities Act (2004). Established under the Radio New Zealand Act (1995), it operates under a charter that outlines what this non-commercial publicly funded national broadcaster is expected to provide. Section One (f), for example, directs RNZ to deliver ‘comprehensive, independent, impartial and balanced national news services and current affairs; including items with a regional aspect’¹⁰. Editorial independence is guaranteed by this Act. Recognising and respecting diversity is highlighted as an aspect of serving the nation in the Charter and in the 1989 Broadcasting Act’s codes of broadcasting. RNZ sees its role in news and current affairs as one concerned with the broad interests and diversity of its audience (p. 23). RNZ provides four broadcasting services – Radio New Zealand National, Radio New Zealand Concert, Radio New Zealand International, the youth digital arm The Wireless and live parliamentary broadcast on the RNZ AM network. RNZ National, a nationwide network, delivers documentaries, entertainment programmes, and news and current affairs. The latter includes *Morning Report*, *Midday Report*, *Nine to Noon* and *Checkpoint*.

RNZ describes *Morning Report/Te Pūrongo o te Ata* as their ‘flagship news and current affairs programme’ (RNZ, 2011, p 2). The weekday, 6am-9am programme comprises news and weather updates on the half hour from 6am till 8.30am, with more in-depth news stories, opinion pieces, and interviews in between. The day’s top political stories are highlighted at the beginning of the programme and variously developed after 7am. Pacific, rural and market specialist segments, together with

⁸ Funded by the AUT DCT Strategic Fund, principal investigator Dr Verica Ruper.

⁹ Krippendorf (2013)

¹⁰ Radio New Zealand. (2007). *Editorial Policies*. Retrieved from http://www.radionz.co.nz/assets/cms_uploads/000/000/003/Editorial_Policy_May_2007.pdf, p. 8

specific business news stories are run in the first hour. Te Manu Korihi, the Māori news, and the sports bulletin are run twice in the programme. The current co-presenters Susie Ferguson (Wellington) and Guyon Espiner (Auckland) co-ordinate and contribute to the items, interacting with the RNZ political editor and the parliamentary press gallery team, as well as other RNZ news reporters and specialist correspondents.

RNZ is required by statute to conduct Charter-related qualitative and quantitative audience research; the results are made public through annual reports and the website, and to parliamentary select committees. In an RNZ survey in March-April 2014, 88% of respondents thought a public service radio broadcaster important for the country (5% disagreed) and 80% thought RNZ provided a valuable service for New Zealanders (5% disagreed). A 'live listening' survey for the final quarter of 2013 revealed that the weekly live cumulative audience for RNZ National was 493,000, or 15% of the 15+ population. The same measurement for *Morning Report* was 355,000 (the highest audience numbers for National news, current affairs, documentary, magazine, talk programmes). RNZ National's share of all radio station listening was 10.3%; *Morning Report*'s station share was 13.8%. In terms of audience size, the cumulative figures place RNZ National as second of all radio stations nationwide, while its station share puts it as first nationwide.

Television New Zealand (TVNZ) is New Zealand's closest equivalent to a national television broadcaster. When it was founded in 1960, New Zealand's low population spread sparsely over a large area meant neither the government nor commercial interests could alone support such a broadcasting system, and a unique model was introduced whereby TVNZ was funded via a mix of license fees, advertising and government assistance¹¹. The license fees have since been abolished. Since the late 1980s TVNZ has operated as a Crown-owned enterprise, operating independently from the State, yet directed to return dividends to the government.¹²

TVNZ operates four national television channels: TV One, TV2, TVNZ Heartland, and TVNZ Kidzone24 (although the latter two are only available via pay channels on Sky). TV One's target demographic is viewers in the 25-54 age bracket, and it has a total channel share of around 30 per cent¹³. The channel's 6pm news bulletin remains New Zealand's most-watched television programme, reaching more than 700,000 people each night as of July 2014. The bulletin runs for one hour, with a total of four presenters: Simon Dallow and Wendy Petrie co-present the news segment, while the sports and weather segments are presented by Andrew Saville and Jim Hickey respectively (NB: Jim Hickey has since retired). *One News at 6pm* is produced by dozens of reporters around New Zealand, including three working from parliament.

¹¹ Comrie & Fountaine, 2005

¹² JMAD Report 2014; Comrie, 1999

¹³ Throng, 2014

There are also One News correspondents in Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States.

TVNZ is a public broadcaster in name only. Helen Clark's Labour government introduced a Charter for the broadcaster in 2003, however this was abandoned by the subsequent National government under John Key, which passed the Television New Zealand Amendment Bill on 12 July 2011¹⁴. TVNZ was released from its public service obligations and encouraged to return to a commercial agenda, while continuing to return 9 per cent on its assets annually to the government¹⁵.

Broadcasting Minister Jonathan Coleman stated the new direction meant "TVNZ will have the flexibility it needs to effectively pursue commercial objectives", and remained confident that "the removal of the Charter will have little impact on what is shown on the screen"¹⁶. Section 12 of the new bill stipulates that: "The functions of TVNZ are to be a successful national television and digital media company providing a range of content and services on a choice of delivery platforms and maintaining its commercial performance"¹⁷.

The New Zealand Herald (NZH) is New Zealand's largest daily newspaper. It's also one of the oldest, having been launched in 1863. Ownership has changed numerous times throughout its history, although it has consistently remained a privately owned and operated enterprise. It is currently part of the NZME (New Zealand Media Entertainment, previously known as APN News and Media) portfolio. *The New Zealand Herald* is published Monday to Friday, *The Weekend Herald* on Saturday, and the week is rounded out by the *Herald on Sunday*. *Herald* titles have been named newspaper of the year eight times since 1999.

As with other print media, *The New Zealand Herald* has had to reinvent itself several times to deal with the advent of the internet and a subsequent drop in advertising revenue. The nzherald.co.nz website was launched in 1998, and many stories are now published online before they make it into the following day's print edition. Increased online engagement has seen the print edition shift away from a hard news emphasis, marked in particular by the downsizing of the newspaper in September 2012 from a broadsheet to a tabloid format¹⁸. *The New Zealand Herald* now also shares content with *The Daily Mail*; one of the most well-known international tabloids.

A large news team of more than 100 people produces *The New Zealand Herald*. The newspaper also syndicates content from reporters at other APN publications around New Zealand. The Political Editor, along with a team of gallery reporters, coordinates

¹⁴ New Zealand Parliament, 2011

¹⁵ Lealand, 2011

¹⁶ One News, 2011

¹⁷ cited by Thompson, 2010

¹⁸ Drinnan, J. "Media: Final farewell to broadsheet".

http://www.nzherald.co.nz/business/news/article.cfm?c_id=3&objectid=10832241

political coverage. The *New Zealand Herald* differs from TVNZ and RNZ in that it also provides extensive commentary and opinion on political events. These often take the form of guest writers and columnists, who are invited to give their opinion or analysis of what's happening. Otago University political scientist Dr Bryce Edwards is an example of someone invited to give this form of commentary.

The New Zealand Herald remains a popular newspaper. Its circulation has remained steady at around 170,000 for seven consecutive audit periods, and the nzherald.co.nz website usually gets around 2.4 million page views of content per day. This is spread across about 360,000 unique browsers. Around 1.33 million people engage with Herald journalism each week¹⁹, and the daily brand audience is 818,000. The New Zealand Media branch of APN (which includes the Herald brands) posted revenue of AU\$135.6 million for the six months ended 30 June 2014²⁰.

Content analysis

Media coverage of the election was analysed by using content analysis and looking at political reports published in *The New Zealand Herald*, on *Morning Report* and *ONE News at 6pm*. Work began at the end of July with developing categories that were then compiled on coding sheets (**Appendix 1**). A coding manual with a guideline for all categories was prepared, and training for coders was conducted in the first week of August.

A pilot week of coding ran from August 11th to August 17th. Final coding checks were completed during the week beginning August 18th. Intensive preparation was undertaken to ensure news material was being coded consistently.

A total of 575 valid coding sheets were collected. This included 116 from TVNZ (20.2% of the sample), 193 from Radio NZ (33.6% of the sample), and 266 from the *New Zealand Herald* (46.2% of the sample). Only stories that focussed on the General Election were coded. This included stories that either mentioned the election in the introduction, or in which more than a third of the story dealt with the election.

The coding sheets were comprised of 16 different items relating to the topic of news, politics and diversity. **Topic** was considered to be the subject of the story taking the most time and space. There were 27 different topics available for News Story's Topic, and coders could select a maximum of three topics for each story. Category **news genre** had three values: news, opinions and interview. The term 'news' in this study is used as a synonym for any informative news article, being hard news, interview, feature, reportage or background, and the term 'opinions' covers all published columns, commentaries, editorials and other opinion pieces. We also included the

¹⁹ NZ Herald: http://www.nzherald.co.nz/business/news/article.cfm?c_id=3&objectid=10808411

²⁰ Stop Press: <http://stoppress.co.nz/blog/2014/08/apn-results>

genre of interview either as Q and A conversation with one person or a profile of a person within the election coverage. The content analysis also coded all General Election stories in terms of **governance** as National, International, or Global. The criteria for stories to be coded as 'National' was that they did not reference any non-New Zealand nation-state or transnational organisation in the headline, lead, or first three paragraphs. For 'International', the stories needed to refer to one or more non-New Zealand nation-state in the headline, lead, or first three paragraphs. Finally, in order to be coded as 'Global', the story needed to refer to a transnational organisation (such as governance organisations, e.g., United Nations, World Trade Organisation, or agreements, e.g., the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement; multinational businesses, e.g., Apple, Microsoft; or transnational civil society organisations, e.g., Greenpeace, Amnesty International), in the headline, lead, or first three paragraphs. **Sources** were individuals, groups, institutions or organisations that provided information for news reports. They were divided between political sources and non-political sources, and were also coded according to the **gender of the source** (male, female, transgender or unidentifiable), and whether the quote was direct or indirect speech. The **Reference to social groups** category involved explicit references to particular social groups. This category was used to unpack the social groups who are identified as most frequently targeted for discrimination. Using the Human Rights Act 1993 a list of groups was developed who it was thought might appear in the articles. The social groups that were identified were the following: New Zealanders, Young, Low Income, Maori, Conservative/Right Wing, Liberal/Left Wing, Foreigners, Middle Income, High Income, Elderly, Asian, Centrist/Swing Voter, Pacific, Women, Beneficiaries, Unemployed, Men, Relationship, Christians, Pakeha, Muslims, Homosexual, Middle aged, Disabled, Abled, European, MELAA, Single. If there were no references to a social group, this question was left blank.

Coding sheets were slightly different for the three media outlets. This reflected the differences between news media platforms. For example, in the category News Genre, the presence of a presenter in television and radio reports had to be accounted for. Several guidelines were established around how these presenters should be coded. If the presenter threw forward to a news item by a reporter, then as a general rule only the reporter would be coded for gender and content. The presenter would only be coded in instances where there was no following reporter item. The gender of the host presenter was also coded in radio interviews.

There were several instances where lengthy items contained too many sources and topics to be recorded on one coding sheet; for example an RNZ debate between the leaders of the minor parties ('Leaders of Minor Parties Debate Election Issues'). Cases like this were broken down across multiple coding sheets.

Reliability checks were conducted with the senior researcher on a daily basis until on August 18th when using Holsti's formula²¹ the agreement reached 94 per cent²². This ensured all coders were working to the same consistent standard.

Twitter analysis

Tweets were gathered using the Twitter Archiving Google Spreadsheet (TAGS) v5, written by Martin Hawksey, Chief Innovation, Community and Technology Officer at the Association for Learning Technology and a blogger with interests in data analysis and social networks. An individual search was run each week for each journalist being tracked. Using the "from:" search term with their username, the tool gathered all the tweets they had sent over the past week. Searching based on one user's tweets has a much lower likelihood of "missing" tweets than a general keyword search.

During the pilot week, a number of journalists from all three news outlets were tracked (TVNZ, Radio NZ, and the *New Zealand Herald*). The journalists were chosen if they had contributed political articles or commentary in the pre-pilot week (August 4 to 8). After the pilot week, we added additional journalists who contributed political commentary during that week, and eliminated inactive journalists (those who had not tweeted for two weeks or longer). We monitored tweets produced by 49 journalists.

There were journalists who contributed articles or commentary to one of our tracked news outlets, but who are not employed by these outlets, such as Martyn Bradbury who contributes to *The New Zealand Herald*. These journalists are included in the analysis as they contributed to the news media discourse, but do not fall within the main focus of this investigation.

Coding occurred over four weeks, from the 23rd of August to Election Day on the 20th of September, concurrently with the coding of mainstream media. Each week, tweets were collected for each journalist being tracked. These tweets were then processed to identify relevant tweets – those related to the election, and then analysed for @ mentions, hashtags, and keywords. During this process, there was communication with the team in charge of coding mainstream platforms to ensure that coding was consistent.

Based on the key words being used for coding of traditional media, a master list of political key words was compiled. A tweet containing any of these political key words

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

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

²² Nort, 1963

was deemed to be “politically-related”, and all other tweets were discarded. To determine which tweets contained these key words, the TwitterMiner Java tool written by Parma Nand²³ was used. This tool takes a CSV of tweets and a key word list and returns the tweets that contain any of the key words on the supplied list. In this way we were able to discard tweets unrelated to the election. The total number of tweets gathered was 5590. After discarding unrelated tweets, there were 2970 relevant tweets remaining.

Once the politically relevant tweets were identified, they were analysed to see if they contained any mentions, which are indicated by the “@” symbol. An Excel VBA script was used to identify all @ mentions. This data was used to analyse the journalists’ use of @ mentions, which is special to Twitter. Mentions of people and media outlets without using the @ mention feature were investigated along with other key words. This was employed to build a database of all users who the tracked journalists had mentioned in their politically relevant tweets. Each of these users was classified as “media”, “political figure”, or a “member of the public” based on visiting their Twitter page and looking at their description (bio details). When identifying an account as belonging to a political figure, it was important that the account had been authorised by an official member of the campaign team, and that this fact was noted in the description. Major politicians’ Twitter accounts were also authorised via Twitter. Unauthorised accounts were instead counted as “members of the public”, as they were often parody accounts. To be counted as a “media” account, the description had to mention being a journalist or a media outlet. Other accounts, including private accounts, were deemed to be members of the public.

In order to analyse the political topics journalists were discussing, we constructed “clusters” of key words based on the topics being coded for the traditional media analysis (see Appendix 2). For example, “political figures” and “political parties” were each clusters. More detail can be found on each cluster in the body of the report. For each cluster, the TwitterMiner search tool (explained above) was run on the politically relevant tweets, which revealed how much journalists were using the key words that belonged to each cluster.

²³ Dr Parma Nand, AUT University, has research expertise in Natural Language Processing and was involved in the language analysis portion of this project.

Media coverage of the elections

Media play a central role in providing information about political parties, their policies, objectives, and specific goals articulated in the election campaigns. All news is important, but election coverage is vital because it has the capacity to democratically empower the electorate. Before we move to sections that explain who is engaged in the election debate, what spaces for citizens' engagement are opened in the election news, and how it works when traditional legacy media are compared with social media, we first present some general information about the election coverage. In this regard, the following section covers who writes about the elections (with a focus on gender issues); monitors frequency and intensity of coverage over four weeks of the campaign; identifies the proportions of news and opinion pieces; looks at the election topics and interest in party policies; and, finally, considers elections and political geography.

Who writes about the elections: gender

The majority of journalists producing election stories were male – 62 per cent (Table 1). This is not surprising. Although the journalism workforce is predominantly female, more prestigious jobs such as political reporting are mainly performed by men. Almost 57% of journalists in New Zealand are female but “men continue to dominate in terms of power and position”²⁴. Male journalists reporting the elections outnumbered their female counterparts by a ratio of nearly 2:1 in this study. This held true across RNZ and TVNZ, but for NZH the ratio was closer to 3:1.

Table 1: Gender of the author

(N =590)		
Variables	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Male	368	62.37%
Female	200	33.89%
Not identified	22	3.72%

Even in the cases where female political reporters outnumbered male colleagues, more male-produced stories reached the audience. Radio NZ's *Morning Report* for example, more frequently aired stories by male reporters. RNZ has a split of 57% male, 43% female political reports. This was despite the broadcaster's equal opportunities commitment to having a balanced gender breakdown among its staff – currently 51% male, 49% female²⁵.

²⁴ Hannis et. al 2014, p. 7

²⁵ RNZ, 2013, p. 17

There are a number of contributing factors behind this. Firstly, and most significantly, RNZ's election team of political reporters actually had a female bias. Of the seven members, five were women. However, RNZ's political editor is male (Brent Edwards), and he was called upon regularly to discuss aspects of the election campaign with either one of the programme's co-hosts. Edwards provided commentary on public opinion polls, leaders' debates and emerging issues such as 'Dirty Politics' and the 'Moment of Truth'. There was only one occasion where two female political reporters, on air together, took this opinion-leading role²⁶ Secondly, the Māori news segment of the programme, Te Manu Korihi (TMK), although not prominent in covering the election, did contain a brief story on most days. The main anchor and reporter for that segment is male (Eru Rerekura) and he reported twice as often on the election stories as TMK's only female reporter (Rosemary Rangiautauira).

It should be noted that the two co-hosts of the show (Guyon Espiner and Susie Ferguson) shared the programme's news stories on an equal alternating basis rather than being allocated to specific news story types. Therefore the breakdown was not affected by the gender of the presenter.

As with other media outlets, male authors dominated TVNZ's coverage of the general election with a ratio of almost 3:2. This reflects the fact that both TVNZ's political editor and deputy political editor are male (Corin Dann and Michael Parkin respectively). TVNZ's third political reporter is Katie Bradford, who received around the same level of screen-time as her two political superiors.

However the female percentage is slightly higher than one third, at 41 per cent. This is a reflection of TVNZ's Vote Compass feature, which encouraged viewers to answer questions and take part in surveys regarding their political leanings. Results from Vote Compass were summarised and reported by a female reporter (Renee Graham). Examples include results on housing on August 24th, Dirty Politics on August 25th, fracking on August 31st, Treaty of Waitangi on September 3rd, and cannabis and alcohol on September 4th. These stories by Renee Graham have lifted the male/female ratio above the simple 2:1 that would be expected if only political reporters were coded.

The New Zealand Herald's stories were also predominantly male-produced. Male authors accounted for about 68 per cent of the balance of the *Herald's* coverage, which is almost three times higher than the percentage of female authors, who accounted for only 24 per cent of the coverage. There were a small number of articles written by unidentified authors (8 per cent), however these were not enough to make a significant impact on the proportion of male and female voices in the *Herald's* General Election coverage.

²⁶Jane Patterson and Chris Bramwell, 'Political Reporters on the Campaign Trail', 17 September

Frequency and intensity of coverage

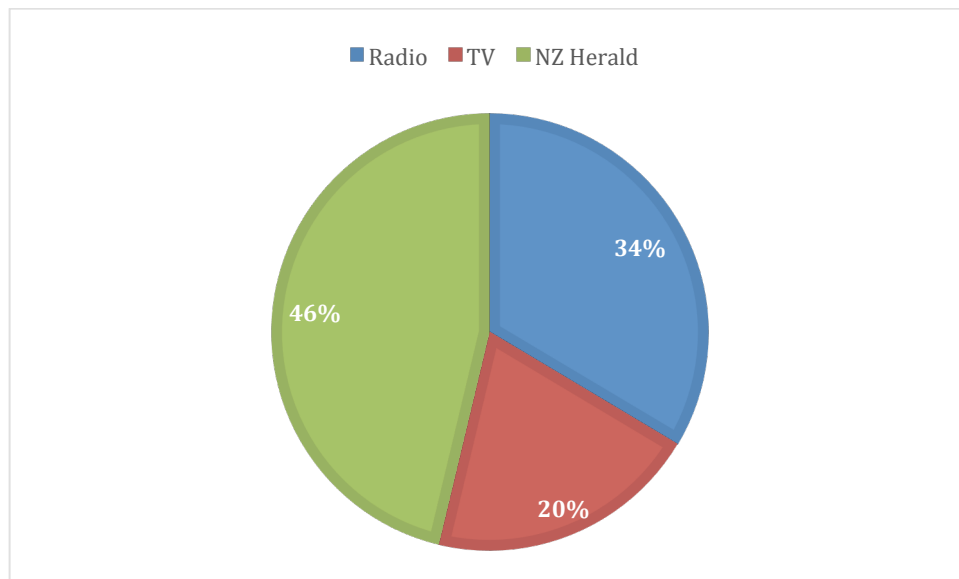
The number of stories published and broadcasted in the four weeks ahead of the election gradually increased in all three news outlets with the exception of *Morning Report*, which had slightly less stories in week 3 than in any other week in the monitoring period (Table 2).

Table 2: Frequency of coverage (number of stories and percentage)

	1st week	2nd week	3rd week	4th week	TOTAL
RADIO	48 (37.5%)	49 (36.3%)	41 (27.5%)	55 (33.7%)	193
TV	24 (18.8%)	27 (20.0%)	30 (20.1%)	35 (21.5%)	116
NZ HERALD	56 (43.8%)	59 (43.7%)	78 (52.3%)	73 (44.8%)	266
Total	128	135	149	163	575

The news medium differences – print, radio, TV – and the unit of analysis – the whole newspaper, three hours radio programme, one-hour television bulletin – complicates comparison of the number of news items but we recorded the number of election stories, and as expected *The New Zealand Herald* had had a lead in terms of the intensity of coverage (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Intensity of coverage



Form of news (story genre)

The reach and influence of news is reflected in the multiple ways in which news is presented and understood. Those who look closely into news texts identify different genres, or forms, of journalistic output such as news report, feature article, commentary or column, interview and editorial²⁷. News is the most prestigious of the daily media genres, a status gained from “its role at the centre of the exercise of

²⁷ McNair (1998)

power in modern societies”²⁸. Following the idea of two main functions of news, to provide ‘information’ and to offer ‘interpretation’, we classified stories into ‘news’ and ‘opinions’²⁹ and added ‘interview’ as a value to check how this form of news is used across radio, television and print. As expected ‘news’ genre dominated the coverage, particularly in TV coverage, while opinion pieces were most present in the *New Zealand Herald’s* coverage of the elections.

Table 3: Story genre

	News piece	Opinion	Interview
Radio	88 (45.60%)	14 (7.30%)	91 (47.20%)
TV	115 (99.1%)	1 (0.9%)	0 (0.00%)
NZ Herald	182 (68.40%)	81 (30.5%)	3 (1.10%)
TOTAL	385 (67.0%)	96 (16.7%)	94 (16.3%)

In the case of Radio NZ, there were an almost equal number of news pieces and interviews, at 45.6% and 47.20% respectively. However, the very brief TMK pieces (18/193) were all news pieces, so the interview genre could be slightly more prominent in the programme than the small percentage difference here suggests. Just over half the stories (53.9%) contained presenter wrap-ups (53.9%); they followed opinion pieces and interviews, but not news pieces. The wrap-ups were usually a restatement of the name and affiliation of the opinion provider or interviewee. All stories included a presenter introduction, except for the TMK segments, since the format of those was closer to that of headline news.

Interviews were much more prominent within the radio sample than the television and newspaper samples. On the one hand this allowed sources to speak for themselves, but it was also employed by *Morning Report* to inject more drama. The majority of these interviews were with politicians. At times, interviewers exhibited a determination to get an answer to just one question; one that was selected with the foreknowledge that it would not be answered. For example, an interview with the New Zealand First leader, Winston Peters³⁰ was designed to extract his coalition partner preference based on critical comments he had made about the Green Party. Another case of labouring a point can be found in an interview with the Green Party leader, Russell Norman, based on media suggestions that the Greens were distancing themselves from the Labour Party³¹

Opinion pieces accounted for the smallest proportion of radio stories, at just 7.3%. These usually took the form of discussion with the political editor. In the first week, for example, one of the co-hosts and Edwards discussed election issues on four out of

²⁸ Garrett & Bell (1998, p.4)

²⁹ News and opinions are intertwined – the mere fact of selection of information is the beginning of its interpretation – they are separated in journalistic discourse along the lines of ‘facts’ and ‘views’ that compliment these two basic story genres among journalistic products, ‘news’ and ‘opinions’.

³⁰ ‘Winston Peters’ popularity for role of PM on the up’, September 18

³¹ ‘Norman cagey on poll implications for relationship with Labour’, September 12

the five weekday programmes. On 25th August, they followed up on news items presented earlier in that day's programme, including Internet Mana's fortunes in relation both to allegations of Kim Dotcom hacking and Pam Corkery's verbal abuse of journalists, National's housing policy announcement, and 'Dirty Politics'. The latter topic was also the focus of an opinion piece on 27th August that developed upon items aired earlier in the programme covering Judith Collins and the Privacy Commissioner. On 28th August, Edwards was asked to comment on the latest poll showing the rise of New Zealand First, and on 29th August he analysed the TVNZ Leaders' Debate held the previous evening.

The majority of television stories (90.5 per cent) involved either a presenter or reporter delivering information that included sound bites from at least one other source. However, a small number (9.5 per cent) consisted solely of a presenter speaking with no other sources involved. These stories usually involved the delivery of additional information, such as the summing up of a situation for viewers, and became more frequent as the election campaign progressed. Examples included the news that the High Court had ruled that blogger Cameron Slater was a journalist on September 12th, which was accompanied by pictures of him entering court (without any accompanying sound bite), and a summary of the Five Eyes spying agreement on September 15th. Another example on September 16th involved a presenter beside a studio touch-screen discussing how many times each party leader had been mentioned on social media throughout the campaign.

The dominance of news items as opposed to opinion pieces reflects the compressed nature of television news, in which most stories are completed within a few minutes and there is little time for lengthy opinion. Editorial opinion would occasionally be given by the political editor/reporters, however this would usually be in conjunction with the airing of one or more video news pieces. An example of this was the political coverage on September 5th, during which the presenters crossed live to the political editor, he gave his opinion on a few brief points relating to the Dirty Politics saga, then threw to an in-depth news story by one of the political reporters. Another story was played via the studio, and then the presenters returned to the live cross to ask the political editor another one or two questions. Although such examples did involve some editorial opinion, it was usually only in response to a handful of questions, and was in the context of helping the audience make sense of the political environment.

The one TV story that was coded as opinion was on August 27th. The political editor was live in the studio with the presenters, and spent about a minute giving his opinion on what could be expected from the leaders' debate scheduled for the following evening. It did not involve information related to the subject, hence was coded as opinion.

The majority of the stories by the *New Zealand Herald* (68.4 per cent) were news pieces. This was followed by opinion pieces, accounting for 30.5 per cent of the

stories. The least popular story genre was interview, which accounted for only 1.1 per cent of the stories in the *Herald* over the four weeks of election coverage. One of the interviews was “Michele Hewitson interview: Nicky Hager” published on August 30, 2014. This interview was the first time the investigative journalist Nicky Hager had spoken publicly about his book “Dirty Politics”, which investigated the way deceptive politics were poisoning the political environment in New Zealand.

Election topics

The topics of each news story were also coded, with up to three main topics recorded per story. Table 4 exhibits the topics in order of most prominent, demonstrating how “Political Process” dominated the news focus, with three quarters of all articles (74.8%) referring to it - either as the sole focus, or in relation to other main topics. Following “Political Process”, “Business and Economy” (21%), “Polls” (17.4%), “Intelligence” (10.1%), and “Law and Order” (7.8%) constituted the five major topics of interest within the election coverage. Importantly for diversity issues, however, reference to “Māori Affairs” was the sixth most referred to topic, with 5.7% of all articles referring to it as one of their main three topics.

Table 4: News story’s topic
(N = 575)

Variables	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Political Process	430	74.8
Business and Economy	121	21
Polls	100	17.4
Intelligence	58	10.1
Law and Order	45	7.8
Māori affairs	33	5.7
Housing	31	5.4
Inequality/Poverty	31	5.4
Environment	26	4.5
Employment	18	3.1
Education	16	2.8
Health	12	2.1
Personal profile	10	1.7
Immigration	6	1
Transport	6	1
Race Relations	4	0.7
Religion	1	0.2
Science and Technology	4	0.7
Celebrity/Entertainment	3	0.5
Crisis	2	0.3

Disaster	2	0.3
Local Government	2	0.3
Sports	2	0.3
Arts	1	0.2
Defence	1	0.2
International news	1	0.2
Other	38	6.6

Although ‘Business and Economy’ was the most prominent topic within the sample, political process excluded, this does not indicate a substantive debate either on the state of the economy or the economic policies of political parties. Rather, in the case of Radio NZ, it reflects reporting early in the first week that the National Party was ‘hinting’ at tax cuts, which were identified as being in ‘stark contrast’ to Labour and the Greens who were promising to introduce both a capital gains tax and an increase in the top income tax rate³². These tax debates accounted for just over half the stories in this category. It is notable that such a large amount of attention was devoted to tax cuts even though there was neither a specific policy nor a specific election promise.

The other sub-topic in the ‘Business and Economy’ category related to the selling of large tracts of farmland to foreigners (six references). These revolved around a Chinese company’s application to purchase the major central North Island Lochinver dairy station, which was proceeding through the Overseas Investment Office. Foreign land ownership is a politically divisive issue (amongst political parties and the population) and thus had the potential to meet news values associated with drama. In the first Leaders’ Debate on 29th August, the sale of farmland to foreigners was one of the topics debated³³. Green Party leader Russell Norman’s protest of the Lochinvar sale was also covered on 1st September where he linked such sales to the pollution of waterways³⁴. However, the issue had arisen prior to the sample period and had mostly died down before coding began.

The breakdown of the five most prominent topics across three news outlets reveals some differences in the coverage:

³² ‘Key drops hint of tax cut as National gets campaign back on track’, 26th August

³³ ‘Leaders have had their first ever one-on-one televised debate’

³⁴ ‘Norman launches into the rapids’

Table 4a. Top five topics (outside of political process)

	<i>Business</i>	<i>Polls</i>	<i>Crime</i>	<i>Intelligence</i>	<i>Housing</i>
Radio	41	33	12	27	8
TV	7	16	13	13	6
NZ Herald	73	51	20	18	17
TOTAL	121	100	45	58	31

‘Polls’ was the most frequently used topic in the television sample. This reflects TVNZ’s strong emphasis on polling results throughout the election coverage, and also their continued brand promotion of the Vote Compass polling tool on the TVNZ website. Vote Compass stories began on the first day of coding (23 August), with a story about how initial Vote Compass poll results showed the economy was the number one issue for most voters. Similar stories continued throughout the coverage, examining poll results on issues such as housing and tax rates (August 24th), leadership popularity (August 28th), fracking for oil and gas (August 31st), the Treaty of Waitangi (September 3rd), the minimum wage (September 9th), and retirement (September 14th). The final Vote Compass story was on the day before the elections (September 19th), on poll results over Kim Dotcom’s Moment of Truth. All Vote Compass stories encouraged viewers to visit the TVNZ website and complete the surveys for themselves. Other polling stories focused on results from Colmar Brunton, although these usually focused on the levels of support each party had (e.g. September 4th).

The prominence of stories involving polls is not surprising. Polls provide an endless supply of election news that is cheap to source, simple to analyse, and provides the drama associated with an unfolding political ‘game’. The latest poll results are one of the major features of the chief political reporter’s commentary. These then can provide a base story from which others can be developed. For example, on 28 August, a poll was the subject of a discussion between one of the co-hosts and the chief political reporter³⁵. This led into an interview with Colin Craig, the leader of the Conservative Party, since the party’s polling results had sharply increased, bringing it close to the 5% threshold³⁶. A further interview followed, this time with another minor party leader, Winston Peters, whose support appeared to be increasing³⁷. The presenter was then able to link the polls story, which noted a fall for both major parties, to a subsequent news piece by the chief political reporter looking ahead to the televised Leaders’ Debate scheduled for that evening³⁸.

³⁵ ‘New Zealand First, Conservatives big winners in latest poll’

³⁶ ‘Craig delighted with poll result’

³⁷ ‘Winston Peters on polling and the balance of power’

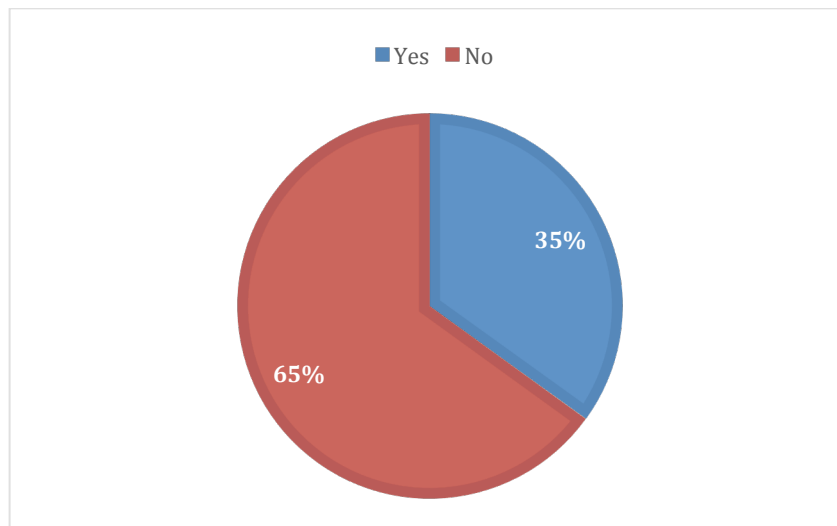
³⁸ ‘Cunliffe and Key to face one another in first TV debate’

The New Zealand Herald's take on the election topics was similar to Radio NZ's. Business (73) was the most frequent topic to appear in the *Herald's* coverage on general election. Most of the articles are related to business as it often relates to other issues such as housing, poverty, unemployment, and cost of living. The second most popular topic was polls (51), reflecting the importance of public's participation in general election. The *Herald's* Digipoll was also well known for its accuracy.

Interest in party policies

It has been said that in a modern democracy, policy and policy discussions should be at the centre of elections³⁹. Despite this, learning policy positions through the media was not an easy task during the 2014 elections. As Figure 2 shows, only one third of the stories (35%) mentioned party policies.

Figure 2. Reference to party politics



When references to party policies were made, they were in the news mainly to signify equal treatment of all parties by providing an overview of different takes on particular issues. *The New Zealand Herald* had more articles mentioning party policies than *Morning Report* and *One News at 6pm* (namely 39.5%, 35.2% and 24.1%) but overall policies were not central to the coverage.

Table 6. Reference to party policy across media

	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
Radio	75 (35.20%)	125 (64.80%)
TV	28 (24.10%)	88 (75.90%)
NZ Herald	105 (39.50%)	161 (60.50%)
TOTAL	201 (35%)	374 (65%)

³⁹ Lelliot, 2013

Morning Report news items that contained references to party policies (35.2%) varied in the amount of detail provided. An opinion piece on 25th August included a discussion on National's housing policy (Brent Edwards Live), however many other items contained only brief references to party policy as an aside, especially those in the TMK segment. On 10 September, coverage of the Māori Party's housing policy ran for 64 seconds, while on 16 September, 40 seconds were devoted to Mana's housing policy. Brevity was evident, too, in reports that involved coverage of public meetings at which numerous parties described their policies. For example, an Auckland climate change debate in which National, Labour, the Greens and Internet-Mana participated and stated their positions was reported on 4 September in a news piece of 175 seconds⁴⁰. *Morning Report* allocated a significant part of its 26 August programme (almost half an hour, divided into seven topic areas) to the leaders of the minor parties. They were invited to discuss a range of issues, including their policies⁴¹. However there were five party leaders, so each had a minimal amount of time in each short segment to describe their respective policies.

There was less focus on policy in the week leading up to the election. The final televised leader's debate was not policy-oriented so RNZ's coverage of it in news and opinion pieces the next morning (18 September) followed suit⁴². The final campaign 'wrap-ups' on 19 September by the two major parties and the political editor were also without policy references⁴³.

Just over a quarter of stories in the TV sample (24.10%) referred to party policies. These stories were mostly in the first two weeks of the campaign. For example, Labour and National debated housing policy on August 25th, and Labour unveiled its economic plan on the same day. The Greens' housing policy for rental properties was mentioned on August 27th, and Internet Mana's campaign policies were discussed on August 28th. However many of these stories only mentioned policies in relation to a wider context. For instance the August 28th coverage discussed Internet Mana policy only because there were apparent divisions within the coalition over its jobs policy. The Greens' policy on farming near rivers was the focus of a story on August 31st, with the policy being attacked by National's Amy Adams as "anti-jobs".

References to policies dropped off in the last two weeks of the campaign. This was partly because most parties had released their major policies by this point, and once released they largely dropped out of media coverage. It was also due to the Dirty Politics saga, and Kim Dotcom's Moment of Truth event. TV coverage became heavily involved with stories on intelligence, spying and political intrigue, meaning

⁴⁰ 'NZ First prepared to work with Greens on climate change'

⁴¹ 'Leaders of Minor Parties debate election issues'

⁴² 'Final leaders debate provides lively exchange'; 'Leaders clash over coalition partners in final debate'; 'Political editor analyses leaders debate'

⁴³ 'Key urges voters to opt for stability'; 'David Cunliffe wraps up Labour's Vote Positive Campaign; 'National's campaign manager on final days of campaign'; 'Radio New Zealand's political editor on final days of campaign'

there was little room for parties to debate policy. There was limited discussion around policy during the final week of election coverage, with a story on September 14th when Labour made its final policy announcement. Policy was also mentioned briefly the day before the election, with a story on September 19th about how the Advertising Standards Authority had upheld a complaint over a Conservative Party leaflet that attacked New Zealand First’s alcohol policy.

The leading political parties – in terms of the votes gained in the elections – were the parties whose policies were most frequently mentioned:

Table 7: Which party’s policy is mentioned

(N = 517)	
Variables	Frequency
National Party	117
Labour Party	98
The Greens	64
New Zealand First	43
Conservative Party of New Zealand	39
Internet-Mana coalition	34
ACT New Zealand	33
Maori Party	33
United Future New Zealand	31
Mana Movement	17
Internet Party	7
Aotearoa Legalise Cannabis Party	1
The Alliance	0
Democratic Party for Social Credit	0
Focus New Zealand	0

National and Labour were most often compared on their policies on business, housing and inequalities - the most frequent policies mentioned in the coverage:

Table 8: What policy is mentioned

(N = 325)	
Variables	Frequency
Business	95
Housing	43
Inequality	28
Crime	26
Education	22
Environmental issues	20

Health	19
Employment	16
Other	13
Political process	9
Māori affairs	8
Immigration	7
Transport	6
Crisis	3
Intelligence	3
Sports	2
Defence	1
Disaster	1
Race Relations	1
Religion	1
Science and Technology	1
Arts	0
Celebrity/Entertainment	0
International news	0
Local Government	0
Personal profile	0
Polls	0

A closer look at the top five party policies reveals some differences across sampled media:

Table 8a. Party policies mentioned across media

	<i>Business</i>	<i>Housing</i>	<i>Inequality</i>	<i>Crime</i>	<i>Education</i>
Radio	28	8	8	8	7
TV	7	6	4	1	4
NZ Herald	60	29	19	17	15
TOTAL	95	43	28	26	26

Within the business policy for example, *The New Zealand Herald* highlighted the National Party’s focus on giving more support to R&D to encourage innovation and attract foreign investors, as opposed to Labour who focused on increasing the minimum hourly wage and improving infrastructure. Positioning two major parties against each other was often used to present the policies. The National Party’s HomeStart grants to be used as a deposit to build new homes were compared with the Labour Party’s scheme to build affordable homes in Auckland and Christchurch. The Greens were rarely referred to in the above policy debates, and were more frequently mentioned in relation to their environmental and social policies. One of the Greens’ environmental policies to require all farmers to fence off rivers, for example, was discussed on September 4, 2014.

The National Party, as the incumbent government and with particularly high poll ratings, received the most policy mentions on *Morning Report*. Radio NZ's editorial policy regarding political coverage states that consideration is given to 'the power held by the party, or potentially held by it; the chances that the specific proposal will be enacted; the level at which the party is polling and its consequential potential impact on the country'⁴⁴. National's strategy to present tax cuts for low-income earners as a likely policy, albeit sometime in the future, also contributed to its high showing in this area. As a result, 'Business and Economy' was the policy mentioned most frequently - more than three times more than the next most frequent policy areas of 'environmental issues' and 'housing'. Labour's policies received less attention at Radio NZ during the sampled campaign coverage. This was reflective of Labour's polling, which was significantly lower than National's. References to the policies of the Green Party were not far behind those of Labour, perhaps partly reflective of their solid poll performance. The Green Party also directly intervened in debates around foreign land ownership, dairy farming and clean waterways (see News story topic, 'Business and Economy'). This strong showing reflects the possibility of Labour and the Greens entering into a coalition government together. The number of policy references of Labour and Greens when combined was equal to those of National.

There were a much lower number of policy references on TVNZ, indicating less of a relationship between the party's polling results and the policy coverage they received. In terms of policy references, National, Labour, and the Greens were often presented in lockstep. For example, a story on August 25th centred on Labour's new economic plan, and National and the Greens then gave their opinion on Labour's policy announcement. Policy mentions of Business (7) and Housing (6) were the highest. The Greens were shut out of some of these policy stories, but made up ground in stories involving their environmental policies. For example, on September 7th a story focused on a new Greens policy to clean up rural waterways.

Policies of the other minor parties were usually mentioned in relation to issues stories. For instance, TVNZ's Vote Compass story on September 15th revealed that New Zealand First and the Conservatives wanted to scrap the Maori seats in Parliament. Another Vote Compass story on September 14th revealed the Conservatives and United Future wanted a more flexible retirement age, ACT wanted it raised immediately, and New Zealand First wouldn't change it. ACT and United Future's policies received attention despite their dismal polling, due to the fact they were both already in power with National, and could be instrumental in helping form the next government. Policies of New Zealand First and the Conservatives were covered as they were both also potential coalition partners for John Key. Perhaps surprisingly there were no references to the Māori Party's policies within the TV sample, despite their role in government over the previous six years and potential as a continued coalition partner.

⁴⁴ RNZ, 2007, p 25

Elections and political geography

Electoralates

There were a very low number of references to specific electoralates within the overall sample (13.6%). This could reflect the position of the chosen media organisations as national news services; driven by the need to speak to as wide an audience as possible.

Table 9: Reference to electorate

	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
Radio	34 (17.60%)	159 (82.40%)
TV	8 (6.90%)	108 (93.10%)
NZ Herald	36 (13.50%)	230 (86.50%)
TOTAL	78 (13.6%)	497 (86.4%)

Where electoralates were mentioned, it was usually for one of two broad reasons. Firstly, when a minor party that would be unlikely to reach the 5% threshold could possibly still enter parliament via an electorate seat win⁴⁵. Secondly, they were mentioned when well-known MPs were shown campaigning on their home turf, for instance TVNZ showed Judith Collins speaking at an electorate meeting in Papakura on September 11th, and Nikki Kaye was shown doorknocking in the Auckland Central electorate in a story on September 9th. In these cases the electorate references were incidental rather than central to the story.

Radio NZ references to the Māori electoralates were within the brief news pieces run in the TMK. For example, there was an announcement on 26 August that Tama Iti was to stand for the Māori Party as a list candidate. This was coded in relation to references to Māori seats in general, rather than a specific Māori seat. Mainstreamed news items mentioned specific Māori electoralates when these played a key role in terms of a) which minor parties could get into parliament, without reaching the 5% threshold, thus providing support for one or other of the main parties; and b) whether Labour could recapture its former strength in these seats⁴⁶.

TVNZ only mentioned the Māori electoralates three times. One of these stories was on September 10th, and involved career criminal Arthur Taylor going to court to argue that prisoners should have the right to vote. A lawyer was also quoted in the story as saying that the boundaries of the Māori electoralates were being distorted due to the high number of Māori in prison. A Colmar Brunton poll was discussed on September

⁴⁵ RNZ: 27 August, 'Peter Dunne confident that he's still got it'; 8 September, 'ACT launched election campaign'; 15 September, 'Conservatives say support in Napier seat is growing'

⁴⁶ 4 September, 'Maori Party faces tough battle in Waiariki'; 19 September; 'Harawira accuses opponents of ganging up on him' and 'Battle for Māori seats will be pivotal'

15th that revealed that 54% of New Zealanders think the Māori electorates should be scrapped. The final story to mention the Māori electorates was on September 18th, and centred on Hone Harawira’s accusations that other parties were ganging up on him in Te Tai Tokerau to ensure he didn’t get back into Parliament. As with the general electorates, this reference to Te Tai Tokerau was only made in the context of the wider election campaign, and how it could affect the ability of either side to form a government.

Only a few stories in *The New Zealand Herald* referred to an electorate (13.5 per cent). More references were made to general electorates (9.4 per cent) than Māori electorates (6.8 per cent). However, during the last two weeks of the election campaign, there was quite a significant increase in references to Māori electorates. It happened as during the last days of the campaign, the party leaders try to attract more potential voters, including Māori. In the article “Voters want unity among Maori MPs”, published on 28 August 28 the author focuses on the Maori voters’ expectations from Maori members of the parliament. Many voters called for improved health care and greater unity among Maori members of parliament.

Global Governance

Prior studies have suggested that New Zealand news tends to overwhelmingly prioritise National stories over International and Global stories.⁴⁷ For the 2014 General Election, news coverage also focused largely on nation-centric issues, irrespective of the extent to which they were shaped by international or global politics (Table 10).

Table 10: Global governance

(N = 575)		
Variables	Frequency	Percentage (%)
National	455	79.2
International	68	11.8
Global	52	9.0

More than three quarters of the sampled news items contained a ‘National’ focus only, while just under one fifth of the items made an ‘International’ or ‘Global’ reference. With regard to the ‘International’ category, one of the ‘Business and Economy’ topics related to the foreign ownership of land, and was prompted by the Overseas Investment Office processing the application of the purchase of Lochinvar Dairy Station by a Chinese Company. News items therefore mentioned the company, China, or any number of other countries that had bought or could buy New Zealand

⁴⁷ Phelan and Owen (2010).

land. The other prominent set of stories was Kim Dotcom’s unique intervention in New Zealand politics (in terms of ‘International’ as a news subject himself), and to the ‘Global’, particularly in relation to the Moment of Truth event.

Diversity of voices in the news

The relationship between news media and their sources is central to the claim that media play a significant role in creating a space for public dialogue. The democratic function of the New Zealand news media – “informing the public about their governors and their governors’ critics”⁴⁸ - is particularly important during the elections. Serving the voters and performing disinterested neutrality are guiding rules of coverage, while the principles of fairness and balance apply to treatment of sources.

AUT Media Observatory looked at who is engaged in the election debate, which voices are heard and who is talked about by investigating who provided information in the reports, identifying the gender of the source and whether the quote was direct or indirect speech.

Political party sources (784) outranked all other sources combined (545) by a significant margin. National was the most frequent political source for election news stories (209), while members of the public were the most frequent non-political sources (215).

Table 11: Political sources

(N = 1355)	
Variables	Frequency
<i>Political parties</i>	[784]
National Party	209
Labour Party	178
[<i>Internet-Mana group 92</i>]	
New Zealand First	81
The Greens	80
Conservative party	52
Maori party	43
Mana movement	36
Internet party	32
ACT New Zealand	24
Internet-Mana party	24
United Future	23

⁴⁸ James (1996, p.9)

Aotearoa Legalise	
Cannabis	2
The Alliance	0
DPSC	0
Focus New Zealand	0

Coding here was based on the source being identified as a National Member of Parliament as well as any Party member. The dominance of the National Party as a source for news becomes more pronounced when Central Government sources are considered since these were coded on the basis of identification as the Prime Minister, Deputy Prime Minister and/or other cabinet ministers. It could be argued that this is to be expected given that National was the incumbent, yet the reasons for identification as a member of the National Party or of the Government were unclear and, on occasion, sources were identified as both before or during a story.

A notable contrast between the two major party leaders was made in an RNZ story on 3 September. The presenter introduced a news piece about the leaders' debate hosted by *The Press* newspaper in Christchurch. This was clearly a debate between two party leaders, but she referred to John Key as Prime Minister and David Cunliffe as Opposition Leader⁴⁹. In a TVNZ story on spying and mass surveillance on September 17th John Key was referred to as the Prime Minister, but the story was then presented in the context of another leaders' debate later that night, making it difficult to determine how the quote should be coded. Most cases like this were coded as National Party references as opposed to Central Government, as they were innately political in their origins.

Coding difficulties for the National Party aside, the number of times each party was used as a political source roughly corresponded with their ranking in the polls. If the combined source frequencies for parties expected to form or support a Centre-Right Government (National, ACT, United Future, the Māori Party and the Conservative Party) and those for parties expected to form or support a Centre-Left Government (Labour, the Greens and the Internet-Mana) are compared then the source frequencies are almost exactly on par (351 for Centre-Right; 350 for Centre Left). This scenario, however, does not include New Zealand First since its preferred coalition partner intentions were not announced. Its source frequency was high (81) not least because of a steep poll increase and a leader who could be relied upon to be combative in media exchanges.

The Internet Mana Party, Internet Party and Mana Movement were coded separately to identify the presence of individual members of the coalition, but as a grouping it has been used as a source a much greater number of times (92) than the Greens, New Zealand First or the Conservatives, despite polling at much lower numbers than all

⁴⁹ 'Key and Cunliffe face off in second leaders' debate'

three. This reflects the novelty of the Internet Mana coalition, and its perceived newsworthiness as a result. It was the first time such an alliance had been formed under MMP, and attracted higher scrutiny than other minor parties.

The high sourcing of the Internet-Mana alliance was also influenced by the appearance of stories with elements of drama, controversy and/or conflict. For example, Hone Harawira was interviewed on *Morning Report* on 25 August about his involvement in a car crash that police were investigating⁵⁰. On 5 September, the leader, Laila Harré, was interviewed on *Morning Report* about the alliance’s intention to review drug laws⁵¹, which in turn raised the spectre of conflict between the Internet Party and the Mana Movement⁵². TVNZ ran a story on September 2nd including comments from candidate Georgina Beyer that the coalition was fractured. Another described Kim Dotcom’s reference to hacking the German chancellor and media liaison Pam Corkery’s subsequent expletive outburst at a journalist (August 24th). Kim Dotcom’s position as founder of the Internet Party meant Internet-Mana also featured prominently in discussions on internet privacy and mass surveillance, such as when it released its internet privacy policy in Tuhoe on August 30th.

The Aotearoa Legalise Cannabis Party was also used as a source several times despite not having the political standing or coalition potential held by other parties. This reflects the ongoing debate over legalisation of cannabis, shown by TVNZ stories for instance on September 4th and September 8th. It also reflects ALCP’s origins as a policy issue-based party. Other very minor parties such as the Civilian Party and the Ban 1080 Party were used as sources in a story on September 10th, although they were portrayed as novelties rather than serious options for voters. These parties are not shown on the table above, as they were not included on the original coding sheet.

The most prominent political leader in the news was John Key, followed by David Cunliffe, Winston Peters and the Greens’ co-leaders. Conservative Party leader Colin Craig also appeared prominently, reflecting his party’s role as a potential coalition partner for National.

Table 12: Party leaders

Variables	Frequency
John Key (National)	133
David Cunliffe (Labour)	92
Winston Peters (NZ First)	62
Meteria Turei and Russell Norman (Greens)	55

⁵⁰ ‘Harawira criticises police action over car crash’

⁵¹ Internet-Mana wants marijuana decriminalised’

⁵² 9 September, ‘Harré denies rift’; 10 September ‘Internet Mana puts united front on election campaign’

Colin Craig (Conservative)	29
Hone Harawira (Mana)	24
Flavell Te Ururoa (Maori)	23
Laile Harre (Internet)	20
Jamie White (ACT)	17
Peter Dune (United Future)	15
Laila Harre & H. Harawira (Internet- Mana)	8
Stehnie De Ruyter (DPSC)	1
Ken Rintoul (Focus NZ)	1

Media’s focus on political party sources in the coverage of the elections was expected. When it came to non-political sources a vast majority (215, almost half of the sources) were members of the public.

Table 13 Other sources (non-political party sources)

Table X. Sources (N = 1355)

<i>Other sources</i>	[571]
Members of the public	215
Central Government	76
Media/Other journalists	55
Academia	44
Business and Economy	41
Other	25
Law and Order	22
NGO	18
Public Services	17
Intelligence	15
Prof. Association	10
Trade union	7
Celebrities/Entertainment	6
Pollsters	6
Think tank	5
Anonymous	4
Sport	2
Local Government	1
Medical	1
Military	1
Religion	0

These public voices were incorporated into broadcast news pieces and took the form of vox populi, contributing to the overall predominance in the sample of direct quotes from sources. Typically, a reporter would pose a question to a number of people on the street or at a public meeting and edit these to form a collage of very brief comments. For example, on 25 August, RNZ Economics Correspondent Patrick O’Mara ran a story that sought the views of firms and workers, and interviewed a range of different people. TVNZ followed a similar format, usually beginning a story with poll results showing what the public thought, followed by a string of comments which backed up those results. Examples of this include vox pops on the drinking age (September 4th), pensioner travel entitlements (September 6th), the minimum wage (September 9th), and mass surveillance (September 16th). Members of the public were prominent in the Herald’s sample too, as shown in the article based on the latest Digipol⁵³. However, the Herald’s references to members of public is slightly below the representatives of the Central Government (see Table 13a).

Table 13a. Other sources across different platforms

	<i>Public</i>	<i>Central Gov.</i>	<i>Media</i>	<i>Academia</i>	<i>Business</i>
Radio	77	21	10	13	21
TV	91	6	16	19	9
NZ Herald	47	50	29	11	11
TOTAL	215	76	55	44	41

Central Government was the next most-quoted source, although this was largely due to confusion over the designation of John Key and his cabinet ministers when they appeared on the campaign trail (see above). Media and other journalists came a close third, prompted by the Dirty Politics and Moment of Truth events. For the purposes of this research, Nicky Hager and Cameron Slater were both coded as journalists.

Academics were used across all media platforms to provide comment on various aspects of the political process. They appeared on TVNZ to explain such things as why Labour leader David Cunliffe was struggling to gain support among traditional Labour voters (August 29th), closing the gap between rich and poor (September 8th), and an academic study into how leaders are perceived based on their appearance alone (September 11th). A common format on *Morning Report* would be for two academics to contribute to an analysis of the leaders’ debates. On 29 August, AUT’s Wayne Hope and Massey University’s Claire Robinson discussed the first televised leaders’ debate⁵⁴. And on 3 September, Hope and University of Canterbury political scientist, Bronwyn Hayward, analysed the leaders’ debate held in Christchurch organised by *The Press* newspaper⁵⁵.

⁵³ “Two thirds of voters believe citizens-initiated referenda should be binding-survey,” 27 August

⁵⁴ ‘Who won the debate?’

⁵⁵ ‘Analysts dissect second leaders debate’

It's worth noting that the presence of business sources is nearly six times higher than the use of trade union sources. One prominent piece of coverage on RNZ was a discussion on 25 August between the Economics Correspondent, several chief executives, and a trade union official. This highlighted the disjoint in views between those managing large companies, and those within the workforce. Notably, the trade union official was the only female. Sources from think tanks and industry representatives also accounted for this gender imbalance. Business New Zealand's Phil O'Reilly appeared on *Morning Report*, as well as male heads of individual companies and male market analysts⁵⁶.

More than two thirds of the people talking in the election news were male (71%):

Table 14: Source gender

(N = 1355)		
Gender	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Male	962	71%
Female	308	22.73%
Transgender	1	0.07%
Not identifiable	84	6.2%

Gender inequality in the election coverage can be attributed to the overall gender gap in the structure of political parties – leaders and spokespersons are predominantly male. The two major party leaders, John Key (133) and David Cunliffe (92), were the two most frequently sourced, most notably with reference to the various leaders' debates. Other senior figures within National and Labour were also male, and featured in stories such as an RNZ debate between National's Steven Joyce and Labour's Grant Robertson⁵⁷. The parties' finance spokespeople were also both male. Labour's David Parker was interviewed on *Morning Report* on 3 September to explain his Party's proposal for a capital gains tax⁵⁸, and National's Bill English was interviewed the following day to clarify National's position on income tax cuts.

Six of the minor parties had male leaders, who were sourced as follows: New Zealand First's Winston Peters (62), Mana's Hone Harawira (24), Māori Party's Te Ururoa Flavell (23), Conservative Party's Colin Craig (29), ACT's Jamie White (17) and United Future's Peter Dunne (15). Norman was the main source for Green Party

⁵⁶ see 26 August, 'Key drops hint of tax cut as National gets campaign back on track'; 1 September, 'Investors' attention turns to politics'; 4 September, 'Banks predict gloomy future for dairy prices'; 9 September, 'National's being accused of dangling ghost tax cuts'; 15 September, 'Investors look forward to an action-packed week'

⁵⁷ 'Who won the debate?'

⁵⁸ 'Labour's finance spokesperson discusses capital gains tax'

comment on the economy and this, on occasion in relation to environmental issues, was one of the most-covered election topics. Turei spoke on a range of issues including employment, housing, farming and the environment, health, and welfare⁵⁹.

The only other female party leader was Laila Harré, who was randomly identified as either the Internet Party Leader or the Internet-Mana alliance leader. Her combined frequency rating took her to 11 - just above her male colleague, Mana leader Hone Harawira (10).

Within some source categories such as academia and vox pops, there appeared to have been an attempt by media organisations to achieve gender balance. For example, on RNZ on 26 August there was a vox pop segment on the West Coast including male (3) and female (2) views of the National Government expressed by locals enjoying a drink in the pub the evening before⁶⁰. There were more females (4) than males (2) in an RNZ news piece of 1 September reported on by the Education Correspondent's news piece on education issues⁶¹, though this may have been because he visited a Wellington netball court and spoke to the parents on the sidelines. This pattern was repeated and magnified in the area of health, where the programmes' specialist correspondent interviewed members of the public in Wellington, Lower Hutt, and Auckland. A total of 14 females and five males commented on the high cost of GP visits⁶².

We looked at the form of speech in the category sources hoping that the distinction between direct speech and reported speech would give some insight into journalistic treatment of sources.

Table 15: Type of speech

(N = 1355)		
<i>Type of speech</i>	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Direct Quote	1174	86.64%
Reported speech	181	13.35%

A relatively high level of direct quotes (86.64%) by the sources implies an effort made to provide faithfulness to form and content of the reported facts and opinions.

Reference to social groups

⁵⁹ RNZ: 3 September, 'Greens and National face off on boosting minimum wage' and 'Major parties clash over Auckland housing solutions'; 11 September 'Feds want Greens kept away from portfolios'; 17 September 'Te Manu Korihi'; 18 September, 'National's welfare policy slated by opponents'

⁶⁰ 'A "frosty reception" for PM on West Coast today'

⁶¹ 'Poverty and special needs top education concerns'

⁶² RNZ: 'Many NZers say the cost of seeing a GP is steep'

Our category reference to social groups was intended to unpack the presence of social groups who are most frequently identified as targets for discrimination. Following classification outlined in the Human Rights Act 1993, we developed a list of groups who might be referred to in news reports. These references were random (527 references in total), but some categories stand out:

Table 16: Reference to social groups (527)

Variables	Frequency
New Zealanders	103
Young	60
Low income	52
Maori	51
Conservative/Right wing	27
Liberal/Left wing	26
Foreigners	24
Middle income	23
High income	23
Elderly	21
Asian	20
Centrist/Swing voter	18
Pacific	10
Women	10
Beneficiaries	9
Unemployed	9
Men	8
Relationship	7
Christians	6
Pakeha	5
Muslims	3
Homosexual	3
Middle aged	3
Disabled	2
Abled	1
European	1
MELAA	1
Single	1

Almost 20% of references to social groups deployed the broad category ‘New Zealanders’ (103). This is not surprising given that the selected media organisations had nationwide audiences. It also reflects the colour-blind approach most major parties took in appealing to voters, opting for a neutral and inclusive term that covered as many people as possible. The term “New Zealanders” was used to try to capture the all-important middle ground and avoid alienating the majority. Political leaders

vied to be seen as the only one speaking for the people, by constructing a position for them to occupy.

The second most common social group referred to was young people (60). This reflects a concerted effort throughout the campaign to encourage young people to enrol and vote, amid fears of voter apathy among the youth. A TVNZ story on September 5th revealed voter turnout was at its lowest it's ever been since New Zealand first went to the polls in the 1880s. A group called Rock Enrol was encouraging young people to vote, and attempting to make the political process seem edgy and attractive. Academic Bryce Edwards also weighed in in a TVNZ story on September 11th, saying his observation among students was that many young people were reluctant to go into politics because of what would be expected of them. Rock Enrol featured in another TVNZ story on September 14th, with an offer of free concerts for young people who pledged to vote. In the same story, it was revealed that the Otago University Students Association was spending \$28,000 promoting the election to students. Young people also featured prominently in stories on National's centrepiece housing policy – on *Morning Report*, John Key promoted the policy as a means for first home buyers and young people to be able to buy their own house⁶³.

National's promise of tax cuts for low and middle income earners was also frequently reported, and contributed to the frequency of references to the 'low income' social group (52), as the third most featured social group. For example, on 9 September on *Morning Report*, John Key said "I think if you go to a *low income family* in New Zealand and say do you want an extra \$1,000 in your pocket, will that make a difference? Most *low income families* will say it will make a difference"⁶⁴. There was some crossover between the 'young' and 'low income' categories. On *Morning Report* on 3 September, Greens co-leader Metiria Turei asserted that "In order to be a fairer society, we need a fairer tax system and we need decent wages so that families can earn enough in a full time job to take care of their *kids*... Fair pay for a fair day's work"⁶⁵. News stories about the issue of child poverty also brought together the 'low income' and 'young' categories.

The fourth most prominent social group referred to was Maori; at 51 references, this was half as many as for the category 'New Zealanders'. This is not unusual insofar as although the Maori proportion of the population is only approximately 15%, Māori are recognised as Treaty partners. The number of references to Maori was also increased by the TMK segment on *Morning Report*. RNZ's public service charter requires it to address all New Zealanders while having a responsibility to reflect the country's cultural diversity 'including Māori language and culture' (RNZ, 2013, p. 6). Aside from this segment, only a few stories that referred to 'Māori' were run in the

⁶³ 'National announce housing package to benefit first home buyers'

⁶⁴ 'National's being accused of dangling ghost tax cuts'

⁶⁵ 'Greens and National face-off on boosting minimum wage' see also 'Support for minimum wage rises'

main section of the programme. One type of example is where the Māori Party specifically was the topic of a news story. For example, on 25 August Tama Iti was interviewed after becoming a party list candidate; and stated ‘I have trust in the Maori Party... since they’ve been in power and they were able to gain support for iwi’⁶⁶. Another type of example is where the very presence of Māori-oriented parties (and Māori politicians), prompted ‘Māori issues’ to be included as an election topic. On 26 August, five minor party leaders, four of whom were Māori, were invited to debate a range of election issues. The Māori Party leader, Te Ururoa Flavell mentioned his party’s Whanau Ora (well families) policy framework as being valued by all New Zealanders as well as reflecting the Party’s commitment “to protect Māori rights and advance Māori interests for the betterment of this country”⁶⁷.

There was also some crossover between ‘Māori’, and references to the social group category ‘Low income’. Moreover, the ‘Low income’ social group category was discussed in relation to that of the ‘young’. This, too, occurred in the above-mentioned minor party leaders’ debate when the interviewer asked each leader how they would address child poverty. For example, Harawira stated “we’d begin by feeding the *kids*... get everyone back to work, provide free health for *under 18s* and provide support for low decile schools”. Green Party co-leader, Metiria Turei also noted, “inequality is growing between Māori and Pakeha families... so we must tackle the poverty that Māori whanau... suffer from first”⁶⁸.

Space for public dialogue

This section examines if and to what extent news media created space for citizen engagement in the elections. It focuses on the coverage that surrounded two events in the last four weeks of election campaign: the publication of Nicky Hager’s book *Dirty Politics* (released on August 14) and the Moment of Truth organised by the Internet Party. We looked at who was most present in the news and at what point of the campaign by comparing the appearance of news sources across four weeks. We also examine what type of stories journalists produced by investigating the proportion of ‘news’ and ‘opinions’ in the sample. We were interested to see if and what parties were privileged in terms of their order of appearance in the news – as a first or last source named - and also if gender played the role in the way people were presented in the news. We offer some data on the relationship between the story genre (news form) and references to social groups, and in particular examine coverage of Maori by cross-tabulating references to that social group with sources and topics.

Stories and debates: *Dirty Politics* and Moment of Truth

⁶⁶ ‘Iti to stand for Maori Party’. See also 12 September, ‘Maori Party launches its justice policy’

⁶⁷ ‘Leaders of minor parties debate election issues’

⁶⁸ ‘Leaders of minor parties debate election issues’

Media and other journalists were frequently cited in the news. They provided comments on the various elements of the election campaign but were also a central focus of the news. Media figures were the third most frequently used source of information over the four weeks of election coverage. This presence was prompted by the *Dirty Politics* book and the Moment of Truth event whose central figures were two media personalities: Nicky Hager and Cameron Slater. Hager is an investigative journalist and Slater is a blogger.

These two events contributed to the wider election discussion about intelligence matters - surveillance, the NSA and the Five Eyes spying agreement. Most of the stories involving intelligence were in the last week of the election coverage, after the Moment of Truth event. They were sparked by the arrival of journalist Glenn Greenwald at the invitation of Kim Dotcom. Stories continued for several days around allegations that New Zealand citizens were being spied on by the government. A number of related TVNZ stories included Greens leader Russel Norman discussing cyber protection (September 14th), and allegations by Glenn Greenwald that New Zealand had been spying on its trading partners (September 17th). The Dirty Politics story had a legal aspect too, when blogger Cameron Slater went to court to attempt to prevent the media from publishing his private correspondence. An example of this is a TVNZ story on September 5th explaining that a high court judge had granted a temporary injunction against Fairfax, APN and Mediaworks. The judge said the information contained in Slater's emails was in the public interest, but still didn't justify the criminal act of hacking. Cannabis also featured as a crime story topic, with a Vote Compass story on September 4th revealing that just over half of New Zealanders think that cannabis should remain illegal.

These two events coloured the campaign, revealing strategies, tactics and instruments used to win the political battle. The order of sources varied over the four weeks:

Frequency of the first political source across the four weeks (Table 17) shows how many times the political sources appear as the first source on the news across four weeks. When mentioned as the first source, the National Party was most important at the beginning of the campaign, the Labour in the second and last week of campaign (around the release of Dirty Politics book and the Moment of Truth event), Conservative Party in the last week (around the question who will form the government).

Table 17: Frequency of political sources across weeks (first source)

Variables	1st week	2nd week	3rd week	4th week
National party	26	21	21	21
Labour Party	12	16	14	17
New Zealand First	11	9	5	7
The Greens	5	4	6	4
Conservative party	4	3	4	6
Maori party	4	1	7	5
Mana movement	2	3	6	3
Internet party	3	3	3	4
ACT New Zealand	0	2	6	1
Internet-Mana party	4	3	2	0
United Future	2	0	1	0
Aotearoa Legalise Cannabis	0	0	0	0
The Alliance	0	0	0	0

The play between ‘informative’ and ‘interpretative’ function of news media became most obvious in relation to the media coverage of events related to the Moment of truth. Figure 3 and Figure 3a show the number of opinion pieces increased after the Moment of Truth demonstrating how the interpretative function of news media’s has increased after the event⁶⁹.

⁶⁹ John Minto. ‘Internet Mana the election and the media. Daily Blog, September 29, 2014. Available at: <http://thedailyblog.co.nz/2014/09/29/internet-mana-the-election-and-the-media/>

Figure 3: Story genres before Moment of Truth

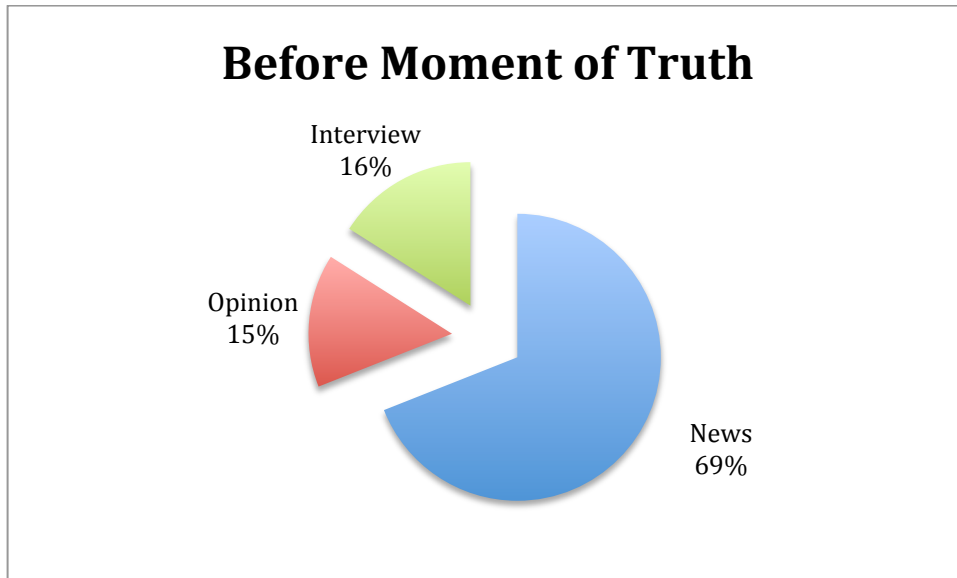
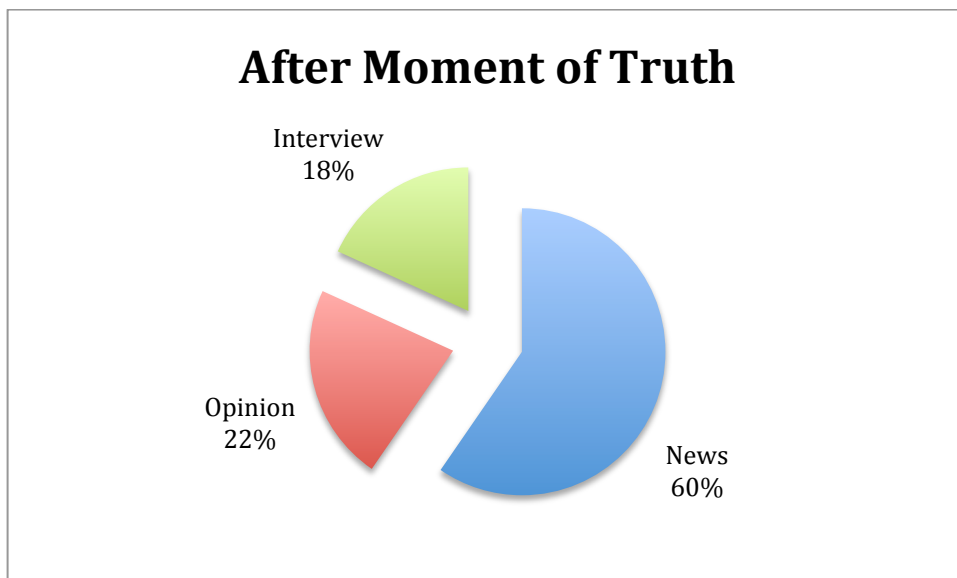


Figure 3a: Story genres after the Moment of truth

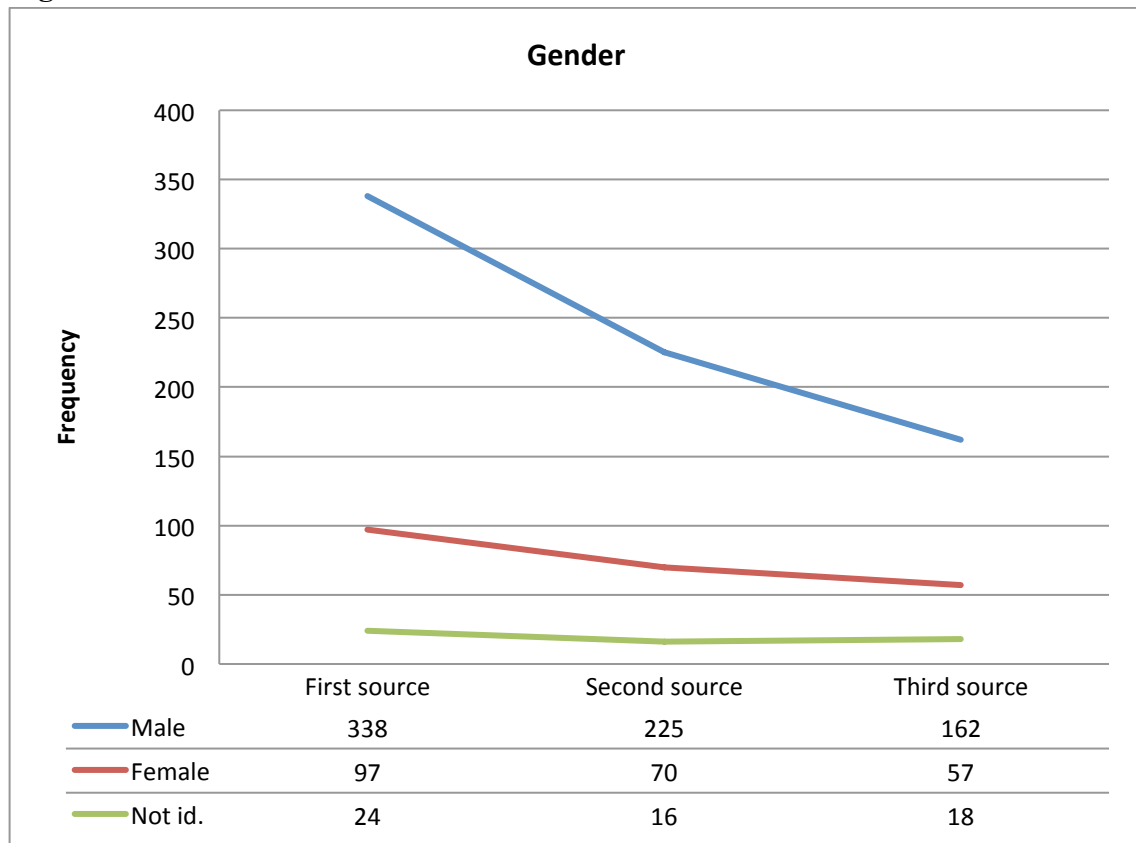


Gender of sources

We examined how the gender of a source related to the frequency of their appearance. Figure 4 shows the overall representation of sources in the television sample. The sample is divided into the following categories: male, female and a further category for those instances where gender could not be determined. Frequency of sources was also measured and divided into the categories: first source, second source and third source. The highest number of those identified as first sources were male (338). Second sources were also predominantly male (225), as were third sources (162). There was a substantial reduction in the number of female first sources compared to

male sources. The highest frequency of female sources was 97 which is well under half that of the first male sources. The next highest frequency of female sources is 70 (which is less than half that of male second sources) while the third female sources category is 57 which is less than half of those of male third sources. Of those sources not identified as either gender there were 24 first sources, 16 second sources and 18 third sources without a gender identified.

Figure 4: Gender of sources

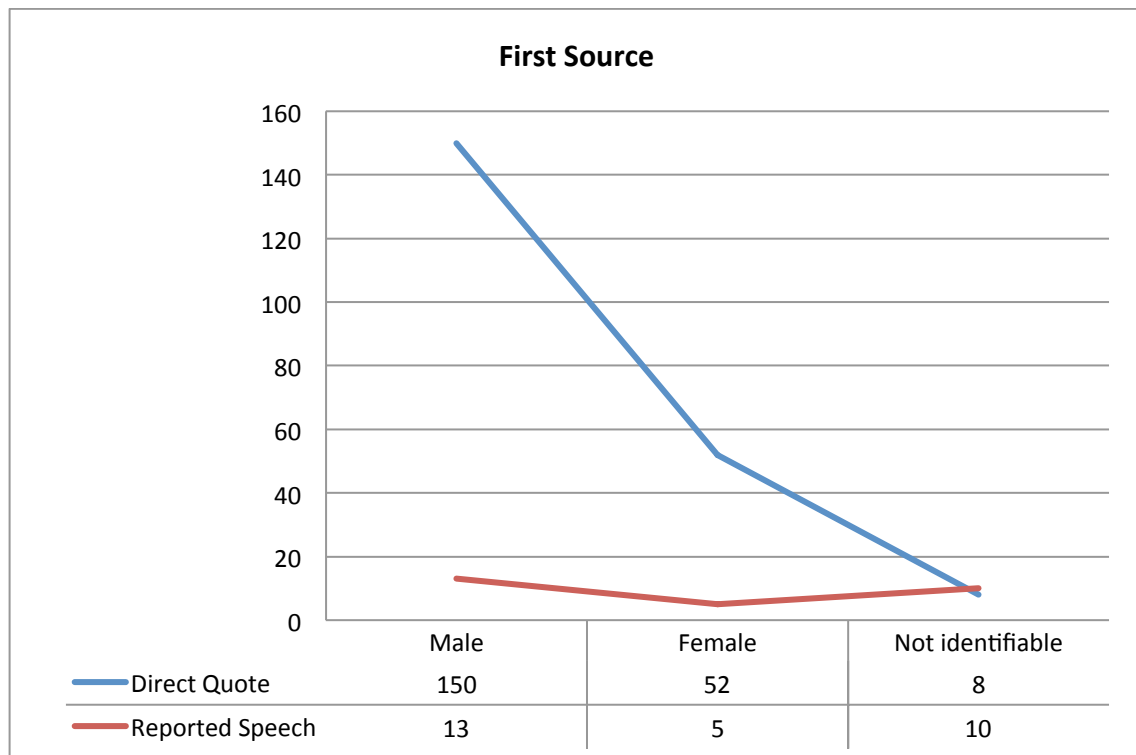


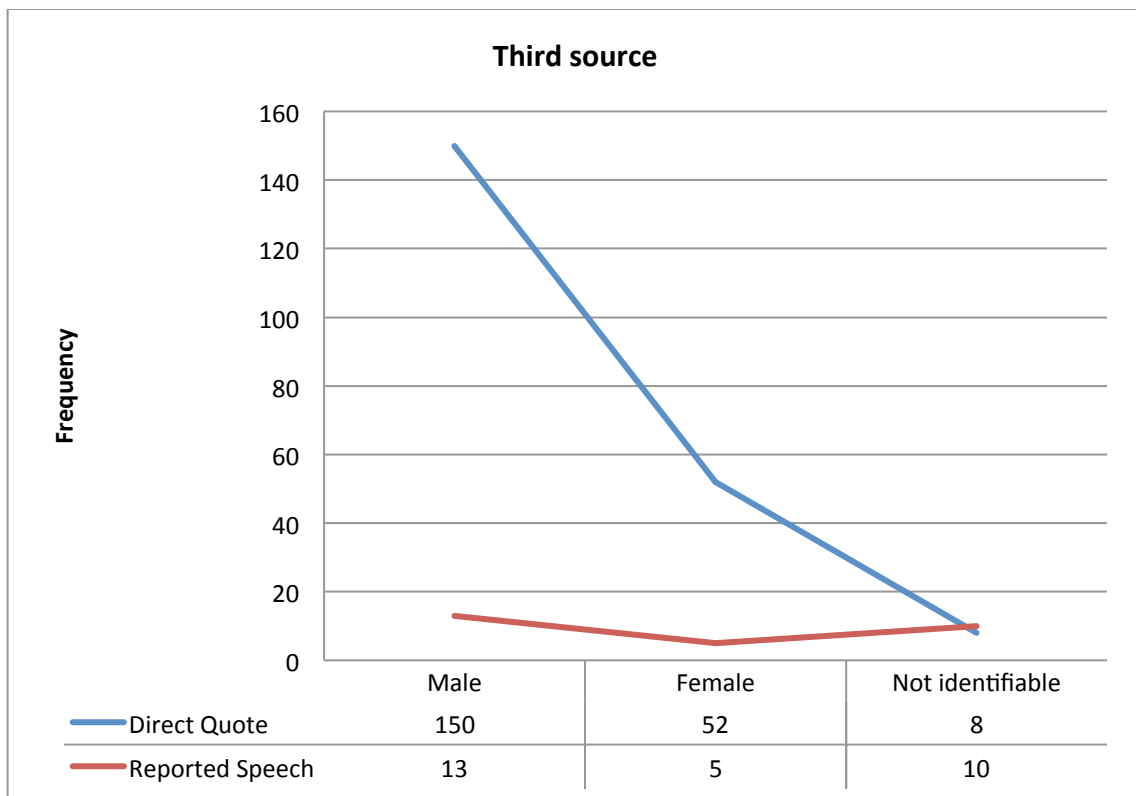
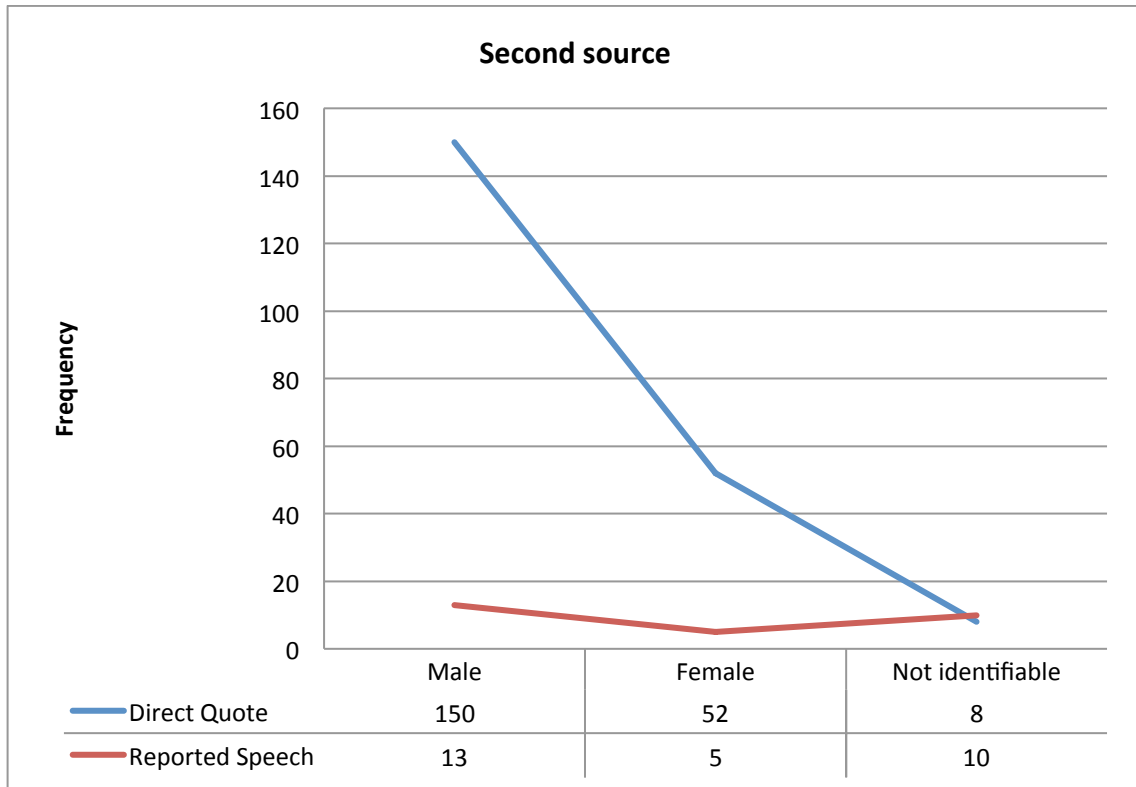
When gender of the sources was measured for the frequency of use of direct quotes and reported speech (Figure 5), it revealed that male sources were more likely to be cited directly than female sources. In the first sources sample there were 150 instances of direct quotes attributed to men and 13 instances of reported speech. The male first sources predominantly used direct quotes rather than reported speech. The female first sources however had only 52 instances of direct quotes and five instances of reported speech; this was less than half the number of direct quotes of the male first sources. There were 8 instances of the first sources sample that were not identifiable as either gender and there were 10 instances of reported speech with no identifiable gender.

In the second sources sample there were 150 male sources credited with direct quotes and 13 with reported speech. This continued the overall trend of male sources using direct quotes. The female second sources in contrast had 52 direct quotes and 5

instances of reported speech, which was lower than the male sources' use of direct quotes. There were 8 non-identifiable direct quotes and 10 instances of reported speech. The third sources had 150 instances of male sources with direct quotes and the female sources 52 instances of direct quotes. The female sources overall used less direct quotes than male sources. Of the non-identifiable sources there were 8 instances of direct quotes and 10 of reported speech. This demonstrates that across all of the source categories there was a larger representation of male sources than female sources and more examples of male sources using direct quotes rather than reported speech.

Figure 5: Gender of source, appearance of source and mode of speech





Stories and social diversity

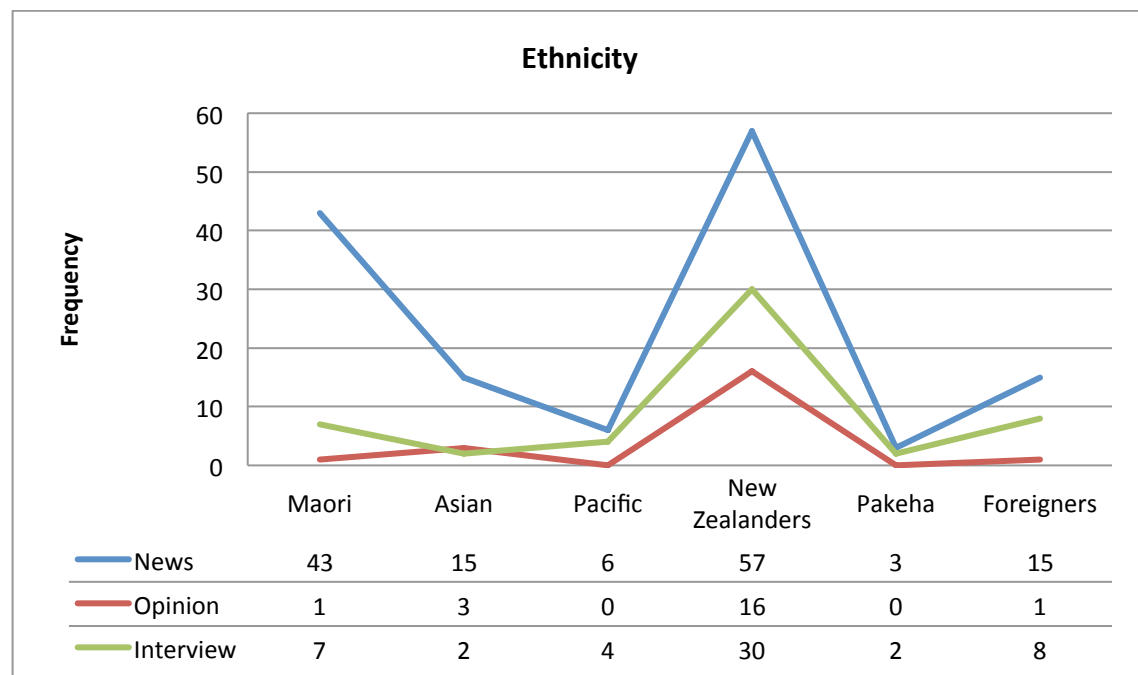
This section examines the relationship between story genre and specific reference to social groups. Figure 6 exhibits references to different ethnic groups in relation to the

story genres: news; opinion; and interview. For specific references to ethnic groups, the category “New Zealander” was by far the most referred to group. Out of all references to any of the top six most frequently referred to ethnic groups (Māori, Asian, Pacific, New Zealander, Pākehā, Foreigner), 48% of references across news, opinion, and interviews were for “New Zealanders”, while 24% were for Māori, 11% for Foreigner, 9% Asian, 5% Pacific, and 2% Pākehā.

The category of “New Zealander” was also the most diversely spread category referred to across news, opinion, and interview stories. Other ethnic categories barely appeared in opinion and interview stories, while for “New Zealander,” almost half (45%) of all stories referring to the group were opinion or interview.

“Māori”, on the other hand, were referred to in a relatively large number of news stories (43, compared to 57 for “New Zealander” and 15 for “Asian” and “Foreigner”), but not in opinion or interview stories. This means that while a news story was almost equally likely to refer to “Māori” as to “New Zealander,” interview stories were 4.3 times more likely to refer to “New Zealander” over “Māori”, while opinion stories were 16 times more likely. These interview and opinion ratios were similar for “Foreigner”, while all other ethnic groups were barely referenced in opinion and interview stories.

Figure 6: Ethnicity and genre of news

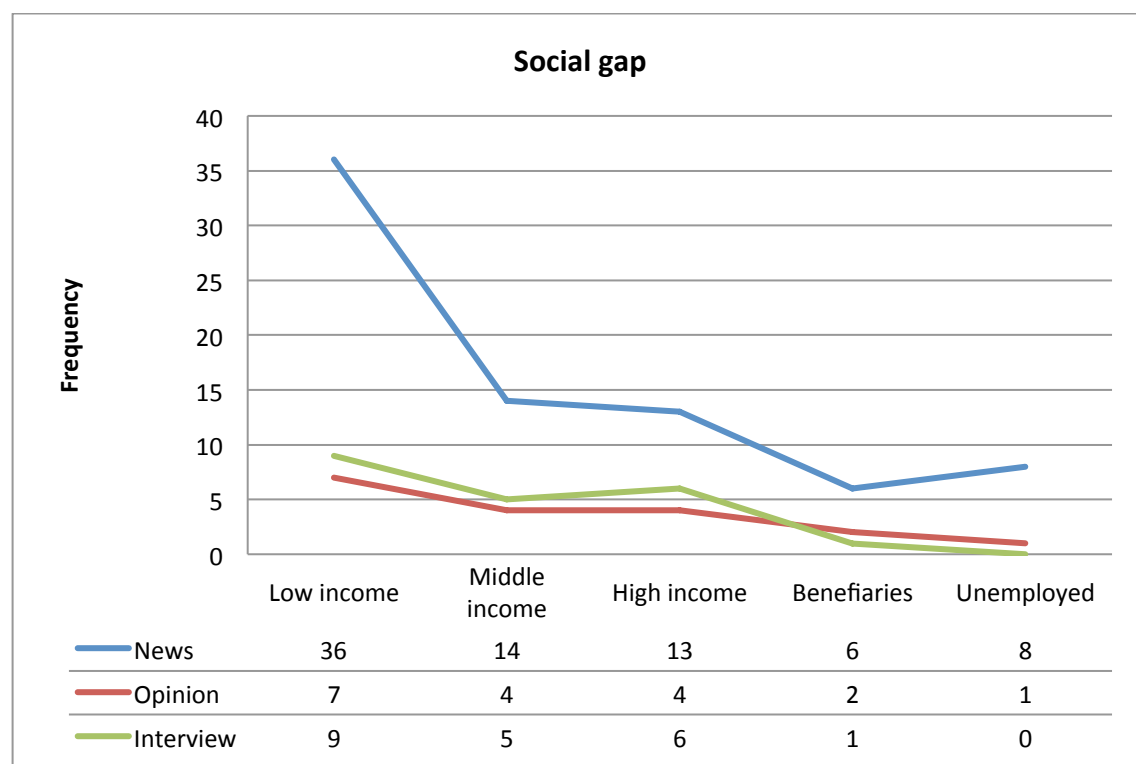


Socio-economic groups were coded by either explicit reference to “low income”, “middle income” etc., or else synonymous reference (e.g., “poor”, “deprived” for

“low income”; “middle class” for “middle income”; and “rich”, “wealthy”, “affluent” for “high income”, etc). Low-income, as a social group, was referred to more than any group across each genre of news, opinion, and interview. This difference was most apparent in news stories, but pertained also in opinion and interview stories. Overall, 45% of all news, opinion, and interview stories referring to a socio-economic group referred to low income, while 20% referred to middle income, 20% to high income, 8% to beneficiary, and 8% to unemployed. These statistics suggest that discussion of low income groups – for instance, in media and political commentary on poverty – dominated the socio-economic conversation during election coverage, followed by a moderate interest in middle and high income groups, and relatively little discussion of beneficiaries or unemployed people.

Figure 7 exhibits references to different socio-economic groups in relation to the story genres: news; opinion; interview:

Figure 7: Form of news and social gap



One question we wanted to address was when and how Maori appear in the news. “Māori”, were referred to in a relatively large number of news stories (43, compared to 57 for “New Zealander” and 15 for “Asian” and “Foreigner”), but not in opinion or interview stories. This means that while a news story was almost equally likely to refer to “Māori” as to “New Zealander,” interview stories were 4.3 times more likely to refer to “New Zealander” over “Māori”, while opinion stories were 16 times more

likely. These interview and opinion ratios were similar for “Foreigner”, while all other ethnic groups were barely referenced in opinion and interview stories.

References to Māori as an ethnic group were highest on Radio New Zealand, which with its public service charter is required to address all New Zealanders while having a responsibility to address New Zealand’s diversity including Māori Language and culture⁷⁰. However, the majority of references to Māori occurred during *Morning Report*’s segment, Te Manu Korihi. Only a few other references to Māori appeared in the main segment of the programme.

⁷⁰ RNZ, 2013, p.6

Journalists and Twittersphere

Those who investigate journalists' use of twitter have found that journalists use Twitter in the same manner as they used other journalistic mediums, with no particular adaptation to the medium apart from expressing opinions more freely. When following journalists during the 2012 presidential season in the United States, Lawrence et al (2013) found that journalists often expressed subtle opinions, not necessarily strong ones. They were also often attempting to strengthen their own brands.

Our analysis focused on investigating the types of users whom our tracked journalists were mentioning in their politically-related tweets in order to understand who is being engaged in election discussions. We were interested in finding out whether journalists were using Twitter as an opportunity to reach out to citizens, or whether they were primarily engaging with other journalists and politicians, as the studies of the relationships between journalists and sources indicate. Each user who was mentioned was recorded, and their Twitter account visited to investigate what kind of user they were: a journalist or media outlet, a political figure, or a member of the public (including non-media companies and organisations).

Whom do journalists tweet to?

The results were fairly consistent over the four weeks, with a final average of 70% of mentions directed to other media figures. This shows that the journalists we tracked mainly interacted with other people in media when they talked about the election, rather than speaking to politicians or members of the public.

Table 18: Proportion of mentions directed to each category of user

	Media	Political figures	Public
Week 1	75%	9%	12%
Week 2	76%	10%	14%
Week 3	64%	8%	24%
Week 4	65%	12%	23%
Average	70%	10%	18%

Table 19: Journalists role mentions directed by media

	Media	Political figures	Public
TVNZ	63%	12%	21%
New Zealand Herald	73%	7%	18%
Radio NZ	78%	11%	10%

While Table 19 show that TVNZ journalists used a significantly higher proportion of their mentions addressing members of the public than media, this is mainly due to a couple of outliers who sent only one tweet and addressed it to a public figure (thus getting a 100% result for public and skewing the overall results).

These tweets to media seemed to mainly fall into three categories: discussion of news, social/work talk, and promotion and sharing via the retweet feature. Examples of news discussion and social/work talk are below. Examples of retweets can be found in the Retweets section.

There were a number of users who consistently mentioned media even more than the 70% average. In this analysis of high-proportion “media-to-media” tweeters, we focused on the top users – i.e. those who had at least 20 mentions total. This was done to avoid analysing those who had high proportions of “media-to-media” tweets simply as a result of not sending many tweets overall.

The top 6 after this exclusion are shown here. Most of these top users are ‘promoters’. As shown in the table below, they are mainly hosts, anchors, or editors. There is a fair mix of news organisations here, and there appears to be no linking factor between the journalists who directed a higher percentage of their tweets towards media.

Table 20: Journalists’ role mentions directed at media

Role	News Outlet	Mentions directed at media (%)
Host/Reporter	Radio NZ	95
Editor	Herald	88
Political Editor	Radio NZ	85
Political Reporter	Radio NZ	82
Anchor	TVNZ	80
Editor	Herald	78

Those in this table sent a high number of “promotional” tweets, in which they mention other journalists as well as news outlets. That is, instead of discussing news with the public, political figures, or even other journalists, they tend to share links to articles or promote segments of the news content. In other words, they are using Twitter as a gateway to traditional media.

Interactions within media outlets

Journalists mostly tweeted to people in the same organisation. That is, journalists who interacted the most with Herald journalists were themselves Herald journalists. This was consistent across all three media outlets. The in-house mentions mainly came from promoting news articles. Below, Katie Bradford, a TVNZ journalist and one of the top tweeters to TVNZ accounts, attributed a news article to the One News account (bolded).

*@katieabradford: Key asked to investigate links between Rich and Whale Oil
<http://t.co/Y5Lu9qyHu4> via @ONENews*

Other in-house mentions came from conversations and retweets. Below, Chris Bramwell of Radio NZ retweets a fellow colleague (bolded).

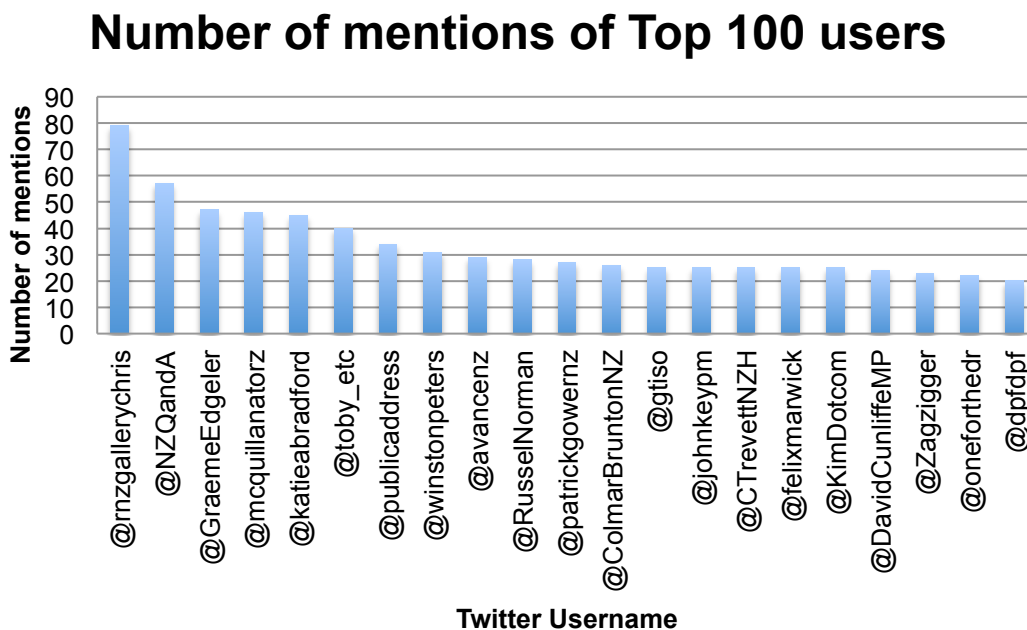
@rnzchris RT @rnzgalleryliz: Parliament is broken says Brendan Horan

Top 100 tweeters

At the beginning of the election period, the New Zealand Herald published a list of the “Top 100 Tweeters” to follow during the election, including politicians, journalists, activists, and humour accounts. As part of our analysis, we tracked how often these top 100 tweeters were mentioned by our tracked journalists.

Of the Herald’s “Top 100 Tweeters”, 21 were mentioned 20 or more times by our tracked journalists. This graph is included below. Those mentioned most frequently are mostly journalists, which reinforces the above finding that the journalists we tracked mostly interacted with other journalists.

Figure 8: Number of mentions of Top 100 users (those mentioned 20 or more times only)



What do journalists tweet about?

Using our keyword search method, we concluded that 2970 of the 5590 tweets (53%) gathered were politically related. The other 47% were mostly tweets about non-election news and personal tweets, including communicating with friends and

commenting on sports. (179 tweets were identified as containing key words related to rugby.) This indicated that journalists were using Twitter for work-related purposes as much as they are using it for personal communication. Instead of using a ‘work’ account and a ‘personal’ account, they were doing all their Twitter interaction from the same account.

Table 21: Percentage of political tweets

Total number of political tweets	2970
Total number of tweets	5590

As explained in the Methodology section, a number of keyword clusters were created in order to analyse what topics were being discussed. The table below displays the clusters used as well as a brief explanation and some examples of key words contained in each cluster.

Table 22: Keyword cluster

Cluster name	Explanation	Example key words
Dirty Politics	Nicky Hager’s controversial book, which made a number of claims against the National government	Hager, whaledump, dirty politics, #hagerbook
Media Outlets	Each media outlet being monitored	#tvnz, nz herald, the herald, morning report
Moment of Truth	Kim Dotcom’s media event involving claims against John Key.	Moment of truth, #mot
Debates	Live debates between party leaders	#tvnzdebate, debate, #leadersdebate
Election Topics	General election topics	Economy, education, transport
Parties	Each political party in the election	National, labour, NZ first, Internet-Mana
Political figures	Important politicians and political figures	John Key, Winston Peters, David Cunliffe
Voter types	Different demographics of voters	Conservative, middle aged, swing voter, centrist, christchurch

Content analysis shows that the clusters mentioned most frequently were the Political Figure, Media Outlet, and Parties. The Political Figure and Parties keywords were likely mentioned so frequently because in the shortened format of Twitter, it is necessary to use shorter identifiers of topics. There were comparatively fewer mentions of Election Topics, Voter Types, and Debates. This was partly because the range of key words for these categories was smaller, i.e. there were fewer key words in each of these clusters so their total counts were lower. However, the most popular key words in the Political Figure, Media Outlet, and Parties were significantly more popular than the most popular key words in other clusters.

Political Figures

Within the Political Figure search cluster we explored the link between the traditional media discussion and Twitter rating. The table below displays how often each political figure was mentioned. Please note, only the most relevant politicians are included in this table: it is not comprehensive.

Table 23: Reporters’ tweets and political figures

Name	Number of mentions
John Key	478
Winston Peters	200
Judith Collins	217
David Cunliffe	289
Colin Craig	109
Jamie Whyte	47
Russel Norman	58
Kim Dotcom	98
Hone Harawira	39
Laila Harre	30
Metiria Turei	14
Peter Dunne	25

“John Key” or “Key” was mentioned 592 times, compared to “David Cunliffe” and “Cunliffe” 384. This was an expected result, as they were the party leaders and John Key was the incumbent. However, it was not only the leaders who were mentioned frequently. “Judith Collins” was mentioned the same number of times as “David Cunliffe” as a result of the media scrutiny over her conflicts of interest and subsequent resignation.

“Winston Peters” was mentioned just as frequently, reflecting media attention over his controversial statements as well as his presumed role as kingmaker during the election. “Dotcom” and “Kim Dotcom” were also mentioned often, which indicated his influence over election debate both as a financial backer of the Internet-Mana coalition, as a much-discussed New Zealand figure, and for his media event “Moment of Truth” which was intended to expose misdeeds by John Key’s government.

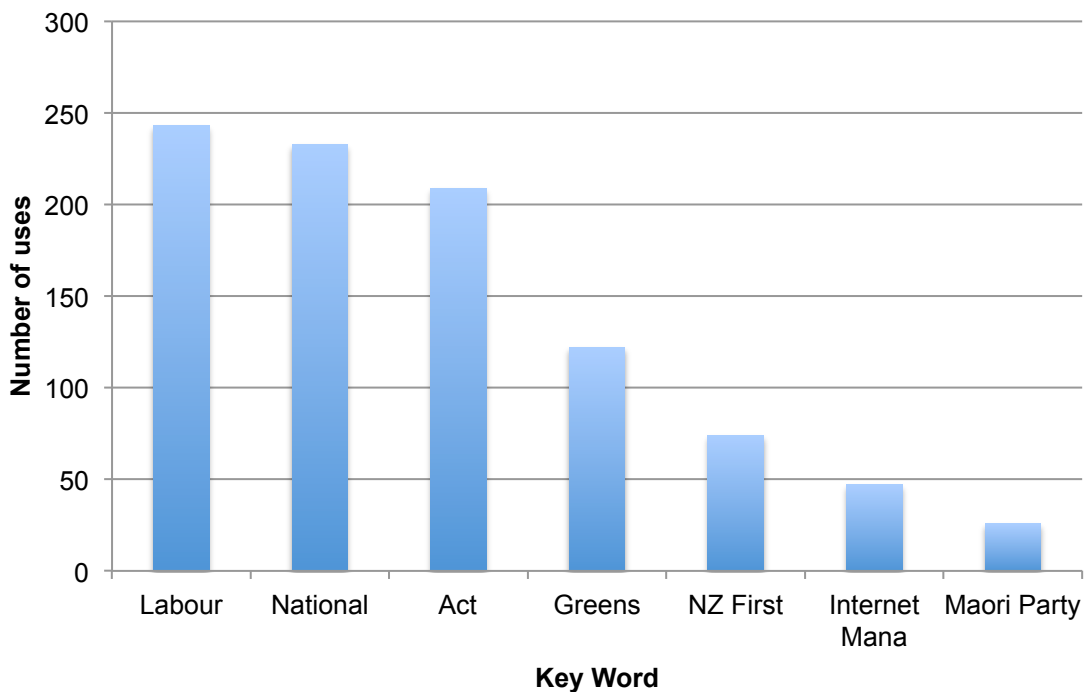
In contrast to this, Meteria Turei and Russel Norman were mentioned far less frequently, despite being leaders of the largest minor party. This may reflect the lack of controversy the Greens were involved in. Despite the release of a policy to allow tertiary students free public transport at off-peak times, the Greens were otherwise not subject to much media attention. Tweets about them mostly related to standard appearances for the press. In contrast, Hone Harawira had roughly the same number of mentions as Metiria Turei and Russel Norman each had, despite not gaining his seat. This reflects the amount of discussion and speculation over the tight contest for

this seat, and his new alliance with Kim Dotcom and Laila Harre in the formation of the Internet-Mana coalition.

Parties

There were clear differences between the results of the Parties cluster and the results of the Election. While Labour was subject to significant media attention during the election, the results did not bear this out in the sample of selected journalists' tweets. Here, Act should be considered an outlier, as it is unfortunately a common noun and verb. Those using the keyword "act" may have not meant the political party, but could have been using it in the context of "someone performing an act". The Greens gained a significant but smaller proportion of media attention and votes.

Figure 9: Reporters' tweets and parties



How do journalists use Twitter?

We were unable to track the number of tweets that were directly replying to another tweet. Twitter classifies replies as "part of a conversation" if they are directly replying to each other, however, our data did not include whether each tweet was part of a conversation. However, our data did allow us to count the number of mentions made by our tracked journalists.

There were 0.83 mentions per tweet, which is a relatively high number. This indicates the tendency of our tracked journalists to use Twitter as a medium to communicate with other users, and particularly other journalists. It was clear that our tracked

journalists were making use of Twitter’s functions as a platform for interaction and reciprocity, rather than simply posting status updates.

While it was evident the use of mentions was very common, it is also important to remember that there are uses of mentions unrelated to communication. For example, it is common for a journalist to mention or retweet the account of their news outlet when sharing articles. This acts as free self-promotion, as well as marketing for the journalist’s outlet.

Table 24: Retweets

Total number of tweets	5590
Total number of retweets	1736

Overall, 31% of tweets gathered were determined to be retweets. The top 15 accounts retweeted were mostly journalists and were all New Zealand media-related accounts. Again, this highlighted the tendency of the journalists we tracked to interact mainly with other journalists.

Hashtags were used relatively infrequently in comparison to other key words being tracked. The table below shows the hashtags that were used at least 10 times over the course of the monitoring period.

Table 25: Most frequently used hashtags

Hashtag	Number of uses
#decision14	76
#dirtypolitics	74
#vote2014nz	56
#greenroomnz	38
#votenz	19
#nzpol	15
#mot	15
#rtpt	14
#whaledump	13
#rpt	12
#decision2014	12
#hagerdebate	12
#election2014	10
#votecompass	10

Most of the most popular hashtags were actively used and promoted by media outlets. #decision14, the most popular hashtag, was established by MediaWorks as part of the promotion for TV3’s coverage of the election. #vote2014nz was used by TV One. #greenroomnz was a tag used by the Green Party to promote The Green Room, a one-time online forum with both co-leaders of the Green Party. However, #dirtypolitics, the second most popular hashtag, appears to have been user-created. This is the only

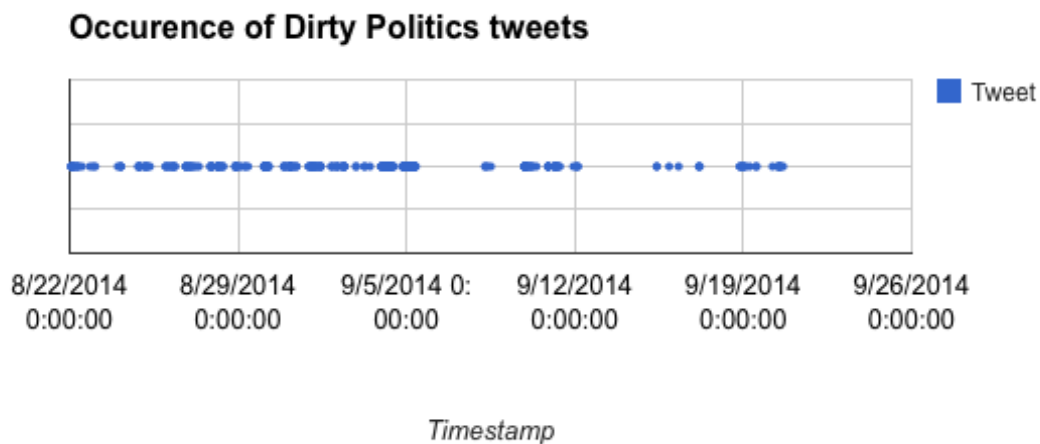
user-created hashtag that had significant use. This shows that the efforts of mainstream media to influence the Twitter sphere of discussion succeeded.

It is possible that the media-created hashtags are overrepresented here because we are tracking members of the media outlets that created the hashtags. However, note that the most popular hashtag was created by MediaWorks. This was not one of our tracked outlets. Nonetheless, it would be interesting to examine the public's use of hashtags, to see if they use user-created or media-created hashtags.

Timing of tweets: Dirty Politics case study

The following chart shows when tweets mentioning Dirty Politics, the book by Nicky Hager, were made. Note that Dirty Politics was released on the 13th of August, but the monitoring period for tweets only began on the 22nd of August.

Figure 10: Timing of Dirty politics tweets



It is clear that Dirty Politics dominated discussion for around a week from the start of the monitoring period. Journalists were still discussing the book itself, as well as articles and cartoons about the book.

After that time, it was mentioned significantly less. Toward the end of the election period, both John Key and Jamie Whyte concurred in saying that they did not expect it to have much influence on voters. However, the graph shows that journalists did still mention Dirty Politics until the end of the election period, even if it was not a breaking news story. It remained an important concept, or touchstone.

The journalists we tracked overwhelmingly interacted with other journalists and media-related twitter accounts in their political tweets. 70% of all @ mentions made by the journalist we tracked were directed at media-related twitter accounts. Journalists used @ mentions for political figures and members of the public significantly less. Further, journalists had a strong tendency to mention people within their own media outlet. In this sense, the Twitter world for political tweets was

noticeably insular. Journalists were tweeting within their own organisation and within their own profession.

When we looked at these “insular” tweets, they appeared to fall into three categories: discussion of news, social chat or “work talk”, and promotion of traditional media articles or commentary (using links). Unfortunately, sorting all of the tweets in our sample into these categories would have been too time-consuming. However, determining the relative proportions of each of these categories would be an interesting topic for future research.

Journalists’ tweets mirrored traditional media election coverage. Analysis of the key word clusters for parties and political figures highlighted this point. The names and parties that were most mentioned on Twitter were also the most important in traditional media. John Key was mentioned frequently because he was the Prime Minister and frontrunner throughout the election campaign. Judith Collins was mentioned frequently because of the scandal over her conduct, which was also heavily reported in traditional media.

Looking at the case study of Dirty Politics, it was unfortunately difficult to establish whether journalists in our sample were engaging in ambient journalism. This was because our tracking period did not begin until after the release of the Dirty Politics book. However, the case study of Dirty Politics did show that discussion of Dirty Politics was most frequent closer to its release, and less frequent as time went on, as with traditional media.

Journalists used Twitter as a platform for interaction. For political tweets made by the journalists we tracked, there were 0.83 mentions per tweet, indicating that mentions were being used very frequently. 31% of tweets were retweets, which showed that journalists were reading and sharing content made by other accounts. As discussed above, within these mentions and retweets, journalists were mainly interacting with other journalists. Political tweets that did not involve some kind of interaction were rare.

Journalists’ Twitter accounts mixed work and personal life. We found that about half of the tweets we gathered were related to the election. The other half were related to the journalists’ personal lives. This indicates that journalists, either on their own will or following editorial policy on the use of social media, do not separate Twitter accounts for different areas of their lives.

Hashtags are being created by traditional media outlets. Hashtags were not used frequently, and the most popular hashtags were those established and promoted by traditional media outlets. Only one of the popular hashtags - #dirtypolitics – was user-created. It would be interesting to examine the public’s use of hashtags, to see if they use user-created or media-created hashtags.

Conclusions

This study presents results of the content analysis of political reports published in *The New Zealand Herald* and broadcasted on *Morning Report* (Radio NZ) and *ONE News at 6pm* (TVNZ) over the four weeks leading up to Election Day. The report indicates main trends in the coverage, signalling issues for discussion rather than proving comprehensive conclusions.

The analysis of diversity of voices in the election coverage highlights a striking dominance of institutional sources in the news: members of the political parties outranked all other sources combined. The media's contribution to creating equally accessible space for public discussion about political matters also becomes intriguing when considering data on source gender in the election coverage: more than two thirds of the people talking in the election news were male.

In terms of the diversity of social groups, the election reports contained slightly less references to social groups than the total number of articles sampled (527 and 575, respectively), meaning that the answer to the question '*Who is talked about?*' was not straightforward. The analysis of the election coverage confirmed that mainstream media have indeed provided political candidates and parties the opportunity to access a wide audience on a range of social, political, economic, and cultural issues. However, the investigation of media's role in ensuring citizens can draw upon a diverse marketplace of ideas suggests that the actual diversity of the contemporary marketplace has its boundaries.

The picture of contemporary New Zealand represented in the mainstream media election coverage, however, does not adequately articulate this diversity. Instead, a relatively homogenous dominant identity is prioritized, constructing an ostensibly universal, and yet ultimately narrow, image that the rest of "all New Zealanders" are insinuated within. While various groups and identities were indeed present in the coverage, and at times given voice, the disproportionate space dedicated to the status quo (white, male, business-centric, major party) considerably reduced the space available to the multiple 'others.' Thus, this brief snapshot of media content analysis at election time suggests there is still some way to go before the mainstream news media, as John Key might say, can adequately stand for "all New Zealanders."

References:

- Ausserhofer, J. and Maireder, A. (2013). National politics on Twitter. *Information, Communication and Society* 16:3, 291-314.
- Carey, J. (1997). The problem of journalism history. In Munson, E. & Waren, C. (Eds.) *James Carey: A critical reader* (pp.. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press
- Comrie, M. (1999). Television News And Broadcast Deregulation in New Zealand. *Journal of Communication, Spring 2009*. (pp 42-54). DOI: 10.1111/j.1462466.1999.tb02792.x
- Comrie, M. & Fountaine, S. (2005). Retrieving public service broadcasting: treading a fine line at TVNZ. *Media Culture Society; 2005; 27*. (pp 101-118) DOI:10.1177/0163443705049060
- Hannis, GD., Hollings, J., Pajo, K., & Lealand, G. (2014). Survey of New Zealand journalists: They enjoy the job, despite everything.. *Ejournalist : a Refereed Media Journal*. 14(2) Retrieved from <http://www.ejournalist.com.au/v14n2/Hannis.pdf>
- Hilgartner, S., & Bosk, C. (1988). The rise and fall of social problems: a public arenas model. *American Journal of Sociology* 94(1), 53-78.
- Fairclough, N. (2000). *New Labour, new language*. London: Routledge,.
- Lealand, G. (2011). *What Anniversary? New Zealand "Celebrates" Fifty Years of Television*. In K. Darian-Smith & S. Turnbull (Eds.). *Remembering Television: Histories, Technologies, Memories* (pp. 228-248). Newcastle
- Lelliott, J. (2013) Manifest reasons for manifestos. The DRUM. <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2013-09-11/lelliott-reasons-for-manifestos/4951246>. Accessed on 19/02/2014.
- McNair, B. (1998). *The sociology of journalism*. London: Arnold.
- Myllylahti, M. (2014). JMAD New Zealand Ownership Report. Retrieved February 2015 from http://www.aut.ac.nz/_data/assets/pdf_file/0008/509723/JMAD-New-Zealand-Media-Ownership-Report-2014_2.pdf
- New Zealand Parliament. (2011). *Television New Zealand Amendment Bill*. Retrieved Aug 2014 from http://www.parliament.nz/en-nz/pb/legislation/bills/00DBHOH_BILL9722_1/television-new-zealand-amendment-bill
- ONE News. (2011). *TVNZ charter passes into history*. Retrieved Aug 2014 from <http://tvnz.co.nz/politics-news/tvz-charter-passes-into-history-4300677>
- Nort, R., Holsti, O., Zaninovich, G., & Zinnes, D. (1963). *Content analysis: A handbook with applications for the study of international crisis*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.
- Phelan, S. & Owen, T. (2010). The paradoxes of media globalization: On the banal "world" of New Zealand journalism. *International Journal of Communication*, 4, 27-53.
- Radio New Zealand. (2013). *Celebrating Innovation: Radio New Zealand Annual Report 2012-2013*. Retrieved from

http://www.radionz.co.nz/assets/cms_uploads/000/000/043/RNZ_Annual_Report_2013.pdf

Schudson, M. (2003). *The sociology of news*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company

Stromback, J. and Lee Kaid, L. (2008) *The Handbook of Election News Coverage Around the World*. Oxon: Routledge

Thompson, P.A. (2010). *Submission on Television New Zealand Amendment Bill*. Submission to Parliamentary Select Committee. Retrieved Aug 2014 from <http://www.parliament.nz/resource/0000123756>

Wahl-Jorgensen, K. et al. (2013). *Breadth of Opinion in BBC Output*. Project Report. BBC Trust