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Mass media representations of indigenous peoples

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Introduction

> *"The everyday discursive practices used by the media and other systems of cultural production and reproduction that help support and reinforce racial inequality in Canadian society must be documented and decoded.*"
>
> (Henry & Tator, 2002a: 237)

The intention of this review is to stimulate international discussions and collaborations among the many scholars who have seen the importance of mass media representations to the ongoing colonisation of Indigenous peoples. Numerous individuals and groups of researchers have been and continue to be involved in this research and we hope that an international overview of their efforts will encourage collaborations, identify work that needs to be done, and assist development of more effective ways to disseminate findings to the many who are working to decolonise settler nations. This review of studies on mass media representations of indigenous peoples published since 2000 has been written to those ends.

The **United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples** (UNDRIP) was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly during its 61st session at UN Headquarters in New York City (13 September 2007) with only four countries – Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the United States – voting against it (Alia, 2010). These jurisdictions are strongholds of the anglophone diaspora where, in each case, the colonial/settler people took and retained "ownership of the nation-state" (Osuri & Banerjee, 2004: 152) at the expense of the indigenous people of those lands.

Our media study group *Kupu Taea* (the power of the word) brings together indigenous and Pākehā researchers in New Zealand collaborating in ways that reflect collective (although culturally differentiated) commitments to te Tiriti o Waitangi[1]. This document is a foundation stone for a just, equitable, and sustainable bicultural society in Aotearoa New Zealand. In this light, given the disaster of colonisation with its repudiation of Te Tiriti, we are closely engaged in decoding the media voice of the dominant settler group, unpacking the ways in which its discourses legitimate the colonial takeover and naturalise the continuing imposition of Anglo values, practices, and institutions. We see our work as critiquing mass media and exploring alternative, decolonising possibilities that can fullfil the potential of media to assist in building and maintaining social justice.

Central to the 'race' talk of the dominant settler group in any colonial state is the need to vilify, disparage, or even eliminate the Indigenous peoples whose resources and power must be usurped to enable the viability of the new settlement. As the iconoclast Thomas More

[1] Te Tiriti o Waitangi, first signed in 1840, is a formal agreement between the Crown and iwi (tribes)/hapū (sub-tribes), establishing rights and responsibilities

wrote in a little noted passage of his influential satire on expansionist societies, *Utopia* (1516):

> If the natives won't do what they're told, they're expelled from the area marked out for annexation. If they try to resist the Utopians declare war – for they consider war perfectly justifiable when one country denies another its natural right to to derive nourishment from any soil which the original owners are not using themselves but merely holding as a useless piece of property. (Blackburn, 1997: 60)

Like researchers in other jurisdictions analysing representations of indigenous peoples in media (Bird, 1999; Fforde et al., 2013) and everyday talk (Augoustinos et al., 1999) we in Kupu Taea, are convinced that negative 'stories' and representations of indigenous peoples are strategic; tactical necessities rather than aberrations. Iliana Pagan-Teitelbaum (2012) puts the thinking very clearly:

> [there are] dangerous and alienating repercussions that a torrent of images loaded with negative stereotypes can have on the contemporary imaginary. (p.74)

Such stories, particularly the portrayals of indigenous peoples, play important roles in the ongoing colonial project, enhancing the legitimation and naturalisation of the institutions, practices, and priorities of the colonising-state (McCreanor, 2012). That raises the question of how to designate the state or nation within whose jurisdiction the media analysed in the reviewed research operate. Over little more than a page we have used phrases such as: 'settler nations', 'nation state', 'colonial state', and 'colonising-state' for that purpose. However, after trialling and evaluating those and other possibilities, we have come to prefer 'colonising-state' as the phrase acknowledges both that the state was created by dispossessing and savaging the indigenous peoples and the continuation of that colonising. While lumping different states together the phrase 'colonising-states' is not intended to deny there are significant differences between the states nor to mask the various challenges and inconsistencies within the national formation of each state. Rather, the intent is to underline one of their most important shared characteristics.

Kupu Taea has been analysing mass media representations of Māori in New Zealand since the 1990s (Moewaka Barnes et al., 2005; Nairn & McCreanor, 1991). In the course of our studies we have seen compelling similarities between our findings and those from Australia, Canada, and the USA, leading us to expect commonalities in the way mass media serve the colonial projects in those societies. Historian James Belich's (2009) account of the settler colonies of the Anglo-World gave us much encouragement in this respect as he identified patterns of economic and social development common to the U.S., Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, all of which served to entrench the power and authority of colonial institutions and the marginalising of Indigenous peoples. In New Zealand, settler media, in

support of the imperialist, militaristic colonising-state, have conducted a war of words, against indigenous Māori that began before most settlers arrived in the country (Abel et al., 2012). That war continues employing diverse means to push Māori peoples to the margins of social and political life, harming them and their cultures, and minimising their challenge to the authority and legitimacy of settler society (Ballara, 1986; Thompson, 1954a, 1954b; Walker, 1996). Common to the Anglo settler- and other colonising-states was indigenous peoples' general opposition to realising the settler fantasy that they would "melt like snow before sunshine" (Belich, 2009, p.180) in the face of superior methods, desires and priorities (see also Deloria, 1998; Maffie, 2009). Indigenous resistance meant, and continues to mean, that settler media have constantly to legitimate and re-affirm settler society even though dominance has long been established. Clemence Due and Damien Riggs (2011) put it bluntly:

> news media representations of Indigenous Australians function pervasively to legitimate the sovereignty of the white Australian nation-state, and to normalise non-indigenous belonging in Australia. (p.151)

Across many countries and domains of social life, identification of patterns in the colonisation of indigenous peoples offers both powerful explanations of peoples' situations and points at which decolonising actions can serve to promote justice, equity, and a sustainable social order. While acknowledging the particulars of time and place, this review is primarily focused on commonalities across colonising-states as key to challenging mass media representations of indigenous peoples and encouraging progressive practices in pursuit of social change.

Mass media in Aotearoa New Zealand

> *"…the marginalized and the excluded can be ontologically disenfranchised from humanity, misrecognized as 'Other', exploited and oppressed…"*
>
> (Cottle, 2000: 2)

Consistent with Cottle's observation, newspapers were a critical part of the New Zealand Land Company's plans for settling this country. The first edition of their *New Zealand Gazette* was published in London in late 1839, the second rolled off the press of Samuel Revans at Te Aro in Wellington in April 1840. The paper served Company goals: controlling the collective understanding of the colonial process; linking settlers through shared accounts of their experiences; and maintaining the confidence of investors by providing a promotional narrative of progress and thriving settlements (Abel, et al., 2012; Belich, 2009; Phelan, 2009; Wetherell et al., 2015).

In the contemporary setting the specifics may have changed but the mass media continue to do the work of maintaining the status quo of Māori/Pākehā relations. A noteworthy performance of these roles appeared on the front page of a major daily newspaper, *The*

New Zealand Herald (October 7, 2004). The headline was a curt: "Tribe: Pay us for air rights". The demand echoing countless greedy persons both fictional and factual, while, as the 'Tribe' was not named, the headline cued commonplace imaginings of Māori as a greedy, unscrupulous, and opportunistic people (Thompson, 1954a, 1954b), who would always seek to leverage benefits and privileges from hardworking citizens presumed to be white. The article never identified any source for the 'demand' nor did it establish that any tribe had made such a demand (Nairn et al., 2009). Further the headline signalled unearned privileges and special treatment Māori are said to enjoy as it paralleled past conflicts about land and water rights. According to the headline Māori were eager to extend those rights (Nairn & McCreanor, 1991). Apart from the unfamiliar notion of 'air rights' – most people consider the air is free – the item presented New Zealand readers with yet another instance of Māori claiming something that belongs, or was thought to belong, to all New Zealanders (K. Barclay & Liu, 2003; Phelan & Shearer, 2009; Walker, 2004). The lead sentence "Māori want to charge for the use of airspace above Lake Taupo in a move that would cover floatplane landings, bungy jumping and bridges over rivers" intensified the headline's thrust by alleging Māori wanted commercial users of their airspace to pay.

Consistent with the international research reviewed here the intended audience for the article was the settler majority rather than Māori; readers confronted by one more instance of Māori represented as attempting to take over New Zealand society for their own ends (McCreanor, 2012). Stated so explicitly one can see the breath-taking projection embodied in such routine representations as Pākehā (the dominant, white settler group in New Zealand own or control most of the country, its land and other resources. Yet the story encourages and assists readers to recognise Māori people in this threatening, unfounded portrayal. This 'story' and the way it was told did not spring from nowhere: such tales have been told and re-told countless times in this country's settler media (Walker, 2004), creating a (mass) media-template (Kitzinger, 2000) of Māori as rapacious and intransigent, minimising the effort required to understand such 'news' stories (Nairn, et al., 2009).

In this instance only 32 words that drew heavily on colonising discourses, sufficed to construct these alleged hijackers as disruptive others. In New Zealand, these colonising discourses have been tracked from the first settlers' discursive 'baggage' (Ballara, 1986; McCreanor, 1997) through sundry additions and elaborations (Nairn & McCreanor, 1990, 1991; Pihama, 1996; Thompson, 1954a, 1954b; Wetherell & Potter, 1992) showing that, and how, the discourses are grounded in settler presumptions and common sense about themselves and Māori or 'native' others. These discourses provide extensive resources allowing speakers and writers considerable flexibility (Moewaka Barnes et al., 2012), enabling them to naturalise settler common sense and to represent Māori people in varying ways serving the speaker's interests. Constant recycling of these discourses means they are widely familiar, granting whatever they are used to say an aura of facticity (Moewaka Barnes et al., 2013; Rankine & McCreanor, 2004; Tuchman, 1978b). Representations enabled by these colonising resources disparage the indigenous people; marginalising them,

their actions, knowledge, and practices (McCreanor, 2012; Nairn & McCreanor, 1990, 1991; Pihama, 1996; Wetherell, et al., 2015; Wetherell & Potter, 1992).

Obviously there was more to the 'air rights story' than the headline and lead sentence. In the entire originating article no source and no Māori speaker made the headlined demand. Rather the 'story' was built upon statements made by 'would-be-affected' sources, whose responses presumed such a demand had been made creating an implicit confirmation of the putative claim (Nairn, et al., 2009). Although the 'story' was retold in other newspapers and television bulletins the corpus included no Māori speaker who made the alleged claim - a characteristic of media accounts of confrontations between a colonising state and indigenous peoples (Daniels, 2006; Due & Riggs, 2010; Phelan & Shearer, 2009; Wilkes et al., 2010b). Similarly, background information that readers needed to reach an informed understanding of the situation was conspicuously absent. Unfortunately, no indigenous media existed to rectify that lack, a corrective Carstarphen and Sanchez (2010) observed when mass media coverage of President Obama's decision to resolve a longstanding Federal failure to acknowledge and pay for appropriated lands omitted significant detail that Native American media supplied.

Utilising widely available colonising discourses in constructing the 'story' meant that the preferred reading (Corner, 1991; Richardson, 1998) was immediately accessible to, or through, each reader's fast thinking system (Kahneman, 2011). It also meant that, while negotiated or oppositional readings are possible, readers have to struggle to counteract the routine affirmations of the colonising-state's naturalised authority and reasonableness (Gregory et al., 2011; Moewaka Barnes, et al., 2013). The paucity of contextual information further undermines the likelihood of non-preferred or oppositional readings. The outlined analysis shows a complaint should have been made to the newspapers and the Press Council about the distorted coverage. That didn't happen for two quite different reasons. First, the iwi (tribe) who allegedly made the claim were about to enter negotiations with the Crown about aspects of their existing Treaty settlement and were therefore bound by strict, Crown-enforced, confidentiality requirements. Second, the analyses needed for a compelling complaint were not completed within the one-month window allowed complainants; a failure that spurred us to provide resources to assist diverse community groups to unpick this kind of story-telling (Kupu Taea, 2014; Moewaka Barnes, et al., 2012).

Unbalanced stories like "Tribe: pay us for air-rights" betray professed news media commitments to accuracy and balance (Broadcasting Standards Authority, 2016; New Zealand Press Council, no date). Researchers have established that such stories, told in these ways, serve settler needs and goals (Budarick & King, 2008; Coward, 2012; Due & Riggs, 2011; Harding, 2006; Perkins & Starosta, 2001; Simmons & LeCouteur, 2008). Banerjee & Osuri (2000: 263) characterised the role of such stories in ongoing colonial projects as part of the "partiality of self-representation of the West", while McCreanor (2012) identified their role as providing commonsensical legitimations of the institutions,

practices, and priorities of the colonising-state. Naming such stories "rituals of White empowerment" (Hage, 2000: 241) underscores their role in naturalising and affirming the settler created state.

Our wish to encourage and to participate in international discussions and collaborations in this important area of research led us to review international studies of mass media representations of indigenous peoples published since 2000[2] with the intent of both stimulating and providing a context for such discussions. Being effectively monolingual English speakers, we confined our search to articles published in that language: a decision that seems appropriate only in the sense that it reflects the overwhelming Anglophone domination of 'new' settler-colonial societies (Belich, 2009). The priorities for the review are the representations of Indigenous persons or peoples in mass media, the deployment of those representations, assessments of what the deployments of those representations are intended to effect, and identifying the interests served by using the representations in those ways (Short, 2007). Given that priority there has to be a strong focus on naming, especially the terms or names used for or assigned to the persons and peoples being represented. In this Introduction we have used 'indigenous' and, because we write out of our context in Aotearoa New Zealand, 'Māori'. When referencing international material we have used the terms applied by the author resulting in terminology that includes 'Indian', 'Native American' and 'Aboriginal'.

International mass media representations of indigenous peoples

As in other areas of research, those analysing media representations of indigenous peoples and the consequences of using those representations, do so in a variety of ways: in part because their work rests on different theoretical foundations. For instance, Henry & Tator (2002a) design and interpret their analyses of Canadian print media within a Human Rights frame (see also Pietikainen, 2003) whereas other researchers interpret the representations as a central element of the local colonial project (Due & Riggs, 2011; Furniss, 2001). There are also differences in how the processes of mass media production are conceptualised (Fairclough, 1993; Poindexter et al., 2003), and how the credibility of particular representations is assessed. The extensive array of research procedures, analytic processes, and conceptual frameworks from which researchers can select should be seen, first and foremost, as a strength that enables clearly focused, procedurally sound, critical analyses. Historically situations of such choice have, all too often, given rise to sometimes bitter struggles to identify a (single) correct theoretical foundation and the (only) right way to go about the work, resulting in poor utilisation of knowledge, skills, time and financial resources. It is our hope that this review will encourage a collective approach to this important area of research, one that is fully collegial making strategic use of the knowledge and skills of concerned researchers.

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This Review

In that spirit we own our focus on the roles of discourse and the settler-generated discursive resources that enable and sustain self-serving settler representations of indigenous peoples (Fforde, et al., 2013) has shaped this review. It is an orientation growing out of more than two decades, work during which members of Kupu Taea have been charting the 'race talk' of New Zealand settlers about Māori (Kupu Taea, 2014; Moewaka Barnes, et al., 2012; Nairn & McCreanor, 1991). Consequently, when we review studies that explore the contribution of media production practices to the representations of indigenous peoples we have chosen to foreground those that display the synergies between production and discourse practices (Fairclough, 1993) that contribute to the symbolic annihilation of indigenous peoples (Gerbner, 1972; Klein & Shiffman, 2009; Tuchman, 1978a). Such research addressing the credibility (or authority) of those representations raises questions about the role 'ideology' plays in shaping media representations and people's understanding of the mass mediated world together with the contributions media make to sustaining and naturalising the hegemonic ideology. Elizabeth Furniss (2001) is clear about such naturalising:

> "…urban and rural presses alike are adept at manipulating news frames as a strategy of political containment: rural presses deflect criticism of local Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal conflicts into rural-urban dichotomies, while urban presses deflect challenges to state authority by evoking noble savage imagery and reducing Aboriginal claims to localized conflicts." (pp.28-9)

One take-home message from research on media representations of indigenous peoples is that there are considerable benefits for settler-media and settler societies, most ensuing from the naturalised ordinariness of settler values, practices, and institutions. As discussed previously, we have chosen to use the phrase 'colonising-state' to talk in general ways about the nations that were created from settler colonies initiated in the 18th and 19th centuries because we, and the reviewed research, are drawing attention to the identified commonalities in the mass media representations of indigenous peoples. Although the phrase forgrounds those commonalities, we don't intend to imply there are not significant differences between the histories of these states or their relationships with indigenous peoples. Nor are we suggesting that there are no persons, organisations or state agencies that are, or could be, enabling of indigenous identities or supportive of indigenous peoples' goals.

Given the sustained effort colonists and settlers invest in constructing and sustaining their own naturalised normality, it is imperative that researchers who seek to expose the constructed nature of those representations and the consequences of uncritically accepting the world is like that, do not, unintentionally or otherwise, appear to concur with maintenance of that naturalised normality. That imperative raises issues about how media or a medium are named as one label may afford readers specific interpretative possibilities that another might close off. John Budarick and Debra King (2008) utilised a comparison

between mass and indigenous accounts to throw the former's representations into high relief (see also Nairn et al., 2012) characterised the mass medium as "[a] major daily newspaper" that they contrasted against "[a newspaper serving an] informed Indigenous audience" (p.359) that challenged the dominant ideology by throwing it into sharp relief. In our work we initially used 'mainstream' for the dominant media though we now recognise that, as 'mainstream' is usually glossed as: ideas, attitudes, or activities that are shared by most people and regarded as normal or conventional, the term appears to affirm or legitimate both the media and practices we wish to render problematic. Consequently, our preferred labels for the media we study are: settler-media, dominant, English-language, or mass. The last was chosen for the Introduction because it is in common use, emphasises the broad reach of the media, and hints at suffocating effects created by its wide reach. Similarly, as we seek to problematize the dominant society we have concerns about how it is named and, again, have employed a range of labels: colonial, settler, racist, Pākehā (the dominant, white settler group in New Zealand), dominant, and media-saturated. Further, we recognise that, in many contexts, the term 'settler' does not do justice to the colonising imperative.

In light of evidence that other settler-societies harness mass media to their colonial projects one objective of this review is comparison of the ways in which mass media go about that task in other societies. We anticipated the comparison would reveal commonalities in both the representations of indigenous peoples and their deployment. Funding to collect and review the relevant international research was obtained in late 2014 and, in early February 2015 the search for relevant research publications began (Appendix 1 lists keywords employed and theoretical dimensions we sought to include). The monograph is organised in four Parts: 1 – the research sample; 2 – analysing mass media representations; 3 - representations of Indigenous persons and peoples; 4 – discussion.

Part 1 – Research sample

Method

For the review we defined mass media broadly to include: print (also postcards, news photos, and an exhibition of news photographs); television (news, documentary, soaps, and drama); cinema and on-line portrayals (Kopacz & Lawton, 2011a). The keyword search for relevant items was conducted by a skilled librarian who placed electronic copies of possible items in a folder. Principal keywords for the search were: mass media representations/depictions/portrayals of indigenous people/peoples, and representations/ depictions/portrayals of Indigenous peoples as minority groups/outgroups. As noted (Appendix 1) we wished to include such representations from societies identified as: democratic; social democracies; post-colonial; and settler and to have an emphasis on analyses that related to: colonisation; racism; social exclusion; marginalisation and symbolic annihilation, particularly those that explored the naturalising of coloniser/colonial - values, beliefs, practices, and institutions. To ensure items sourced from Aotearoa New Zealand were included we added Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi to the keywords. Our intent was to include international and local research, written in English (the primary language of the Kupu Taea team) published between 2000 and 2015. All located items were read by the lead author [RN] who assessed their relevance. Items not concerned with representations of Indigenous persons or peoples in mass media being filed as not relevant. Discussions and analyses of Indigenous media were kept separate unless those media were employed in rendering mass media representations problematic (Budarick & King, 2008; Nairn, et al., 2012).

While the search did provide a representative sample of the target research we have subsequently identified a substantial number of items that could or should have been included but were not. Such 'not included' items were identified from searches by other authors [AMB], from the reference lists in items found in the original search, and from apparently chance notes in other research materials. Many of these late arrivals are referenced in the review. A worrying aspect of the search process was its failure to locate books and book chapters by Indigenous authors. Two local examples of such omissions are Barry Barclay's (2015) "Our Own Image: A story of a Māori filmmaker" or Brendan Hokowhitu & Vijay Devadas' (2013) edited collection "The Fourth Eye: Māori media in Aotearoa New Zealand".

For practical reasons the review only addresses the 80 items located by September 30 2015. That count includes three Kupu Taea articles (Nairn et al., 2014; Nairn et al., 2011b; Nairn et al., 2006b) and a book chapter (McCreanor, 2008) that, rather than presenting new research, focus on implications of published analyses for particular audiences. The 80 also included Michael Greyeyes keynote address (Greyeyes, 2008) in which he provided his

personal reflections, as an Indigenous actor, on life in cinema and its construction of native culture. The remaining 75 items, including the three book chapters, all report original research that is reviewed here.

The sample

The literature on mass media representations of Indigenous peoples is widely dispersed: the reviewed sample is drawn from 48 journal titles, of which the majority (35, 73%) provided only one relevant article. That spread meant a variety of databases had to be accessed and that some studies only appeared in citations in articles being reviewed ensuring that the sample took significantly longer than anticipated to gather. An unexpected consequence of that diversity of journals was differences in the information authors were required to provide which meant that some information, such as author 'bios' and keywords, were often absent. While keywords were not expected for the four book chapters (Abel, et al., 2012; Henry & Tator, 2002b; Jackson, 2010; McCreanor, 2008) and two addresses (Greyeyes, 2008; McCallum, 2007b) we were surprised by the absence of keywords from 26 items (21 journals). Other details that were not always explicitly stated included: the medium/media studied, how the media materials were gathered, and the analytic process or approach taken. It follows that such details are only available for a sub-set of the total sample. All the reviewed items gave some description of how indigenous peoples were represented, a substantial number described how those representations were constructed and, a rather smaller number explored both effects, or consequences, of the representations and how those effects were created. Appendix 2 lists the items reviewed in this monograph, together with the country whose media were studied, and the medium or media analysed.

Countries whose media were studied

The typical study reviewed involved an analysis of representations in a single mass medium in one of nine countries: Australia, Canada, New Zealand, USA, Chile, Colombia, Finland, Mexico, and Peru. All those countries, with the possible exception of Finland, are settler- or colonising-states (Belich, 2009). As we anticipated studies of items from the four Anglo-settler colonies (Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and USA) were most numerous (70, 87.5%). Of the remaining 10: 4 were analyses of media in two countries: Canada/USA (1), Canada/Australia (1), Canada/Sweden (1), Canada/Mexico (1) and the last six included two studies from Peru and one from each of the other four. Consistent with Merskin's (2001) assessment that the literature on media representations of Native Americans is sparse, Australia (24) and New Zealand (20) provided 63% of the studies of Indigenous representations in Anglo-settler states' mass media. Explanations for that observation lie beyond the scope of this review although two possibilities occur. First, in Canada and USA

there may be more concern about representations of minority populations, Blacks and Hispanics in the US and migrants in Canada, and such concerns could skew research funding and researcher interest. Another possibility is that more US and Canadian researchers write books rather than publishing in refereed publications. Our experience of the research literature makes the former seem more likely although the possibilities could be tested empirically. Throughout the monograph the phrase 'colonising state' is used to refer to and include states that differ in their history with indigenous peoples and their lands. The phrase also glosses over significant differences between indigenous peoples. Sometimes such particularities surface in mass media materials and are made evident in analyses. However, with respect to representations of indigenous peoples, we have chosen to prioritise the identified similarities rather than the less common specificities. In this respect it is important to recognise the timing of the review and the frustrating delays built into the publications process means we have no research exploring the effect of important recent events in Canada such as: the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC); the 'Idle no more' movement; and the new (2015) Prime Minister's commitment to negotiate a new relationship with indigenous peoples.

Analysed medium (media) and genre

Newspapers were clearly the most studied mass medium. Of the 56 articles analysing a single medium 41 (73%) chose to examine newspaper materials. There were nine studies of television representations (over a range of genres) and one study of films (Pagan-Teitelbaum, 2012). Visual materials – photographs and postcards were analysed in four studies (Corrigall-Brown & Wilkes, 2012; Peterson, 2005; Wetzel, 2012; Wilkes, et al., 2010b), and Coward (2012) investigated both cartoons and 'factual illustrations' published in a now defunct illustrated newspaper. The remaining 24 articles reported studies of more than one medium, of which three did not specify the media studied (Banerjee & Osuri, 2000; Due, 2008; Writer, 2002). Ten articles reported studies of representations across print (primarily newspapers) and television (Gregory, et al., 2011; McCreanor, 2008; Moewaka Barnes, et al., 2012; Moewaka Barnes, et al., 2013; Morris, 2005; Nairn, et al., 2014; Nairn, et al., 2009; Nairn, et al., 2011b; Nairn, et al., 2006b; Spennemann et al., 2007). Four articles reported studies that included some on-line medium: Carstarphen & Sanchez (2010) – print and on-line newspapers; Iseke-Barnes (2005) – television (documentary) and National Park Service website; Kopacz and Lawton (2013) – on-line videos and comment strings; and Shulist (2012) – responses to Indigenous language commentaries of events at the 2010 Vancouver (Winter) Olympics culled from newspapers, television and on-line materials. Michael Greyeyes (2008) reflected on film and television representations and their subversion by Indigenous actors. In her survey of representations of the highland Quechua people of Peru, Saroli (2011) utilised mass media, literature, government documents, and academic writings. Ilaria Vanni (2014) examined how two Aboriginal contributors to the 1929 Australian Aboriginal Art exhibition were portrayed drawing on an

exhibition archive that included newspaper materials. The remaining three articles each examined media coverage of an 'event' and included radio along with newspapers and television (Hodgetts et al., 2004; Rankine & McCreanor, 2004; Simmons & LeCouteur, 2008).

Clearly, print, almost always newspapers, is central to studies of mass media representations of Indigenous peoples (70%) and, unsurprisingly, most of those analyses are firmly focused on the text. While print media have long served the colonial projects of the Anglo-settler states the medium's domination of studies of indigenous representations is more likely due to the relative ease with which samples of print media can be assembled, even for now-defunct papers (Coward, 2012). Accessible archives and online databases such as Factiva (Australia), Canadian Newsstand, ProQuest (US), and NZLit, are named as data sources that enabled researchers to gather reports of and opinions about events and peoples from last century and earlier. The importance of such accessibility is confirmed by information authors provide about gathering the materials they analysed. Five studies that included print materials did not provide adequate information about their sample collection; of the other 42: 16 (38%) used newspaper archives or microfiche collections and 11 (26%) used online databases, while an identical proportion collected a prospective sample. Only two studies forwent the ability to generalise their findings in favour of utilising a 'selected sample'; both analysing a specific issue of a single paper (Gannon, 2008; Osuri & Banerjee, 2004).

Surprisingly there seems to be a similar fixation on text in most of the studies that analysed cinema and television or included visual media in their analyses (Abel, 2006; Fitzgerald, 2010; Hodgetts, et al., 2004; Iseke-Barnes, 2005; Mackinlay & Barney, 2008; McKee, 1997; Nairn, et al., 2009; Pagan-Teitelbaum, 2012; Rankine & McCreanor, 2004; Simmons & LeCouteur, 2008; Spennemann, et al., 2007). This relatively limited interest in visual media is disappointing because, unlike print, such media are always picturing the world and, in Mackinlay & Barney's (2008) words: "[television provides] a model of the world, its deepest values, what is defined as good or bad, positive or negative and normalises arguments and shares common cultural norms" (p.276) (see also Corner, 1999; Fiske, 1987). The naturalised interplay of talk and visuals these media provide can reinforce, elaborate, or undercut representations and interpretations provided by the talk, encouraging viewers to engage with the pictured world and events at an emotional level, privileging rapid, routine processing of the story (Kahneman, 2011). There are analyses of other visual materials: photographs accompanying newspaper articles (Corrigall-Brown & Wilkes, 2012; Wetzel, 2012); postcards (Peterson, 2005); a photographic exhibition (De Lorenzo, 2005); cartoons and factual illustrations (Coward, 2012); and a display at the 1929 Australian Aboriginal Art Exhibition (Vanni, 2014) that explore affective aspects of the materials and these issues are discussed in more detail in Part 2.

How researchers obtained their sample(s)

Analyses of representative samples of mass media representations of indigenous peoples have the advantage that findings can be generalised to all the media included in the sampling regime. Five studies that we categorised as primarily descriptive reported findings from such samples (Kopacz & Lawton, 2013; McCreanor et al., 2011; Nairn, et al., 2012; Rankine et al., 2011; Rankine et al., 2009). The findings of four further studies may be similarly generalizable as they appear to have accessed a specified population of media materials (Coward, 2012; King, 2009; Mackinlay & Barney, 2008; Nolan, 2009). John Coward's (2012) study of cartoons of Native Americans in the, now defunct, *Daily Graphic* (1873-1889) exemplifies the latter studies. Accessing the paper's archive, he showed that, prior to the Battle of Little Bighorn, cartoon representations and news illustrations of Indians provided "link[s] to aboriginal America" (p. 212). Whereas, in the immediate aftermath of the battle, the paper's representations were inflammatory, populated by "dark, angry and armed Indian warriors" (p. 201), who were portrayed as threatening the settler state. Subsequently the cartoons became less vicious, including both 'peaceful' and 'hostile' Indians. Coward concluded that these changes "can be seen as a continuation of the long-standing political and cultural ambiguity that surrounded Indians and their role in late-nineteenth-century American life" (p. 213).

The remaining three studies that accessed a population of media materials all explored the archives of television programmes. Andrew King (2009) examined representations of Aboriginal characters in Australian television dramas since the 1970s. Like McKee (1997) he found most of the Aboriginal characters were deployed to introduce issues related to their Aboriginality with few appearing in more than one episode. Studying archives of five television 'soaps' and two television dramas produced in Australia: *No. 96* (1976); *Flying Doctors* (1980s); *Heartland* (1994); *Wildside* (1997-9); *Breakers* (1998); *Water Rats* (1999); and *The Secret Life of Us* (an Australian soap launched in 2001), King sought to establish whether portrayals of long-term Aboriginal characters, those appearing in three or more episodes, were changing in ways that portrayed them as more ordinary citizens. He argued that, as forms of romantic behaviour are routine in television fictions, Aboriginal people participating in romantic behaviour would be an encouragement to seeing them as ordinary. To that end he charted the nature and extent of romantic relationships involving long-term Aboriginal characters and found that it was not until the 1990s that long term Aboriginal characters are seen "as both ordinary and romantically active in their soap and drama communities" (p. 46). A development that, he asserts, culminated in *The Secret Life of Us* where, a well-known Aboriginal actress Deborah Mailman, plays Kelly "a central character of the entire four series of the program" (p. 47). King argues that as Kelly's participation in relationships appears unaffected by her obvious Aboriginality she is being portrayed as an ordinary Australian young person. That conclusion is contested by Nolan (2009) who contends that the broadcast portrayal of Kelly, resists acknowledging how Australia's well-

documented racism impinges on her life. Nolan's study is discussed in more detail in Section 2i (iv *Literary analyses*).

The third archive based television study was the only one in the review sample to report on indigenous representations in mass media materials for children. Mackinlay and Barney (2008) accessed the archive of *Play school*, Australia's longest running children's television programme, viewing the footage through an "Indigenous studies and critical race lens" (p. 274). They reported that the very white facade of the first ten years has been slowly changed to become more inclusive, mostly by introducing presenters and toys that look 'different'. The researchers trawled the show's archives for "images of, appearances by, and representations of, Indigenous Australian peoples and culture" (p. 280) and found numerous episodes featuring such materials.

Part 2 – Analysing mass media representations

> "*In elite establishment rhetoric, in the talk of representatives of fringe groupings, and in the talk of 'ordinary Australians', it is now evident that the issue of race is not necessarily a 'very difficult' one, but rather is constructed in argument as such.*"
>
> (LeCouteur et al., 2001: 54, emphasis added)

Currently, Social Science research offers a considerable range of analytic techniques enabling researchers to select and perform analyses that best serve their objective. Just as different analyses reveal and emphasise different aspects of the phenomena studied they also encourage different presentations of findings and the conclusions drawn. It follows that, in a sample of analyses of mass media representations of indigenous peoples, researchers will have employed a variety of analytic techniques and have packaged their findings in differing ways. In this section we outline the range of analytic techniques researchers utilised in unpicking their chosen media materials and in identifying consequences that followed from the way the 'told stories' were constructed. To enhance the usefulness of the review for other researchers we have listed the analytic techniques employed and followed that overview with seven subsections that provide brief accounts of the most commonly employed techniques. Each subsection begins by introducting the technique before providing outlines of some of the studies utilising the technique with a sketch of the conclusions drawn from the study. The seven subsections are: (i) Quantitative; (ii) Thematic analyses; (iii) Content analyses; (iv) Literary analyses; (v) Discourse analysis; (vi) Frame analysis; and (vii) Comparisons discussed not as an analytic technique but as a strategic move giving analyses a wider critical reach as demonstrated by several studies in the sample.

Analytic possibilities

Across the 80 studies in the sample the analyses include: several forms of discourse analysis (DA); thematic and narrative analyses; analyses of content and framing - including a study of agenda setting (Nairn, et al., 2012); quantitative analyses of which Corrigall-Brown and Wilkes' (2012) efforts to develop reliable semiotic assessments of displays of 'power' in news photographs is unique. Less commonly, Grounded Theory (2), Critical Rhetorical Analysis (1), and literary analyses are named. Clearly researchers can, and do, draw on the wealth of analytic procedures for unpicking the apparent facticity of representations of indigenous peoples in the 'realities' constructed in mass media materials. Most importantly, and this is demonstrated by studies in the sample, different analytic approaches provide different perspectives on the construction, use, and effects of representations of indigenous peoples in particular media and genres. Apart from rare references to semiosis, semiotic analysis (2) (Corrigall-Brown & Wilkes, 2012), and "thick descriptions that recorded specific

details of the images" (Wetzel, 2012: 160) in relation to analyses of visual materials we found no consistent differences between the ways in which analyses of print and visual materials were approached (see also Coward, 2012; De Lorenzo, 2005; Nairn, et al., 2012; Peterson, 2005). In the absence of consistent inter-media differences we have chosen to utilise the analyses applied to newspaper (print) representations to exemplify the analytic variety. This print media based sketch is followed, as previously outlined, by exemplars of the more widely used analytic techniques and approaches.

As listed in Appendix 2, 56 published studies were either exclusively concerned with newspaper materials or analysed newspaper items alongside outputs from other mass media, often television. Authors of these studies nominated or described some thirteen different, mostly qualitative, analyses. Slightly more than half the studies (29, 52%) undertook a single named analysis. Of the remainder, five studies undertook three distinct analyses and the remainder nominated two primary forms of analysis. Thematic and discourse analyses (both named 17 times) and content analysis (named 16 times) were most widely utilised while quantitative and critical discourse analysis (CDA) (both named 9 times) were popular. Nine studies described analyses that did not fit comfortably within familiar categories. These, as exemplified by Vanni (2014), spoke of "… reading … newspaper cuttings against the grain, paying attention to the tone, moods, inflections, silences in between the lines …" (p.314) and Carpenter and Yoon (2014) who utilised Walter Benjamin's notion of a 'hermeneutic of juxtaposition' "to clear the space for subaltern voices … to peek through the cracks" (p.10). These nine studies were grouped together because they seemed to share a particular emphasis on literary and linguistic elements. The last analysis to be relatively common was frame or framing analysis (7 mentions).

Listing analyses undertaken like that might suggest that researchers were rather constrained in their choice of analytic procedure although that would be misleading for two reasons. First, it suggests that everyone who performs discourse analysis, or any other procedure, does so in precisely the same way whereas, in practice, those naming the same analysis may only share a few core practices. Taking 'discourse analysis' as an example, it can be grounded in different theories that lead to differences in aspects of procedure followed and in interpretation of the findings. For example, Phelan (2009; Phelan & Shearer, 2009) grounds his critical discourse analyses in Laclau and Mouffe's theorisation of 'the discursive' because he sees that theorisation as emphasising both that, and how, discourse "is constitutive across the analytically distinct tiers [of production, representation, and reception]" (Phelan, 2009: 219). Rather differently, Gannon (2008) grounds her discourse analysis on "neo-Foucauldian analytics of power and its operations" (p.412) because that emphasises the identification of discourses – their utilisation and effects. She chose such analyses of discourse to "exemplify the extent to which these discourses [biomedicine and genetics] have become naturalized in one location," (p.412) and to reveal important effects achieved by that naturalization.

Second, grouping studies as 'discourse analysis' does not acknowledge how different researchers contextualise their work, nor how being contextualised differently effects analyses and interpretations. Some studies contextualise analyses of mass media materials within hegemonic interpretations of events disassembling media materials that naturalise those dominant understandings. That approach is exemplified by Banerjee and Osuri (2000) who characterised their work as "uncovering…the 'partiality of self-representations of the West'" (p. 263). They chose to expose the colonial amnesia that enabled news headlines to declare Martin Bryant's gunning down of 35 people at Port Arthur (in 1996) to be 'Australia's worst mass murder'. Taking a similar approach Meadows (2000) examined newspaper coverage of events in Australia and Canada that related to Aboriginal people's land rights. His work was intended to "tell us something about the societies from which they [the events] have emerged and … the role of the media and journalism in the process" (p.82).

Before providing more detailed examples of the most popular analyses it is worth noting that; while authors reporting quantitative analyses routinely specified both the elements they counted and how those counts led to their findings, qualitative analyses were reported rather differently often making it difficult to identify just what was done and how those processes differed between studies claiming to be utilising similar analyses. Consequently, in choosing studies to exemplify particular analyses and the findings to which they led, we have accepted the authors' identified analysis (analyses)

Quantitative

While many studies utilised counts as a necessary part of their analyses, seven undertook systematic, comprehensive counts of content and media practices that enabled the researchers to show how media marginalised indigenous peoples and muffled their voices in their own stories (K. Barclay & Liu, 2003; Fitzgerald, 2010; Gilchrist, 2010; McCallum, 2013; Perkins & Starosta, 2001; Rankine, et al., 2009; Wilkes, et al., 2010b). Barclay & Liu (2003) analysed more than 160 articles from two major New Zealand newspapers concerning a Māori occupation of a contested area, named as either Pakaitore or Moutoa Gardens, in the regional township of Whanganui. Across those articles they counted: the amount of voice given different parties to the dispute (politicians, local council, Māori occupiers, police, etc.); use of direct quotes versus paraphrases; length of quotes; and the extent to which a party's accounts were matched by those of the other party. The counts showed that occupier voices (13.7%) were effectively swamped by government (national, local, and police) voices (38.4%). Occupiers were quoted less than any other group and, on average their quotes were seven words shorter than those of 'government' speakers. Finally, occupier quotes were matched or 'balanced' (Hodgetts, et al., 2004) by a quote or quotes from the other party significantly more often than those of the other main groups. While the study was primarily descriptive the findings were interpreted within Judith Butler's theorisation of voice in which "language is [understood as] a regulatory practice that 'performatively'

produces and reproduces both the subjects, and social spaces, it appears to describe" (p.3), leading to the conclusion (p.10) "that media stylise minority voice as confrontational, and act to stereotype minorities".

A similar analysis of mass media coverage of tribal affairs in Wisconsin (March - April 1996) was a contextualised study explicitly focused on the role of news making routines in the creation of bias. Taking a critical approach, the authors focused on the (mass) mediated controversy concerning the reserved treaty rights of the Anishinabe "to spear walleyed pike in some off-reservation Wisconsin lakes" (Perkins & Starosta, 2001: 75). The authors recorded: who is/is not quoted; "who is/is not given credence by title" (p.76); position of quotes in report; whose ideas are reinforced or questioned; and what details are included/ omitted. They established that Indigenous speakers and the tribal interests they represented were routinely trivialised by treatments that included: generic labelling - overly inclusive categories e.g. 'tribes', 'Indians' 'Chippewa' - failure to grant Indigenous speakers the authority of their title; late positioning in an article, and omission of important background or context. Like Barclay & Liu they concluded the findings showed that continued reliance on these everyday news production practices reinforces and instantiates the hegemony of the dominant colonising-state.

Counts of different features opened up other perspectives on media practices and implications for indigenous peoples. Rankine et al. (2009) counted intentional uses of te reo Māori [3] – occasions when there were English language alternatives to the word(s) of te reo employed. This descriptive study showed that such uses of te reo occurred less than once in every 1000 words in a representative, national sample of newspapers, despite only analysing what the authors called 'Māori stories'. Another, more theoretical, study tested Clark's (1969) "stages of minority representations [in fictional mass media depictions]". Fitzgerald (2010: 368) began by identifying 'recurring American Indian characters' (those appearing in at least three episodes) and their roles in nationally distributed fictional programmes aired 1949-2009. Then, focusing on the stars and co-stars, he showed that the majority of these roles were 'regulators' or 'enforcers' of the dominant settler laws and practices. While this study, like Clark's stages, sits within a human rights and minorities frame, Fitzgerald (2010) concludes that the roles assigned Indigenous characters sit within "colonizer discourse" and, consequently, "serve a specific ideological agenda, which is to make the system of white supremacy seem natural, desirable, and inevitable" (p.381).

Thematic analyses

Whereas quantitative studies share the obvious common feature of 'counts', thematic analyses are less readily distinguished. These analyses share features with content and discourse analyses and sometimes shade into literary and frame analyses. An example of this complexity is provided by Shulist (2012) who studied comments made about the

[3] Te reo Māori is the Indigenous language of Aotearoa New Zealand and an official language of the country.

decision to broadcast commentaries of particular events at the 2010 Vancouver Winter Olympics to Canadians in eight Aboriginal languages. She showed that proponents and opponents of the broadcasts utilised two different understandings of language(s) which she termed 'themes'. Those favouring the broadcasts prioritised 'language as symbolic capital' emphasising the performative functions of language. Those attacking the decision to broadcast in Indigenous languages saw and only spoke of the referential function of languages. Proponents, as exemplified by the CEO of APTN (Aboriginal Peoples Television Network), spoke of listeners, especially young people who would see their language as living in the modern world, as not confined to traditions and the past, an experience that would strengthen their sense of identity. Opponents of the scheme relied on the referential function – "the communication of direct content" (Shulist, 2012: 271) and utilised three lines of argument. First, they portrayed the size of the potential audiences for the commentaries as miniscule. Second, they claimed, on the basis of their personal feelings, that the Indigenous languages were irrelevant for the vast majority of the Canadian audience for the broadcasts. Third, they argued that the decision to broadcast the commentaries was further evidence of the unwanted influence of 'special interest groups' in Canada. In a discourse analytic study these two themes would be characterised as interpretative repertoires (Potter & Wetherell, 1987) or discursive resources (Coverdale et al., 2013) because of their flexibility in use and because they enabled protagonists to argue for and against the initiative.

Analyses displaying features of both thematic and discourse analyses were applied to Chilean dailies' representations of Indigenous Mapuche women in coverage of Mapuche "collective claims for political autonomy and constitutional recognition" (Richards, 2007: 556) to identify three archetypes. The archetypes: *mujeres bravas* (fierce or wild women)*, mujeres permitidas* (integrated or authorised women)*,* and *mujeres obsoletas* (obsolete women) were constructed from elements of gendered and racial discourses routinely used to deny legitimacy to the indigenous struggles. Media were shown to use participation of mujeres bravas in land occupations, protests against timber companies' exploitation of Mapuche land, and demands for "reparations for past and present violations of Mapuche rights" (p.560) to signal that Mapuche "[are] a people so out of control that even their women behave violently" (p.561). Richards also showed that elements of this archetype were mobilised for various ends including questioning whether particular women were authentic Mapuche: as when a prominent mujeres bravas was said to be too good looking to be Mapuche and the standing of another was queried because, allegedly she doesn't speak the Indigenous language fluently.

Approaching mass media representations of indigenous peoples through indigenous eyes, Moewaka Barnes et al. (2013) conducted Māori focus groups that met three times over a two-year period. The participants discussed their interactions with media, commented on the way Māori people were presented in particular news items, and compared coverage of stories by Māori Television Service (MTS) and mass media. The researchers' analysis of the

transcribed proceedings identified four themes they labelled: *Internalised racism*; *Interpersonal racism*; *Institutional racism*; and *Societal racism* all grounded in the ways mass media choose to portray Māori individuals and groups in stories selected for broadcast or publication. *Internalised racism* concerned the extent and ways that Māori people – the participants, their relatives and those they knew, take on board the constraining stereotypes of Māori, along with the resulting tensions and consequences. *Interpersonal racism* includes the different assumptions made about Māori on the basis of their 'race' and the resultant effects such as: being discriminated against; called names, scrutinised and harassed; suspected of abusing their children; and receiving poorer or no service. The *Institutional racism* theme concerned differential access to services and opportunities created by practices and policies that participants saw as given legitimacy by the negative representations constantly recycled through mass media. In *Societal racism* participants drew attention to:

> "the broad cultural and discursive features of Pākehā society … [in which mass media deploy] structural elements to advance Pākehā interests and deny attention to the substance of Māori discontent"
>
> (Moewaka Barnes, et al., 2013: 72)

Content analyses

Content analyses require sorting of materials into pre-specified or emergent categories and interpretation of the observed distribution. Rankine, et al. (2014) provided an exhaustive content analysis of 858 items about Māori issues collected in a prospective, representative, national, newspaper sample and, where appropriate, compared the findings to those of earlier, smaller studies. Items were coded for topic, aspects of publication, sources – their ethnicity, role, gender, where they first appeared in the item - and the number of cited sentences. With respect to 'role' sources were categorised in relation to Te Tiriti o Waitangi i.e. as representing either hapū /iwi or government; Māori and non-Māori non-governmental organisation (NGOs) were also distinguished. This enabled the researchers to distinguish Māori who were speaking for their people from Māori who spoke for a government department, local body, or as an MP. Sixteen topics were covered in the items with 'Arts', 'Crime', and 'Education' being the most common. Among the three most common topics the majority of items (51%) had no identified sources and across the entire sample almost half the stories (49%) had only a single source. Non-Māori NGOs were the most common sources (26%) slightly ahead of Government spokespeople (23%). Across these Māori story items there were almost equal proportions of Pākehā (42%) and Māori (41%) sources but "representatives of hapū and iwi were only one in ten Māori sources" (Rankine, et al., 2014: 224). Male sources predominated (63%) though women were a higher proportion of Māori sources (35%) than they were for Pākehā sources (29%). The work quantifies key aspects of newspaper production practices that underpin the obviously

negative framing of news stories (K. Barclay & Liu, 2003; Hodgetts, et al., 2004; McCreanor et al., 2010; Rankine & McCreanor, 2004).

Orienting to "specific [Aboriginalist] ways of representing Indigenous Australian people" Mackinlay and Barney (2008: 278) examined how *Play school* ("Australia's longest running regular television programme for pre-school children", (p.274)) portrays indigenous Australians to its target audience. Apart from Aboriginal presenters, the Aboriginal people who participated were always "situated in the isolated and stark landscape of the desert" (p. 281). The *Play school* archives included no occasion on which the programme "[had] shown urban Aboriginal people through the windows" (p.281). That is a disturbing omission as, 'Look through the window' "functions to present children with concepts of 'difference' and … [provides] a small glimpse of real life in Australian society" (p.276). While categorising and counting instances of Aboriginal presenters, performers, and views through the window Mackinlay and Barney looked at discursive constructions of 'authentic Aboriginality' and identified what followed from their deployment. They recognised that performance of Aboriginal dances by Aboriginal men to Aboriginal instruments "fits into the 'black, authentic, traditional' trope of Aboriginalist discourse" (p.281) while an Aboriginal presenter "Deb Mailman singing 'I'm a Little Teapot'…[becomes] the Aborigine who became assimilated and 'white'" (p.281). Their study clearly incorporates the classification and counting of content into the critical examination of the settler discourses of Aboriginality.

Two studies, Garcia-del Moral (2011) and Gilchrist (2010), compared and contrasted how murders of two different groups of women were covered. Gilchrist (2010) performed quantitative and qualitative content analyses on the coverage of the cases of three White and three Aboriginal Canadian women who had "disappeared during the spring and summer months between 2003 and 2005" (p.378), the Aboriginal women from Saskatchewan and the White women from Ontario. Gilchrist gathered coverage of each woman's case from *Canadian Newsstand* targeting the most widely read newspapers of the city where she was murdered. Coverage was assessed for: frequency with which the victim was mentioned, number of articles on their case, number of words printed about them, and placement of articles in the paper. Interpretive content analysis of headlines, articles and photographs attended to how the victims were described and remembered identifying the kind of information presented for some victims and not others. The intensive analysis was applied to 60 articles (10 for each woman). On average the White women were mentioned six times as often as the Aboriginal women and there were some three and a half times as many articles for the former. Compared to depictions of the White women, depictions of the Aboriginal women were "more detached in tone and scant in detail in contrast to the more intimate portraits of the White women" (Gilchrist, 2010: 373). Headlines about the Aboriginal women's cases rarely named the women, routinely employed impersonal categories: woman, teen, mom, whereas many headlines named the individual White women. Representations of all the women "invoked purported 'good victim' characteristics" (p.381), a pattern intensified for the White women for whom single articles could include

many uses of complimentary adjectives such as: “shy”, “nice”, “caring”, “a good mom”, “pretty”, “educated”, and “positive”. Some complimentary adjectives did occur in pieces about the Aboriginal women “but this information was not bolstered with stories and memories as was the case for the White women” (p.381). Stories about the White women also placed them in *our* communities and their killer as “stalking *our* streets … and harming *our* daughters” (p.382), while those about the Aboriginal women used third person pronouns locating them apart, constructing the victims as: “*their* missing daughters” (Gilchrist, 2010: 382).

Literary analyses

Literary analyses tend to conceptualise analysis as ‘identifying narratives employed’ or as ‘reading against the grain’ (both images from Vanni, 2014) or Walter Benjamin’s notion of juxtaposition (Carpenter & Yoon, 2014). Alternatively, they emphasise elements of literary works such as character and constructed context as the scaffolding for the critical appraisal of the selected media item(s). Chassen-Lopez (2008) analysed the relationship between Juana Catarina Romero (an Indigenous woman of Tehuantepec Isthmus) and the young Porfirio Diaz who led the Liberal forces in Tehuantepec during ‘The [Mexican] war 1855-1867’ (p.107) as portrayed in the telenovela (mini-series) *El vuelo del aguila*. Chassen-Lopez argues that the telenovela reduced Romero’s considerable contributions to the Liberal cause depicting her as only a brief, exotic sexual dalliance for Diaz. Across the episodes Romero, an Indigenous woman was depicted as exotic, sexually aggressive, and childlike even her original economic role was feminised. Historically, Romero had sold cigarettes made by her family, a role that gave her access to (Conservative) forces in their barracks and hence to the the information contained in talk of off-duty soldiers. Instead the telenovela had her selling ribbons in the town plaza where she only had access to town gossip to pass on to the commander of the Liberal forces. Romero was first introduced to viewers playing billiards but, as the telenovela did not signal that the billiard parlour was a “meeting place of Liberal sympathizers” (p.113), the scene did not cue her political involvement. In a further feminising touch Romero appeared in twentieth century festival costume rather than the lighter, day-wear enaguas worn by mid-nineteenth century Indigenous women of the province. Chassen-Lopez’s (2008) interpretation of the telenovela is that, in seeking to re-present Diaz as “a liberal hero for neoliberal Mexico” (p.109) the producers have prioritised the neoliberal need for cheap (women’s) labour that requires women be routinely seen “as mothers, wives, and daughters, not as breadwinners but relatively submissive workers seeking a supplementary salary” (p.120). She concludes that that neoliberal, political need drove the documented de-politicised feminising of Romero.

Nolan’s (2009) analysis of a television drama *The Secret Life of Us* provides a further instance of literary analysis. She examined all episodes of the first two series of the serial, concentrating on its contribution to the construction of national identity for young, urban Australians, noting it was seen as being “a highly realistic portrayal of urban young people”

(p.140). Nolan interpreted that to mean "[viewers] were invited to read the program as realistic" (p.140) and she utilised that trope to contrast the openness with which differences in sexuality were portrayed with the treatment accorded racial differences - the latter being mostly unacknowledged. Central to her analysis, as in King's (2009) study, was the portrayal of Kelly, played by Deb Mailman a well-known Aboriginal actor. As is typical of characters in TV soaps Kelly is obsessed with relationships and the drama depicted her engagements and relationships in ways that ignored racial differences. Consequently, King interpreted Kelly's engagements and relations with other characters as being very ordinary arguing that, as Mailman's obvious Aboriginality does not appear to affect those relationships, this an improved i.e. a more ordinary portrayal of Aboriginal people.

Following her examination of all episodes of the first two series of the serial Nolan (2009) strongly contested that interpretation. She argued that *The Secret Life of Us* set standards of openness in representations of sexual difference (gender and sexuality) that were not met in its engagement with and portrayals of racial difference. Kelly is celebrated as an Aboriginal character who is not "reduced to her race or required to endlessly perform her Aboriginality" (p. 143) which, as Nolan acknowledges is a considerable improvement, however she remains adamant that, as broadcast, the programme does not acknowledge or show how Australia's well-documented racism impinges on Kelly's life and relationships. Essentially, her argument is that King's reading, that race is 'never an issue', arises out of the White Australian pretence that "race is something we don't notice" (Nolan, 2009: 143), noting three key markers of that pretence. First, Aboriginality is somehow irrelevant (to the storyline or situation); second, race, despite being clearly marked by Kelly's skin colour, remains unnoticed; and third, the omission or denial of the routine daily challenges and slurs with which White Australia accosts indigenous people and members of ethnic minorities. The forensic quality of Nolan's literary analysis ensures that her observations and interpretations are grounded in both the broadcast episodes and the ongoing social-political context of the Australian Anglo-settler state.

Cora Voyager (2000) focuses her literary analyses on newspaper reports contemporaneous with the 1899 Treaty 8 signing process that saw Indian peoples and Metis surrender 324,000 square miles of land across Alberta, Saskatchewan, British Columbia, and Northwest Territories. Her analysis was directed at how the papers portrayed participants and events, grounding her interpretations of those portrayals within the then widespread Canadian boosterism (Belich, 2009). In doing so, she reveals some of the newspaper contributions to this sustained effort "to 'sell' Canada to potential immigrants" (p.273). Unsurprisingly, Voyager (2000) found coverage of the signing process was given due prominence with some 77% of the articles appearing on pages 1 or 2 and she classified most articles as 'informative' in content and 'positive' in tone. The Commissioners, agents of the [British] Crown whose authority was, in 1899, considered to be vested in the responsible settler government of Canada, "were the primary actors in approximately 80% of the articles, in which they are lauded for 'doing their duty to the Queen'" (p.275). When mentioned, Commissioners were

always named, a courtesy extended to other Whites, at least those who were not traders, but accorded few Indians and fewer Metis. Due & Riggs' (2010) account of native title in Australia which employs a more discourse oriented analysis in which they explain what happened after the Whites got the land and tightened their grip on what they now considered to be their property can be read as if they intended to provide a follow-up to Voyager's work.

De Lorenzo (2005) provided a literary analysis of the photographic exhibition *Proof: Portraits From The Movement 1978-2003* (Gemes, 2003) which she characterised as "a kind of agitprop art practice … [of] individuals and communities working for fundamental socio-political change" (p.138). De Lorenzo (2005) began her analyses by setting the exhibition firmly in context both historically - when the photos were taken - and contemporaneously - when they were exhibited. That leads directly to her regarding the exhibition "as a case study of visual representations of indigenous Australians in the media" (p.139) and her sociocultural reading of the exhibition in which she questions why media representations of indigenous Australians have changed so little. Central to her analyses of that lack of change are contrasting representations of Redfern, a Sydney (Australia) suburb, that, when Gemes' photos were being taken "served as a metonym for Aboriginal self-determination" (p.140). De Lorenzo (2005) shows that identifications of Redfern as signifying Aboriginal self-determination remain and are asserted over and against representations in mass media that elide Redfern and Aboriginal violence (for example (for example Budarick & King, 2008; Simmons & LeCouteur, 2008). De Lorenzo (2005) also emphasises the intertextuality of Gemes' images; their assault on what, citing Bowles (2002, p.39), she characterises as "the pernicious aura of whiteness"; and the the artist's collaboration in "a struggle to redress social, cultural or economic wrongs" (p.143). Characteristics foregrounded in her discussion of the shot of Mum Shirl (Mrs Shirley Smith) outside Sydney Town Hall, in which Mum Shirl dominates the foreground, occluding much of the building's frontage, while sundry police commissioners who she is about to address about their "ineptness at stemming the tide of Aboriginal deaths in police custody" (De Lorenzo, 2005: 143), converse in the background. De Lorenzo provides close readings informed by critical perspectives developed within visual anthropology and elsewhere of particular images, framing them within a critical socio-cultural history of the times.

Discourse analyses

Discourse analyses require systematic critical reading of materials to identify how they are constructed (Wetherell & Potter, 1992). Researchers differ in details of the analysis, their focus in the analysed materials, and their attention to the uses or effects of the analysed constructions. Moewaka Barnes et al. (2012) name 13 patterns (also called themes) identified in mass media discourse about Māori people, actions, and events. They argue that these patterns are "effectively the generic discursive resources from which we [all New Zealanders] build … the discourses and narratives that we use to explain and understand our

everyday experiences" (p.196). The work seeks to contribute to the decolonisation of New Zealand by encouraging development of alternative discursive resources that counter the oppressive effects of those identified patterns (see also McCreanor, 2012).

Providing a different, more descriptive, example, Garcia-Del Moral (2011) employs discourse analysis to identify the discursive resources and how they are used to organise the stories of women who are killed or have disappeared. She examined how the disappearance and killing of Indigenous women in Canada and women workers in Mexico were represented in each country's newspapers. Her work showed those representations drawing on discourses of gender, race, value, and morality/immorality utilising them in ways that serve colonial and patriarchal interests. Gilchrist's (2010) study comparing coverage of murdered Indigenous and non-Indigenous women also subjected media materials to discursive analysis.). Her work complements Garcia-Del Moral's research in showing that journalists encouraged readers' moral engagement with the non-indigenous women's deaths in diverse ways while providing more distanced accounts of the efforts being made to solve the crimes committed against the indigenous women.

Analyses of television materials are relatively uncommon. Lacroix (2011) applied discourse analysis to television materials, examining six programmes: *Family Guy, Saturday Night Live, Chappelle's Show, The Sopranos, South Park,* and *Drawn Together*, focusing on plot lines or sketches involving Native Americans and tribal casinos. Close textual reading enabled her to identify three themes that converged in an emerging trope she termed 'Casino Indian'. Her study showed that 'Casino Indian's are constituted through three distinct themes: "Casino Indians exploit their culture for profit" (p.11); "Casino Indians are led by scheming immoral chiefs" (p.14); and "Casino Indians aren't authentically Native American" (p.16) (note parallels with Mackinlay & Barney, 2008). She concluded that the resulting epithet provides a powerful weapon with which to trivialise, dismiss, or excoriate those targeted, explaining that images like 'Casino Indian' condense and recombine elements of already available themes and, consequently, can provide rhetorically powerful resources for denigrating and marginalising persons and peoples without having to employ overtly racist language.

Two analyses of Canadian newspapers; Furniss (2001) and Harding (2006), provide particularly clear examples of discourse analyses. By contrasting coverage of the Cariboo Chilcotin inquiry in the local (Williams Lake *Tribune*) and the major provincial (Vancouver *Sun*) newspapers Furniss (2001) was able to show how local networks of social and political power and the 'rhetorical idiom' of Williams Lake were mobilised to sanitise the inquiry for the white residents. Prior to the inquiry starting the *Tribune* highlighted Aboriginal peoples' concerns about funding for witness expenses constructing this as similar to issues Williams Lake often experienced with provincial authorities. At first glance such coverage suggested the paper supported the inquiry however, comparison of *Tribune* and *Sun* coverage showed that the former did not provide detailed accounts of the bulk of the evidence provided by Aboriginal witnesses about actions and inaction of the RCMP ('Mounties') and other

functionaries within the justice system. Reports the *Tribune* carried were routinely framed within an RCMP perspective and gave prominence to financial details. Thus an early item highlighted the $C8700 the Ulkatcho band had spent to find their missing band chief but omitted the inadequacies of the official search - starting late; not utilising the band's knowledge; and being pursued in rather lacklustre manner - that led to the band's expenditure. Furniss and Aboriginal leaders agreed that a two sentence report that omitted the extensive evidence about authority buck-passing and undue delays in favour of foregrounding band spending cued the local idiom of "lazy, irresponsible Indians mismanaging government money" (Furniss, 2001: 19). Later coverage similarly prioritized "financial and procedural matters", protecting the white community's self-image by directing attention away from their members' actions onto relations of the indigenous peoples with government.

While Furniss' study was exclusively concered with contemporary reporting, Harding (2006) examined accounts that newspapers in British Columbia had provided of four, two historical and two more recent, 'flashpoints' in "aboriginal - non-aboriginal relations in that province" (p.206). Like Henry & Tator (2002b), his analyses apply van Dijk's (1991) elaboration of discourse analysis to the news texts. Consequently, Harding (2006) identifies and names major elements of representations of indigenous peoples, such as: 'aboriginal people [are] inherently inferior', 'uncivilized' (p.208), 'an obstacle to colonial advancement' (p.214). He also noted the frequent uses of the contrast between *Reason* [us] and *Emotion* [them] used within the stories and in framing the reports. Across the four flashpoints, Harding shows such resources being deployed in conjunction with other terms and images to construct Aboriginal persons and peoples as distinctly other than Canadians (colonists/settlers). He showed how writers used this constructed 'us/them' distinction to deny Aboriginal people their standing as tangata whenua[4], to misrepresent events or policies, and to provide apparent confirmation of the widely accepted settler imagining of Aboriginal peoples as privileged ones who constantly receive special treatment.

Frame analyses

Evidence about how often we rely on our fast thinking system and the consequences of doing so (Kahneman, 2011) informs understanding of newspaper reading: especially readers' headline skimming and dipping into articles considered pertinent, consequently we need reliable, detailed information about how news stories are told and the effects of telling stories in that way. Furniss (2001) says much the same when summing up a central finding of her work:

> "…urban and rural presses alike are adept at manipulating news frames as a strategy of political containment: rural presses deflect criticism of local Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal conflicts into rural-urban dichotomies, while

[4] Tangata whenua - the indigenous peoples of the land.

> urban presses deflect challenges to state authority by evoking noble savage imagery and reducing Aboriginal claims to localized conflicts." (pp. 28-9)

Frame analyses (Entman, 2010; Poindexter, et al., 2003) are intended to provide just such information about the way the stories are presented. The three articles chosen to exemplify the nature and use of frame analyses differ in their scope and the materials analysed but, perhaps unsurprisingly, draw very similar conclusions to those Furniss reached.

The first is an application of frame analysis to newspaper coverage of collective actions undertaken by indigenous peoples in 1995 (Wilkes, et al., 2010b). They assembled 402 accounts of 21 collective-action events from which they identified four "master frames" and "more specific frames within each master frame" (p.45). Indigenous peoples' collective action events were overwhelmingly framed as *Criminal Behaviour* (the first master frame). Eighteen of the (21) events were primarily framed in this way and the frame appeared in 88% of the articles about all 21 events. The finding replicated numerous earlier studies that had shown news coverage of indigenous peoples' collective actions "[were] predominantly delegitimizing stories [that] overwhelmingly emphasize[d] militancy and violence" (p.41). The other three master frames were (listed in order of decreasing prominence) *Collective action as: A threat to race relations*; *Expensive/costly*; *A means for achieving social justice*. Uniquely, Wilkes et al. (2010b) went on to explore the underlying normative meanings about citizenship and being a 'good Canadian' carried or implied by the first three frames. In doing so they identified two problematic aspects of the *Criminal Behavior* framing: first, it was used irrespective of whether the action or event was actually criminal and second, for many actions/events to be defined as criminal journalists had to ignore or refrain from mentioning significant, existing legal relationships and the history driving the collective action. When collective actions are framed as criminal, participants are pitted against the settler-citizen majority who are presumed to be law abiding. Further, framing indigenous challenges as criminal helps, on occasions when "the Canadian government and police [did] engage in … activities that are clearly illegal" (p.50), by directing attention away from those illegal uses of state power. Wilkes et al. (2010b) identified several instances of illegal actions by authorities, highlighting the uncritical reporting of those actions.

Framing collective actions as a *Threat to race relations* positions Indigenous actions and activists as disruptors of the "[national] ideal of the harmonious and multicultural nation-state in which citizens respect each other's rights as individuals" (p.50). Further, as 'news' is equated to disruption of the status quo (Fiske, 1987), the mass media practice of focusing on indigenous actions said to create the reported disequilibrium means that indigenous peoples' actions are readily framed as mean-spirited, criminal, and self-seeking. Ghassan Hage (2000), writing out of the Australian context, offers a critical perspective on the notion of the settler-state as 'harmonious and multicultural' in which he argues that this widely proclaimed ideal is a self-justifying white fantasy promulgated and affirmed by those who presume their whiteness entitles them to specify both the space(s) indigenous peoples and

various minorities should occupy and how those groups and their members must behave to be considered acceptable in the 'harmonious multicultural' state.

Budarick and King (2008), compared the frames utilised by Sydney's two major daily papers, *Sydney Morning Herald* (*SMH*) and *Daily Telegraph* with those utilised by the *Koori Mail* in reporting what were termed the 'Redfern (an inner Sydney suburb) riots' that occurred in 2004. While the *Koori Mail* is a fortnightly publication with a considerably smaller circulation than the dailies the authors chose to emphasise "its creative role as a media producer" (pp.356-7) serving an informed population. They examined how the three papers undertook "three core framing tasks" (p.360): 'what is the problem'; 'how should the problem be addressed'; 'why should the problem be addressed'. *Telegraph* coverage framed the 'riots' as "an inexcusable violation of the law", a problem specification that soon became focused on drug supply and use in Redfern. That construction relied, almost entirely, on police accounts of events and portrayed the force as seeking to defend and enforce the laws of the land. *SMH* coverage was initially framed as a race issue with the 'riots' primarily caused by racial tension and poor race relations. Within that frame White standards of law and behaviour were granted unquestioned pre-eminence so the problem (of racial tension and poor race relations) was reduced to (poor) relations between the indigenous community and the police due to the cultural differences between them. Later, when the focus shifted to sale and use of heroin in Redfern *SMH*, like the *Telegraph*, emphasised the need to eliminate the drug and to enforce the law. Across this coverage the Redfern community was consistently racialized while the police were not. This mass media coverage differed markedly from the *Koori Mail* framing of events making the dailies' reliance on settler common sense plain. The *Koori Mail* consistently presented the riots as occasioned by social injustices, primarily: poor policies, oppressive policing, and the disadvantages and discrimination they created for the indigenous people living in Redfern.

Having identified the frames, Budarick and King (2008) drew on Hall's (1983) approach to analyses of ideology in news media to examine the ideologies of race in these accounts. The *Koori Mail* used racial identifiers only to sustain the social injustice framing of the riots although, in doing so, the paper did not racialize the policy makers, police, or government services adjudged guilty of creating and sustaining the social injustice. In contrast, both daily papers utilised a commonplace racialized understanding of Aboriginal residents as essentially primitive peoples who would be more at home in the outback. For *SMH* that racialized identity explained both the cultural gulf between the Redfern community and police and the community's lower social and educational standards. For the *Telegraph* the racialized identity, though less frequently used than *SMH*, *e*nabled coverage that "ignored social and political factors" (Budarick & King, 2008: 366) in favour of being consistently pro-police.

Looking at the ways in which indigenous peoples were represented within coverage of the Copenhagen climate summit in Swedish and Canadian newspapers Roosvall & Tegelberg

(2013) utilised both content and framing analyses. They noted that indigenous peoples were not an important theme in the reporting as they were mostly absented from stories and rarely portrayed as "significant players" (p.400). So much so that "in Canada and Sweden indigenous peoples were completely absent from elite newspaper coverage of the summit" (p.400). In earlier analysis of local coverage (Swedish, Canadian) each author (Roosvall, 2010; Tegelberg, 2010) had identified two main frames for news from the summit. The first, the 'Political Game' frame emphasised the political rough and tumble occurring, and the second, the 'Issue' frame focused on impacts in natural environments and particular situations to place climate change beyond the politicking. Of the 419 newspaper articles studied only seven (3 in Sweden, 4 in Canada), all in the 'popular press', involved indigenous people. The authors concluded that each of these stories represented indigenous peoples as 'victim-witnesses'. In them indigenous speakers described their current experience of climate change consequences and called for immediate, effective remedial and preventive action. Indigenous calls for action in the articles were presented within, and somewhat constrained by, journalists' rather stereotypical understandings of the relationships between indigenous peoples and their natural world. Consequently, indigenous calls for action were framed within a 'spirituality' contrasted to science represented as authoritative knowledge. In these few articles indigenous people were allowed to speak of their experience and their understanding of what needed to be done, while being presented in ways that confirmed for readers the otherness of indigenous peoples. Three further studies of news frames are discussed in *Media production practices* (3iib.).

Comparisons

Comparisons are not a type of analysis, rather they are a valuable strategic adjunct capable of enhancing the effectiveness of a chosen analysis. That effect is exemplified by the work of Budarick and King (2008), Furniss (2001), and Gilchrist (2010) discussed above. Two articles making rather different uses of comparisons are outlined to show what this strategy can add to a study. First, Nairn et al. (2012), a study of representations ofindigenous people in television news items is, like Lacroix (2011), one of few discourse analyses of television materials in the sampled research. The researchers approached the collected materials as instances of agenda setting, adopting the distinction between two levels of agenda (Poindexter, et al., 2003). The first level of agenda was glossed as 'what to think about' the second as 'how to think about it'. Across more than fifty years of research, the primary focus of studies of mass media representations of indigenous peoples has been the second level because showing how people, events, and situations are represented is understood to be revealing how readers and viewers are guided into thinking about the people, events and situations in specific ways. In New Zealand there is a long history of such analyses of media representations (Rankine, et al., 2014; Thompson, 1953, 1954a, 1954b; Walker, 2004) which has shown that the bulk of such representations have been, and continue to be, derogatory and marginalising. However, such studies cannot establish whether the stories broadcast or published, were selected because they provided opportunities to recycle familiar,

derogatory, marginalising representations or because media had no other stories to report. Indeed, to establish whether the first level agenda – what consumers are meant to think about - is set deliberately, researchers must be able to show there were other stories available to be reported. Nairn and colleagues (2012) sampled seven news bulletins of which 5 were English-language (mass media) and 2 were Māori-language. They collected 123 entire bulletins, more than 2,000 items from which they identified 278 items as having a "significant focus on Māori people and Māori issues" (pp.40-1). Of those 278 items only 28 (1.00%), covering 17 distinct stories, were broadcast in the English-language bulletins. The majority (16, 57%) of those English-language items focused on the abuse of or violence against Māori children, mostly by Māori men. On the evenings that the English-language bulletins broadcast these items the Māori-language bulletins carried 127 different stories making it obvious that the English-language bulletins could have chosen to broadcast more or other 'Māori story' items. Being able to compare news items on mass and indigenous media (J. Smith, 2013; J. Smith & Abel, 2008) enabled the researchers to establish that, as other newsworthy stories were available, stories representing indigenous peoples as savage were prioritised or preferred for English-language news, probably because such stories affirmed and further naturalised settler dominance.

The second example, Simmons and Lecouteur (2008) was not a comparison of mass and Indigenous media rather the researchers investigated newspaper coverage of two Australian 'riots'. The 'riot' in Redfern (Budarick & King, 2008) was represented in mass media as an indigenous community attacking the police; the second, in Macquarie Fields (a low socio-economic area of Sydney), was represented as: "a very small number of people" contending with police over four nights (Simmonds & Lecouteur, 2008: 676). Both events were precipitated by deaths of young men from the community that, rioters claimed, had been caused by police pursuits. Analysing a substantial corpus: television, newspapers, and radio interviews; one of very few studies to include radio representations, the researchers identified a number of patterns in the talk. They chose to examine the use and effect of a trope they named 'the possibility of [positive] change'. Following the principles of discursive psychology (Potter, 2005), Simmons and LeCouteur (2008) investigated how the cause of conflict was constructed and blame allocated. In doing so they distinguished blaming that grounded causes of the 'riot' in characteristics of a particular community or group from blaming that utilised explanations grounded in patterns of individual behaviour. In these materials the community formulation presented positive change as most unlikely as attributing responsibility for a 'riot' to stable characteristics of a group presumes that such conflicts will reoccur. Whereas the assumption that a 'riot' occurred because some individuals made 'bad choices' allows for the possibility of better future choices. Simmons and LeCouteur established that, in coverage of Redfern, Aboriginal people and communities were consistently denied the possibility of change for the better (see also Hollinsworth, 2005; Morris, 2005). Causes of the Redfern 'riot' were located in a community characterised as having a long history of antagonism to the police and where younger members were said

to be disposed to deviance, implying the antagonism was transmitted across generations. These Redfern accounts differed markedly from those of the Macquarie Fields 'riot' where speakers routinely distinguished the rioters from the Macquarie Fields community. Rioters were constructed as a small number of individuals who had made poor choices while the majority of residents, who had made different choices, did not share the rioters' antagonism towards the police. The comparison revealed the overtly ideological nature of these 'riot' stories: each of which utilised a particular sub-set of the widely available discursive resources to create very different representations of both the participants and the community in which the 'riot' occurred creating very different potential for positive change.

Part 3 – How Indigenous peoples are represented in mass media

> *"These findings […] highlight a systemic negative description of Māori in media coverage."*
>
> (Stavenhagen, 2006: 17)

There are two sub-sections to this part of the monograph:

i. **Resources for representing indigenous peoples**: discusses the discursive resources utilised in representations of indigenous peoples, beginning with a discussion of how the naturalised common sense justifying settler dominance encourages acceptance of these representations of indigenous peoples as both 'realistic' and unremarkable. It then presents the tropes most widely employed in representing indigenous peoples: violence, primitiveness, and savagery summarising some of the ways in which those tropes are interrelated in the sampled research. The sub-section concludes with a brief discussion of other utilised resources identified by researchers.

ii. **From resources to representations**: this sub-section seeks to describe the layered practices and logics evident in the analysed uses of the resources described in (3i) and the representations of indigenous peoples they enable. The account is informed by analyses of the encoding and decoding of mass media materials (Hall, 1980) with an emphasis on the production practices (Fairclough, 1993) that privilege particular readings of media materials. We also utilise the concept of Membership Categorization Devices (MCD) (Eglin & Hester, 1999a, 1999b), as it provides a systematic account of how the routine association of familiar resources and actions with particular social categorisations enables the naturalisation of particular attributions and expectations about category members.

Resources for representing indigenous peoples

> *"… the marginalized and the excluded can be ontologically disenfranchised from humanity, misrecognized as 'Other', exploited and oppressed…"*
>
> (Cottle, 2000: 2)

Representations are constructions, assembled by media workers, speakers and other communicators to tell stories interpreting particular experiences (Fiske, 1987; Nairn et al., 2006a). For the most part the raw materials required for those constructions are words, images or tropes, and narrative fragments available to the speaker who, whenever

communicating, uses resources presumed to be familiar and available to their hearers (Camp et al., 2010; Furniss, 2001; Nairn & McCreanor, 1991). This sub-section discusses the most frequently identified resources deployed in mass media representations of indigenous peoples, all of which contribute to portrayals that, as Cottle (2000) argues, very definitely demean and marginalise those depicted enabling their symbolic annihilation (Tuchman, 1978a). Research shows that these depictions position indigenous peoples as outsiders to the political and cultural world of the colonising-state and how that marginalising is effected across the nation that colonising newcomers imposed on the territories of the Indigenous peoples. The second sub-section seeks to explain why the primary effect of using those resources is to overwrite the diversity of indigenous peoples (Nairn, et al., 2012; Perkins & Starosta, 2001) and how that masking is effected. Overwriting diversity, both that existing between indigenous peoples and that occurring within their societies, clears the way for essentialized understandings of indigenous persons and peoples. Unsurprisingly, the materials the reviewed researchers analysed are almost completely silent about indigenous diversity. Finally, a sub-set of the research shows that, and how, such homogenised representations of indigenous peoples concurrently contribute to naturalising settler dominance across the colonising-state with its corollary that indigenous peoples should occupy subordinate positions (Banerjee, 2000; Lang, 2015; Voyager, 2000). Researchers declare such representations cast indigenous peoples as Other (than the settlers), the Stranger who cannot be assimilated into the national body (Abel, et al., 2012; K. Barclay & Liu, 2003; Harding, 2006; Mackinlay & Barney, 2008; Miller & Ross, 2004; Perkins & Starosta, 2001; Wilkes, et al., 2010b). Concurrently mass media stories consistently construct and utilise apparently neutral categories such as citizens, the public, and the nation when referring to non-indigenous peoples, who are thereby positioned as 'real' members of society.

The history of the development of these discursive resources is not included in the monograph because it is still being written (Goldberg, 2002; Henry & Tator, 2002a; Maffie, 2009; McCreanor, 1997, 2012) and would overwhelm the original project. Rather the sub-section begins with a reminder that these resources were developed and used by colonists and settlers to serve their purposes (McCreanor, 2012), and irrespective of whether they are deployed in ostensibly objective accounts or in realist fictions (Nelson, 1997), the resources still serve the interests of the colonising-state trampling the mana of indigenous peoples underfoot. Many of the researchers included in this review argue that a dichotomisation of the population into Us' and 'Them' is a vital component of those constructions or imaginings (Banerjee & Osuri, 2000; Harding, 2006; LeCouteur, et al., 2001; Nairn, et al., 2006b; Phelan & Shearer, 2009; Rankine, et al., 2014; Wetzel, 2012) and, to varying degrees, identify that categorisation as grounded in settler common sense, the "dominant conceptual frameworks through which many Euro-Canadians [and members of other dominant settler groups] understand themselves" (Furniss, 2001: 3). Settler common-sense presupposes that the 'Us'/'Them' distinction is based on natural, self-evident characteristics – making the

dichotomisation seem both reasonable and legitimate. Other elements of that common sense have been identified, among which are axiom-like statements like the rhetorically self-sufficient (RSS) commonplaces identified by: Wetherell & Potter (1992) that enable Pākehā speakers to pass judgement on Māori and their place and actions in modern New Zealand; and Harding (2006), whose examples include: 'there is only one way to run this (advanced, democratic, tolerant) society'; 'media aim to provide balanced accounts'; and 'we [the settlers] have made patient efforts to civilize the natives'. Across the reviewed research the main thrust of media reporting appears to be: the indigenous are a problem, 'They' should assimilate, fit in and play their part as citizens of the society (Wilkes, et al., 2010b) and 'They' should certainly cease creating divisions and being separatist (Abel, 2006; Harding, 2006; Henry & Tator, 2002b). Accordingly, indigenous peoples, when they are allowed to speak, do so within this preset, pro-settler framing of events and situations (K. Barclay & Liu, 2003; Perkins & Starosta, 2001).

Violent - violence

Analyses of media items show that indigenous people are commonly characterised as violent (Carstarphen & Sanchez, 2010; Coward, 2012; Furniss, 2001; McKee, 1997; Nairn, et al., 2012; Pagan-Teitelbaum, 2012). Coward (1999) asserts that 'Indian violence' provided the core of the bad press Native Americans received across the nineteenth century. Although violence is ordinarily defined as the intentional use of physical force to hurt, damage, or kill (OED) research shows that mass media extend that definition to include alleged threats of actual or symbolic violence intended to intimidate (Coward, 1999; Wilkes, et al., 2010b). Across the identified representations of indigenous people's familiar synonyms for violence: brutal, savage, rough, wild, berserk, out of control, and barbarous, are employed in constructing a predatory animality that is to be feared and mistrusted (Coward, 2012; Hollinsworth, 2005; McCreanor et al., 2014; Morris, 2005; Saroli, 2011). Some *Daily Graphic* cartoons published after Custer's defeat at Little Big Horn (Coward, 2012) foregrounded this aggressive, brutal animality as if it were an immediately obvious characteristic of Indian peoples. That only indigenous peoples were represented and understood in these ways was rendered natural as mass media rarely reported comparable actions of settlers or the colonising-state in all their bloody detail (Writer, 2002). While synonyms of violence contribute to imaginings of indigenous men as 'bloodthirsty savages'- the impoverished stereotype of Native Americans in so many cinematic portrayals (Weston, 1996) - similar resources are deployed in representing indigenous women as squaws (Bird, 1999) or mujeres bravas (violent, out of control women) (Richards, 2007). Like the mad (Nairn, 2007), indigenous persons and peoples, especially those involved in protest actions, are frequently portrayed as irrationally or mindlessly violent (Henry & Tator, 2002b; McConville et al., 2014; Morris, 2005). Where reported, such mindless violence is routinely identified as either part of the actors' nature (Budarick & King, 2008; Loew, 2012) or as a consequence of uncontrolled alcohol consumption – "Grog-fuelled sex attacks rife in Black [Aboriginal] communities" (Rothwell in Due & Riggs, 2012: 4; see also Furniss, 2001: 9). As

well as explaining violence in those ways settlers and the colonising-state routinely represented violence as unjustified, further encouraging anyone who regards indigenous peoples as malign, to see them as less than human, as descending to the level of beasts where emotions and instincts overrule reason. Such brutality is very evident in 'Māori stories' in English-language television news bulletins where a majority of items (57%) linked Māori men to the abuse of and harm to children (Nairn, et al., 2012).

As in earlier studies (e.g. Thompson, 1954a), attributed violence is routinely associated with crime or presented as evidence of criminality (Gannon, 2008; Hollinsworth, 2005; McCreanor, et al., 2011; Miller & Ross, 2004; Morris, 2005; Pagan-Teitelbaum, 2012; Wilkes, et al., 2010b), something that media consumers clearly understand (Gregory, et al., 2011; Moewaka Barnes, et al., 2013). From mass media materials in New Zealand Moewaka Barnes, et al. (2012: 206-207) identified an anti-Māori theme they labelled 'Māori crime and violence' because "the pattern centres on the notion that Māori are inherently violent and criminal." The theme encapsulates a practice widely followed by mass media professionals: prioritise endemic rather than systemic causes of criminal violence (McCreanor, et al., 2014; Simmons & LeCouteur, 2008). Analysing a *weekend Press* feature Gannon (2008) showed that and how bio-genetic discourses about crime and criminality were mobilised so they appeared to confirm a presupposed link between Māori and crime while simultaneously constructing that association as natural and essential. McConville, et al. (2014) examined how 'Us' and 'Them' binaries and other resources were embodied in the media figure of the 'unreasonable Māori stirrer' (activist or protestor) who is immoderate, motivated by irrational anger, and acts in extreme ways just to be noticed. Wilkes, Corrigall-Brown & Ricard (2010b) showed that indigenous challenges to government (Federal or State) were routinely characterised as 'law-breaking' (a.k.a. 'criminal', 'unlawful'). In a minority of the analysed reports the alleged violence was intensified by claims that participants were armed and by characterising participants as 'terrorists', 'rebels', 'insurgents', 'fanatics' – people who threaten the integrity of the nation-state. A later study (Corrigall-Brown & Wilkes, 2012; see also Wilkes et al., 2010a) showed that perceived newsworthiness of collective (indigenous) actions was heightened when actors and their actions could be seen as 'violent' either by how they were portrayed or by highlighting allegations that participants: endangered police or public, made threats, and broke laws. Similar usages appeared in *Publick Occurrences Foreign and Domestick*, the first newspaper in what became the USA (Carstarphen & Sanchez, 2010). Analysis of newspaper coverage of a large scale, non-violent, Indigenous challenge to government appropriation of all foreshore and seabed not currently in private ownership in Aotearoa New Zealand, demonstrated that it was primarily journalists who, by labelling only indigenous leaders and participants as 'radical' and 'activist' delegitimized both those leaders and, consequently, the action (Phelan, 2009; Phelan & Shearer, 2009).

Studies of indigenous representations in sports reporting (Coram, 2007, 2011; Falcous & Anderson, 2011; McCreanor, et al., 2010) reveal that the brute qualities of violence and

animality can be mutated into instinctive physical responsivity and an, apparently, untutored ability to read the game, qualities seen as providing excitement and entertainment in professional sports. That mutation, in which common sense about 'apes' and 'aping' play an identifiable role (Coram, 2007), can be seen in coverage of sports such as Australian Rules (AFL) (Coram, 2007), boxing (Falcous & Anderson, 2011), and rugby (union) (McCreanor et al, 2010). These sports, and there are doubtless others, value characteristics signified as 'instinctive physicality' and 'intuitive responsiveness' (read 'animal-like') that can be seen to add an exciting aura and unpredictability to events. Concurrently, the sports and those who administer them remain unwilling to acknowledge that, in marking out indigenous performers in these ways, they are refusing to acknowledge the commitment and effort all players must make to participate effectively while routinely affirming beliefs that indigenous performers benefit from essentially animal qualities (Coram, 2007). That double assault on the skill and professionalism of an indigenous sportsman was exemplified in writing about a championship bout between two boxers: Mundine (indigenous) and Green (settler). Mundine was credited with the instinctive physicality derived from his essential animality; characterised as: a 'natural athlete', 'freakish', 'fast', 'evasive' but (because the writers denied him the requisite commitment to training) he was considered "psychologically inferior to the Anglo-Australian Green" (Falcous & Anderson, 2011: 748-749).

Primitive-Emotional

From early contact indigenous peoples, their languages and material cultures, were designated primitive or uncivilized (Deloria, 1998; Due & Riggs, 2011; Harding, 2006; Morris, 2005). Primitive and emotional or irrational, were and continue to be the dispreferred poles of two relational binaries to which indigenous peoples are regularly assigned (Gilchrist, 2010: 375). In the settler lexicon the primary relational binaries are 'primitive-advanced' and 'irrational (emotional)-rational', when these are employed in concert with 'uncivilized' and 'civilized' (Osuri & Banerjee, 2004), they provide strong foundations for various self-serving understandings and legitimations of the colonial takeover. Concurrently, indigenous peoples were, in part because they were categorised as primitive, considered to be promiscuous and lacking sexual regulation, aspects of being primitive that are apparently confirmed by their living in non-standard families and communities (Peterson, 2005). Related characterisations of indigenous peoples as 'primitive', uncivilized' and 'emotional' are identifiable in modern mass media representations (Gannon, 2008; Harding, 2006; Osuri & Banerjee, 2004). Analysing accounts of murders of Native American women Garcia-Del Moral (2011) identified an immediate consequence of continuing to characterise indigenous women as 'promiscuous' and degenerate – all the murderers persisted in labelling their victims 'hookers'.

Indigenous peoples' cultures, particularly their language and artefacts, were, and continue to be, designated backward and inadequate, marked as the antithesis of the 'advanced'

'progressive' ways, artefacts, and institutions of the colonists/settlers (Maffie, 2009). This is particularly clear in stories about land and indigenous peoples' right to their ancestral territories where opponents routinely argue that ownership by indigenous peoples locks land away from needed development and resource exploitation (Meadows, 2000; Phelan, 2009). One anti-Māori theme identified in New Zealand media materials asserts "that all aspects of Māori culture, including language are primitive, irrelevant and inadequate in the modern context" (Moewaka Barnes, et al., 2012: 207-208, 'Māori Culture'). Indigenous peoples themselves were classified as lower on the 'Great chain of being'; positioned closer to the animals, because their looks, acts, thoughts, and organisation did not meet the canons of civilization promulgated by explorers and colonisers. For the vast majority of colonists and settlers that meant indigenous peoples, the 'natives', were essentially inferior and their inferiority could only be redressed by the paternalistic tutelage of the superior peoples (Harding, 2006). Analysing portrayals of Aboriginal peoples on *Play school* Mackinlay and Barney (2008: 281) concluded, the programme:

> "has never shown urban Aboriginal people … [and that lack] perpetuates the Aboriginalist perception that the authentic identity of a real Aborigine exists and is constituted by a remote, primitive and traditional Aboriginal culture, inherently linked to nature and locked in the past" (emphasis added).

See Pietikainen (2003: 587) for parallel description of Sami. In an analysis of postcards circulating in Edwardian Australia, Peterson (2005) showed that a subset melded biological inferiority, destitution, and what was claimed to be the redemptive effects of settler tutelage on Aboriginal people.

Related to representations of indigenous peoples as essentially inferior was the ascription of a 'primitive rationality' routinely characterised as essentially "emotive and instinctive" (Morris, 2005: 72) limiting them to being "ignorant, backward and irrational" (p. 69). This particular, racialized form of 'deficit discourse' (Fforde, et al., 2013) has become endemic in Australian talk and thought about Aboriginal peoples. Writers utilise this presupposed 'ignorant, emotional, instinctive rationality' when portraying indigenous sportsmen as 'aping' their superiors (Coram, 2007) and mobilise it when depicting indigenous peoples as childlike beings who respond in 'essentially instinctive' ways to imply they are unable to defer gratification. Mass media images of drunken Aborigines (Due & Riggs, 2012; Hollinsworth, 2005; Morris, 2005) and Indians (Furniss, 2001; Miller & Ross, 2004) are alloys of (alleged) problems with impulse control, presumptions of biological inferiority, and a presumed inability 'to handle their drink'. All elements derived from settler notions that indigenous peoples are primitive and emotional/irrational. New Zealand mass media utilise such a mix of 'primitive' and 'inadequate' in representations of Māori peoples when accounting for the very different levels of health experienced by settler and Indigenous peoples (Hodgetts, et al., 2004; Nairn, et al., 2014; Rankine & McCreanor, 2004).

In coverage of environmental and land use issues, constructions of indigenous peoples rely on non-indigenous understandings of how indigenous peoples view their relationships with nature, culture, and spirituality that, when contrasted to the dominant science discourses, are adjudged to be primitive and inadequate (Iseke-Barnes, 2005; Roosvall & Tegelberg, 2013). As the cultural foundations of the dominant discourses, such as the distinction drawn between people and the world around them, are not made visible in the representations the reader is left with a contrast between [Western] 'knowledge' and indigenous 'beliefs', 'myths', or 'stories' (Iseke-Barnes, 2005). Consequently, in Canadian and Swedish newspaper coverage of the 2009 UN climate summit in Copenhagen, the very few Indigenous speakers were positioned as victims limited to descriptions of their negative experiences of climate change and actions they saw would protect the well-being of their communities from the threatening changes (Roosvall & Tegelberg, 2013). Similarly, indigenous peoples affected by the *Exxon Valdez* disaster were largely absent from newspaper coverage, so readers were denied access to indigenous understandings of how the event impacted on their lives and the environment on which they depended (C. Smith, 1993; Widener & Gunter, 2007). Analysing reporting of the subsequent environmental 'recovery', Widener & Gunter showed that only the *Tundra Times*, the Alaskan Native newspaper, presented accounts of indigenous knowledge and appraisals pertinent to assessments of that 'recovery'.

Cultural inadequacy and a presumed predilection to be untrustworthy loom large in mass media imaginings of indigenous peoples as financially inept or corrupt (Furniss, 2001; Lacroix, 2011; Lang, 2015; Moewaka Barnes, et al., 2012). Such representations were employed in editorials about Mi'kmaq Fishing Rights analysed by Henry & Tator (Henry & Tator, 2002b: 216-224). The image of the financially incompetent and corrupt indigenous person was challenged by a counter example only once in this sample. Carstarphen & Sanchez (2010) provided a sketch of Elouise Cobell and her role in a 16 year struggle for reparations due for lands the Federal (US) government appropriated but never paid for. As an activist accountant, Ms Cobell worked to create a detailed account of the Federal Government's financial malfeasance in performance of its role as trustee for all American Indian nations. The story, a rare counter to the many settler accounts of 'Indians wasting our money' (Furniss, 2001; Lang, 2015) or 'pillaging our fishing' (Perkins & Starosta, 2001), was primarily carried by indigenous media. An analysis of how the *Boston Globe* frames American Indians in news, editorials, and feature articles (Miller & Ross, 2004) showed how elements of 'violence', 'primitiveness' and 'irrationality' were combined in the 'Generic Outsider' and 'Degraded Indian' frames, the latter being the modal choice for news items. Similarly, both Garcia Del-Moral (2011) and Gilchrist (2010) showed that Canadian mass media utilised the presumed promiscuity of Native American women to cast them as other than white women.

Savage – Noble and Ignoble

Research reviewed for this monograph establishes that mass media still utilise various elements of a 'Savage' discourse (Budarick & King, 2008; Carpenter & Yoon, 2014; Chassen-Lopez, 2008; Harding, 2006; Kopacz & Lawton, 2013; Lang, 2015; McKee, 1997; Moewaka Barnes, et al., 2012; Morris, 2005). Being 'savage' marked the 'natives' as other than the colonisers who presumed themselves to be the 'civilized' (Peterson, 2005). The 'Savage' discourse, a staple of early media representations of indigenous peoples (Carstarphen & Sanchez, 2010; Deloria, 1998; LeCouteur, et al., 2001; McKee, 1997; Ward, 1839), includes its own metric of savagery, bounded by the extremes of *Ignoble* and *Noble* (Lacroix, 2011; Lang, 2015). In New Zealand the modern equivalents of those polarities are: the 'Bad' or 'Wild' Māori and 'Good' or 'Tame' Māori (Abel, et al., 2012: 73; Moewaka Barnes, et al., 2012). In Australia there is some use of "'bad' blacks" and "'good' blacks" (e.g. Coram, 2007: 396; Meadows, 2004) although the dominant usage is 'us' (as 'not them') and 'them' positioned somewhere between human and animal (Coram, 2007; Moreton-Robinson, 2005: 77-78). The North American extremes are 'good' Indian and 'bad' (sometimes 'evil') Indian (Coward, 1999; Weston, 1996), characterisations that, when used in depicting women become 'degenerate' or 'immoral' (Garcia-Del Moral, 2011). In Chile, a gendered version contrasts 'mujeres bravas' ('fierce' or 'wild' women) and 'mujeres permitidas' ('authorised' or 'integrated' women) (Richards, 2007). Across all these usages, 'savage' - constituted from differing admixtures of primitive and violent - remains an important element in representations of indigenous peoples that is now usually glossed as 'uncivilized' (Harding, 2006). Introducing the 'Historic relic' frame for their analysis of the *Boston Globe*'s framing of American Indian items, Miller & Ross (2004: 250) cited Murphy (1979) who identified a key aspect of the savage discourse:

> "Indians can display stereotypically 'good' [Noble] or 'bad' [Ignoble] traits and can epitomize 'filthy redskins [or] the noble savage,' <u>but they remain fixtures of another time."</u> (emphasis added)

Characterising people as 'savage' implies they are primitive (Daniels, 2006; Mackinlay & Barney, 2008; Pagan-Teitelbaum, 2012), violent (Lang, 2015; McKee, 1997; Simmonds & Lecouteur, 2008; Wilkes, et al., 2010b), sexually promiscuous (Garcia-Del Moral, 2011; Gilchrist, 2010), and may also imply they are dirty (Pagan-Teitelbaum, 2012), poor (Pagan-Teitelbaum, 2012; Peterson, 2005) and lazy (Thompson, 1954a, 1954b). Those so portrayed are positioned as other than 'us' whose (civilised) humanity is concurrently confirmed (Miller & Ross, 2004; Pagan-Teitelbaum, 2012). Indigenous peoples are also characterised as being unpredictable or untrustworthy (Moewaka Barnes, et al., 2012; Nairn, et al., 2012), ascribed qualities commonly employed as predicates of madness that are routinely utilised in portrayals of men and women who are living with a mental disorder rendering them less than human (Nairn, 2007; Wahl, 1995). As Daniels (2006: 325), referencing Wilson & Gutierrez's (1985) study of mass media representations of 'others', notes early settlers also attributed Native Americans a primitive innocence, "[a] proclivity for nudity, open sexual

relationships and cannibalism". Pagan-Teitelbaum's (2012) analysis of an ostensibly pro-Indigenous film, *Madeinusa*, foregrounds the director's corrupted version of such 'innocence'.

Early European ideas of 'barbarians', peoples who lacked forms of government recognised as proper, became a widely utilised resource for Europeans interacting with peoples on whose land they were intruding (Ward, 1839). Historically barbarians provided an 'uncivilised' contrast that both confirmed the 'civilised' status of those doing the categorising and legitimated efforts to push those peoples aside. With the establishment of colonial settlements and ongoing interactions with indigenous peoples, 'savages' might become 'good Indians' if they were friendly, helpful and fought alongside us against other indigenes or another country's settlers (see for example Sanchez, 2012). Those categorised as Noble Savages, were also seen as possessing, and sometimes sharing, knowledge about the natural world that, despite being unscientific or spiritual, was sometimes considered important (Roosvall & Tegelberg, 2013) although it was more often heavily discounted or dismissed (Widener & Gunter, 2007). Concurrently, Ignoble Savages, those characterised as 'evil' or 'wild' were, and continue to be, represented as displaying brute animality and a presumed instinctive urge to fight and kill that was, and remains, inadequately governed by their allegedly primitive social and moral codes. Both types of savage are associated with a range of resources currently utilised in constructing representations of indigenous peoples in mass media (Coram, 2007; Coward, 2012; Kopacz & Lawton, 2011a, 2011b, 2013; Lang, 2015; Moewaka Barnes, et al., 2012; Phelan & Shearer, 2009).

Other resources researchers have identified in mass media representations are typically linked to or associated with violence, primitiveness, and being savage. Such auxiliary resources include: drunk and drunkenness (Furniss, 2001; Miller & Ross, 2004; Morris, 2005; Pietikainen, 2003); lazy and incompetent (Pagan-Teitelbaum, 2012; Thompson, 1954a); dishonest - characterised as dealing fraudulently with and mismanaging money or other resources - and being desirous of privileges or special treatment (Henry & Tator, 2002b; Moewaka Barnes, et al., 2012; Nairn, et al., 2009; Pagan-Teitelbaum, 2012). Indigenous peoples are also cast as: untrustworthy, infantile, greedy/grasping (Falcous & Anderson, 2011; Hollinsworth, 2005; Thompson, 1954a) and squalid, dirty, unhealthy (Bird, 1999; Hollinsworth, 2005; Merskin, 2001; Pagan-Teitelbaum, 2012). Although this listing of discursive resources available for representing indigenous peoples is incomplete it sufficesto warrant Tim McCreanor's (2012: 294) assessment: "these resources share the common property that they can only be used to denigrate, marginalise, alienate and oppress Māori [or other Indigenous] people, culture, and aspirations." In use these resources encourage understandings of those depicted as members of a homogeneous group – the basis of such understandings are elaborated in "Naturalised social categories and 'the mark of the plural'" (in 3(ii)) and "Membership Categorization Devices" (in 3(ii)).

From resources to representations

> *"[stereotyping] does not depend only on the use of crude language or factual inaccuracies. It also comes from the choice of stories to report, the ways stories are organized and written, the phrases used in the headlines."*
>
> (Weston, 1996: 163)

Having listed major discursive resources used in representations of indigenous peoples, this sub-section sketches various presuppositions (Bekalu, 2006), media production practices (Fairclough, 1993) and conceptual resources that facilitate the coding and decoding (Hall, 1980) of those depictions into preferred readings (Corner, 1991; Richardson, 1998). The first part of the sub-section discusses the naturalised social categories to which indigenous peoples are commonly assigned. Hand in hand with assigning Indigenous peoples to these categories goes the presumption of intra-category homogeneity, what Memmi (1965: 85), termed '*the mark of the plural*'; a presumption that leads directly to the 'conclusion' that, if one of 'Them' is like that so must they all be. This part concludes by touching on the connections between such mass media representations and indigenous peoples' struggles to articulate their own identity vis-a-vis the settler-state. Struggles that arise because, as Pietikainen (2003) puts it: "… the ways people are represented have real consequences as far as their lives, rights and position in a society are concerned" (p. 586). The introduction to naturalised social categories is followed by a discussion of Membership Categorisation Devices and particular mass media production and discourse practices that researchers have identified as playing important roles in constructing and granting authority to the representations described above (sub-section 3i).

Naturalised social categories and 'the mark of the plural'

The 'mark of the plural' has been shown to underpin representations of sundry non-culture-defining groups (Black & Huygens, 2007). It names the widespread, almost automatic, generalising of characteristics, attitudes, or actions - usually those seen as negative or unacceptable - displayed by one member of a social category to other members of that social category. Analyses of mass media materials find the mark of the plural figuring prominently in portrayals of women (Easteal et al., 2015; Nacos, 2006), minority groups (Hage, 2000; Henry & Tator, 2002a; Loto et al., 2006), and persons living with a mental disorder (Camp, et al., 2010; Corrigan et al., 2005; Coverdale, et al., 2013). Researchers have argued that homogenising members of a social category in this way creates truth claims that prescribe and constrain aspects of people's identity (Pietikainen, 2003; Reicher et al., 2005). Further, as commonly deployed with respect to particular social category labels, the mark of the plural simultaneously depersonalises and politicises those so categorised (Coram, 2007; Eglin & Hester, 1999a). For example, when someone judges an aspect of a woman's driving deficient and grunts 'woman driver' hearers, irrespective of their agreement or disagreement, immediately understand that the grunter has marked the driving of this woman and all other women as inadequate. Categorised like that the

particular driver ceases to be an individual with their personal history, skills, obligations, and goals, rather they are reduced to a 'driver –woman', a single instance of what has been judged an underperforming sub-set of road users. Such grossly oversimplified characterisations are readily utilised in policy development and resource allocations for road use, travel and transport (see Corrigan et al., 2004for a parallel analysis related to those with mental illnesses).

One obvious way to understand uses of the mark of the plural is as an over-generalisation that presumes a high level of homogeneity across those assigned to the social category. Alternatively, the categorising practice may be understood as mere repetitions of widely accepted commonplaces about members of that social category; the latter account seems to provide a better fit with the thrust of the reviewed research. Members of culture-defining social categories may be exempted from the mark of the plural both because it is unlikely to work effectively when the membership of the social category is routinely constructed as diverse (Moewaka Barnes, et al., 2012), and because idioms, such as 'a bad apple' suffice to deny that an offence by or unattractive characteristic of an individual category member might reasonably be generalised to other members of the social category. Researchers have established that mass media are predisposed to use categories that appear natural in conjunction with the mark of the plural imposing constraints on indigenous peoples' social identity (Pietikainen, 2003). As explained below, the constraints are created by the widespread common sense about members of non-culture defining categories, particularly the presumption that most of them share particular unattractive features and characteristics. Employed in settler talk such understandings help to justify limitations on participation in the nation by members of that social category (Due, 2008).

One conceptual approach to understanding such apparently natural categories arises out of the naming of patterns discerned amid the diversity of sensations and objects that led to the postulated existence of natural kinds: colours, animals, shapes, etcetera – as categories presumed to exist apart from human observers (Rosch et al., 1976). Built into this conceptualisation of natural kinds is the presumption that observers have direct (unmediated) access to those entities and their properties or attributes. It follows that the attributes and predicates of any social group considered to be a natural kind are or can be known directly. We contend that colonising-states represented in this body of research have each created at least one (category) label for their indigenous peoples that, along with sundry associated attributes and characteristics, has been constituted as a natural kind. We also wish to emphasise that the apparently natural character of such categories is an achievement and, consequently, have chosen to refer to them as 'naturalized categories'.

Assigning indigenous peoples to 'naturalized categories' that are, concurrently racialized and assigned undesirable attributes or characteristics has a long ongoing history (Goldberg, 2002; Sanchez, 2012; Thompson, 1953, 1954a, 1954b; Ward, 1839). Casting numerous indigenous peoples within a single homogenized racial(ized) category conceals important

aspects of each people's reality Morris (2005). Such categories obscure differences in peoples' social organisation, their cultural beliefs and practices, together with their history with colonisers and the colonising-state (see Perkins & Starosta, 2001: 78-79 for an example). Further, such categories obscure the internal heterogeneity of Indigenous nations or peoples who are being so categorised. As Morris (2005) points out such homogenizing categories are "an essential condition for universal application of indigenous policy" (p.61) because, having "[been] emptied of indigenous meanings, [they] gain meaning from a moral and political discourse that does the work of constructing the other" (p.69). Through their common use and consistency with settler commonsense, such categories appear self-evident, informative, and natural. Once constructions of indigenous peoples as undifferentiated aggregates have become natural it is relatively easy to impose essentialist understandings on those aggregated as 'Them' (Coram, 2007; Phelan & Shearer, 2009). Such understandings are consistent with the orthodoxies of a colonising-society's "everyday common sense" (Hage, 2000: 207) and, consequently users of these resources, irrespective of their intentions, are exercising the coloniser's presumed right to classify peoples and to position them within white, colonial imaginings of the developing settler-state (Hage, 2000; McCreanor, 2012).

Most of the labels for these naturalized, racial categories come from European thought and practice. Across the reviewed research the most common racialized categories employed are 'Indian', 'Native' (as in Native American) and 'Aborigine', 'Aboriginal' (Carstarphen & Sanchez, 2010; Coram, 2011; Furniss, 2001; Gilchrist, 2010; Harding, 2006; Hollinsworth, 2005; Kopacz & Lawton, 2011a, 2013; Lacroix, 2011; LeCouteur, et al., 2001; Mackinlay & Barney, 2008; Morris, 2005; Richards, 2007; Saroli, 2011; Seymour, 2012; Wilkes, et al., 2010a). Seymour (2012: 90), looking at newspaper categorisations in the U.S., identified a clear preference for a limited set of terms, the most frequently used of which were: "'Native Americans', 'American Indians', 'the Indians', [and] 'tribes'". In the Australian context the related term 'Aboriginalism' names settler representations of Indigenous Australian peoples that, like Said's (1978) 'Orientalism', corrals those represented within the logics and narratives of the dominant (Mackinlay & Barney, 2008). Aboriginalism proclaims the indigenous peoples of Australia to be primitive survivors who can only exist authentically in remote outback territories and, in doing so, denies authentic indigeneity to urban Aboriginal peoples. That, and related strategies freeze peoples and their cultures in the past, situating the 'authentic' culture and those considered to be its practitioners outside of the politics of exclusion and oppression while simultaneously denying the culture both the right and ability to develop in response to changing circumstances (Miller & Ross, 2004; Wetherell & Potter, 1992). In colonial New Zealand 'native' was the official label for the indigenous peoples across the nineteenth century before being replaced by 'Māori' which now functions as the naturalized category for the indigenous peoples, their cultures, practices, and social organisations, the only instance of an Indigenous word being adopted for this purpose. In te reo Māori 'Māori' still means common or usual, and that was how indigenous people

distinguished themselves from the newcomers, the Pākehā, who treated the term ‘Māori’ as if the indigenous were self-naming (Gannon, 2008; Gregory, et al., 2011; Phelan, 2009; Walker, 2004).

An examination of how the as yet unnaturalised category ‘white’ functions in the phrase ‘white diaspora’ provides a unique perspective on the development, role, and use of ‘naturalized categories’. Osuri & Banerjee (2004) examined affective links between Australia and USA identified in an Australian commemorative marking the first anniversary of 9/11 to reveal how the 'white diaspora’ which includes the colonial takeover in both countries was rendered invisible (see also Banerjee & Osuri, 2000). The authors concluded that this historical amnesia has enabled Australia to regard itself as “a white Western country … that claims a multi-cultural and post-colonial status even as it remains white supremacist in its international outlook” (p.160). No doubt many of the indigenous peoples of Australia would add that the Australian state has been white supremacist in its national outlook since the invasion of 1788 (Hartley & McKee, 2000).

As has been sketched, the use of ‘naturalized categories’ in conjunction with the mark of the plural depersonalises and politicizes those so categorised and, for just those reasons, peoples assigned to a ‘naturalized category’ often resist. African Americans sought to give the category label ‘black’ more of their own understandings of personhood through ‘Black is Beautiful’ and related campaigns. In New Zealand pan-Indigenous groups such as the Māori Womens Welfare League and the Māori Party (formed because of widespread dissatisfaction with the failures of major political parties to acknowledge and affirm Māori rights) claim and thereby attempt to reclaim ‘Māori’ for Indigenous purposes. Apart from such, usually unreported acts of resistance, identifying Indigenous persons and peoples with ‘naturalized categories’ reduces them to ciphers; overwriting their uniqueness with the dominant’s essentialising narratives. While being reduced to ciphers those peoples are concurrently politicised - positioned in relation to exercises of power and governance in the colonising-state, confined within colonising imaginings and, as Pagan-Teitelbaum (2012: 84-85) explains, each such representation "…is instantly generalized as typical, as pointing to a perpetual backsliding toward some presumed negative essence [of the indigenous people]". An example of such settler-media categorizing of indigenous peoples is the use of ‘Indian’, a term that characterises them as ‘uncivilized’; ‘inherently inferior’; and as being only suitable for ‘household work’ or ‘practice of agriculture, and mechanical trades’ (Harding, 2006). In Harding’s work the oldest materials (from the 1860s) showed the category label ‘Indian’ was already functioning as if it were a natural kind. Analysing Canadian coverage of Indigenous women who were murdered or disappeared, Garcia Del Moral (2011) reported that the representations mobilised, promiscuity, contamination, and degeneracy in association with the women’s indigeneity to construct “these women as social waste” (p. 36).

Across the media materials studied the dominant group is differentiated from those being dominated: the latter being routinely assigned their ‘naturalized category’ while members

of the former appear in various social categories that that appear natural rather than naturalized. Frequently the dominant group appears as "the nation, the ordinary, or the community against which all other ethnic groupings are viewed and measured" (Furniss, 2001; LeCouteur, et al., 2001; Moewaka Barnes, et al., 2012, p.: 197; Pietikainen, 2003). It seems worth repeating that the 'naturalized categories' and the discursive resources that associate attributes and characteristics with them were developed by colonists and settlers to serve their interests and that they continue to be used in much the same ways in the mass media of settler societies.

Membership Categorization Devices

The power and usefulness of associating attributes and characteristics with social categories is starkly revealed by Eglin and Hester's (1999a, 1999b) analyses of newspaper coverage of the 1989 Montreal Massacre in which they employed a form of 'membership category analysis'. That analysis revealed how naturalized connections between relevant categories such as 'victims', 'gunman', and 'students' (Eglin & Hester, 1999a: 254) were employed, along with their attributes, predicates, and paired relationships in journalists' constructions of the event. Eglin and Hester's account shows just how Tuchman's (1978b) 'web of facticity' was woven for the massacre. They found that reporters, commentators, editors, and other contributors to the coverage utilised diverse social, Eglin & Hester (1999a) call them natural, categories to produce accessible and logically coherent narratives that made the event comprehensible while creating a preferred reading (Corner, 1991; Richardson, 1998). Their decoding of the encoded story (Hall, 1980) appears to show that, where the utilised resources are widely familiar, consumers may find the constructed reality so obvious and compelling that it is difficult to create negotiated or oppositional readings.

Natural categories, as Eglin and Hester (1999a, 1999b) use the term, are integral to membership category analysis and to Membership Categorization Devices (MCD). According to Schegloff (2007), an MCD is "composed of two parts…one or more collections of categories and some rules of application" (p.467). In his words, a collection of categories is not just an aggregation of category labels, rather it is a set of category labels that "go together", as exemplified by [male/female] and [American/Canadian/Dane/French …] (p.467). As theorised the (membership) categories in such collections carry "the common-sense knowledge that ordinary people … have about what [members of that category] are like" (Schegloff, 2007: 469). In use membership categories display two features: the common-sense knowledge about members of the category - knowledge that resists being modified by experience with individual members of the category - and category based common-sense that includes "actions or forms of conduct taken … to be specially (sic) characteristic of a category's members" (Schegloff, 2007: 469-470). Research has shown that both these features are evident in uses of 'naturalized categories' like Indian/Aborigine/Māori (see Gannon, 2008 for instances of crime being bound to the indigenous category; LeCouteur, et al., 2001; McCreanor, et al., 2014; Morris, 2005; Wilkes,

et al., 2010b). It follows that everyday categorizations of people and their actions are interwoven: a person's categorisation is likely to constrain how their actions are labelled and particular classifications of an action may lead to a specific label for the person (Coverdale, et al., 2013; Seymour, 2012), or the labelling of person and actions may follow from features of the context, such as protests, in which they acted (Wilkes, et al., 2010a).

Only one of the reviewed studies (LeCouteur, et al., 2001) employs a membership categorization analysis, describing how MCDs and category-bound activities were deployed in constructing indigenous land rights as "very difficult". We, like LeCouteur, et al., find that the postulated interrelationships between membership categories, category-bound activities, and common-sense knowledge, supplement the findings of the reviewed studies especially in clarifying how the representations and reported stories 'work' to naturalise and legitimate the colonial status quo. When indigenous peoples seek to rectify an injustice, mass media make heavy use of both MCDs and generic categories such as 'claims' and 'grievances' - nominalizations that delete the agents, actions, and processes responsible for the injustice (Phelan, 2009; Seymour, 2012; Wetzel, 2012), helping to mask responsibility of the colonising-state for the injustices and horrors inflicted (Carstarphen & Sanchez, 2010; Wilkes, et al., 2010b; Writer, 2002). This conceptual machinery – discursive resources, membership categorizations with their ascribed characteristics, and production practices - has enabled the creation of what Churchill (1992) has termed "ostensibly non-fictive works" (p. 27) that strip Native Americans of anything that would enable them to be recognised as peoples in their own right. That genre provides settlers, such as the white Americans who 'Play Indian' or otherwise use 'Indianness' to construct their own identities, a purportedly documentary authority for their actions (Deloria, 1998).

It may be useful to remind readers, as we were reminded by reviewers of the draft monograph, that naturalised social categories and MCDs segue easily into binaries that obliterate heterogeneity and deny the importance of relationships between persons, peoples, and institutions. When commentators or researchers employ such binaries uncritically their work can, all too easily, reify the analysed binary altering its status from 'useful analytic device' to realistic commonplace (Phelan, 2014). Our use of the phrases 'colonising-state' and 'settler society' in this monograph could trigger the same criticism as we have not differentiated between institutions, agents, and practices of those states that are, or might be, more enabling or supportive of indigenous interests and agendas. In defense it can be said that the reviewed research did not identify elements of settler states that differed in pursuing and supporting colonising agenda of the settler-states (K. Barclay & Liu, 2003; Due & Riggs, 2010; Henry & Tator, 2002b; Perkins & Starosta, 2001) leading to this rather monolithic representation of these states. Further, reliance on binaries constrains efforts to map, analyse, and communicate the inter-related strands of class, gender, race, and LGBTQ oppressions and identities, creating difficulties that, all too easily, sabotage efforts to produce analyses that acknowledge the specificities and idiosnycracies of specific

situations. Those difficulties point to the need for research exploring and describing such interwoven oppressions (see for instance Bird, 1999).

Mass media production practices

> *"… it is the routine, day-to-day journalism with its steady repetition of stereotypes, and ethical breaches, which tends to set up a framework of understanding about race relations for audiences …"*
>
> (Meadows, 2000: 84)

In the research reviewed here, two discourse practices (Fairclough, 1993) were shown to assist in naturalising the colonising-state: the use of nominalizations and first person pronouns. As Fowler (1991) noted, converting an action into a noun enables a speaker to omit a great deal of information that might be potentially embarrassing. Nominalizations deployed in the context of settler and colonising-state aggression towards indigenous peoples routinely delete state agency (Carstarphen & Sanchez, 2010; Wilkes, et al., 2010b; Writer, 2002) allowing Indigenous responses to be foregrounded and evaluated negatively. Focusing on indigenous challenges in that way ignores or substantially denies the colonising-state's aggression and its effects making it much more difficult for those challenging the ongoing injustices to communicate the reasons and purposes of their challenge (K. Barclay & Liu, 2003; Perkins & Starosta, 2001; Wilkes, et al., 2010a). Analysis of editorials responding to a Māori-led challenge to a legislated appropriation of customary rights to foreshore and seabed showed that the editorial writers utilised the nominalizations 'claims', and 'grievances' to assert the subjectivity of Māori motivations (Phelan, 2009) to imply that opposition to the injustice was fuelled by an undue sensitivity (Nairn & McCreanor, 1990). Concurrently, the State's role in creating the injustice was either overlooked or portrayed as a rational action serving the greater good (see Pietikainen, 2003 for a comparable analysis of reactions to Sami actions). Phelan also showed that the editorial writers frequently contrasted 'Māori anger' (cueing their ascribed primitive emotionality) against settler, or State, rationality characterised as "a degree of 21st century realism" (Phelan, 2009: 229) (see also McConville, et al., 2014). As the contrast between 'Us' and 'Them' implies; first person pronouns 'we', 'us', 'ours' quietly specify reality as it appears to the dominant social group (Abel, 2006). For instance, in comparing print coverage of the disappearance (murder) of reasonably similar White and Aboriginal women, Kristen Gilchrist (2010: 382) showed that, only for the White women, was there "a fear and outrage that violent predators [were] stalking *our* streets, fracturing *our* communities, and harming *our* daughters". Similarly, speakers analysed by Amanda LeCouteur and her co-authors (2001) made frequent use of 'we' both to include listeners and, frequently, to separate indigenous peoples from the non-Indigenous majority of Australians.

Alongside such discourse practices, researchers have documented media production practices (Fairclough, 1993) that muffle the voices of Indigenous peoples, frame events and situations within settler common sense, and undermine indigenous spokespersons (K.

Barclay & Liu, 2003; Carstarphen & Sanchez, 2010; Due & Riggs, 2010; Lang, 2015; Perkins & Starosta, 2001; Pietikainen, 2003). Two particularly common practices involve: routine framing of stories within the perspective of the colonising-state and identifying the newsworthiness of stories from that perspective (K. Barclay & Liu, 2003; Due & Riggs, 2010; Furniss, 2001; Lang, 2015; Meadows, 2000; Miller & Ross, 2004; Moewaka Barnes, et al., 2012; Nairn, et al., 2012; Nairn, et al., 2009; Perkins & Starosta, 2001; Wilkes, et al., 2010a). Immediate consequences of framing stories within the perspectives of settlers and the colonising-state include: misrepresentations of indigenous peoples' relationships with their land, and routine disparagement of indigenous peoples, their institutions, practices, and languages. Phelan (2009: 230) noted that Māori peoples' "specific relationship with [their] land" was denied and there were comparable denials of indigenous peoples' relationships with their land in Canadian and Australian news items reporting moves towards adoption of more just legal frameworks (Furniss, 2001; Meadows, 2000). Instances of routine disparagement of indigenous peoples and the restricted inclusion of their languages in settler media have been documented (Miller & Ross, 2004; Rankine, et al., 2009; Shulist, 2012).

Sub-section 2vi *Frame analyses* provided three relatively detailed accounts of ways in which the perspective of the naturalised colonising-state shapes various news stories (Budarick & King, 2008; Roosvall & Tegelberg, 2013; Wilkes, et al., 2010a). Due & Riggs' (2010) analysis of newspaper reporting about the operations and effects of the *Native Title Act* (1993) found the settler-state framing to be explicit. The coverage represented both the legislation and indigenous peoples' land claims as disrupting the existing system of checks and balances, creating uncertainties for business and other users of the land that were deemed unacceptable. At the same time coverage was silent about the difficulties indigenous peoples experienced in attempting to gain title and the limited rights the title gave should they succeed. Instead the coverage focused on what John Howard, then the Australian Prime Minister, and business spokespersons claimed were impediments to control and subsequent exploitation of land or resources (see Abel, et al., 2012 for New Zealand parallels). In large measure the research indicts mass media of the same serious failings that the Kerner Commission identified in mass media reportage about African American issues, expectations, and realities (Byerly & Wilson, 2009).

Lang (2015) analysed reporting about gaming initiatives being taken by the state of Minnesota in which the stories were shaped by the perspectives of the colonising-state. First, the State legislature was portrayed in reports as if it were a major player in Indian or tribal gaming although, constitutionally, it has no such role. Second, the accounts spoke of potential benefits for the State while remaining almost completely silent about the importance of casinos and gaming to the Native American nations. Third, by only mentioning 'Indian gaming' in relation to the State legislature the indigenous peoples were denied their federally recognised sovereignty. In our research sample there were few items not framed within the perspective of the colonising-state. Abel et al. (2012) noted only two

instances out of more than 800 newspaper items of coverage not framed within that hegemonic perspective. They also noted that, although both instances displayed identifiable counter-hegemonic aspects in the writing, neither provided much resistance to oppositional readings supporting the status quo.

That preference, so pervasive it could almost be termed a requirement, for framing news and fiction within a colonising perspective has serious consequences. An abstract entity like 'the nation' or 'this society' can only be known by interpreting indicators – measures, events, or situations that are widely accepted as revealing something about the state or character of the entity (Richardson, 1998). Studies included in the reviewed research analysed various media products providing indicators and snapshots of particular 'nations' and 'societies' at specific points in time. As such media items are peoples' primary means of knowing about their society the routine presentation of indicators from within the dominant, settler perspective (see also Sub-section 2vi) means that 'the nation' or 'the society' is usually seen and therefore known only from that perspective (Abel, 2006; Due & Riggs, 2012; Furniss, 2001; Meadows, 2000; Nolan, 2009). The analysis of the way American Indians were represented by the *Boston Globe* (Miller & Ross, 2004) clearly exemplifies this effect with indigenous people being cast as outsiders, degraded persons, and historical relics, whom settlers can judge to be bad or good persons.

Other production practices that rendered published stories unbalanced were identified in an analysis of news items about the annual announcement of the Anishinabe quota for capturing walleyed pike by spear-fishing in some off-reservation Wisconsin lakes during March and April. The Anishinabe have a reserved treaty right to this fish harvest yet each year the annual quota announcement triggers an eruption from Wisconsin state officials and tourist businesses reiterating their longstanding opposition to exercise of that treaty right. Perkins and Starosta (2001) analysed how that opposition was granted an unwarranted aura of legitimacy identifying five production practices that helped deny this indigenous people their authority while muffling their voices. The practises involved differences in: the extent and rate of quoting and paraphrasing of sources; explicit recognition of speakers' position and identity; who got to speak first; whose positions were granted authority; together with the omission of pertinent information that would challenge claims made by settler speakers. Across the analysed coverage, indigenous authorities were quoted less often and paraphrased more often than state officials (see also K. Barclay & Liu, 2003; Hodgetts, et al., 2004; Meadows, 2000; Pietikainen, 2003; Roosvall & Tegelberg, 2013; Voyager, 2000). Although state officials and other white speakers were usually given their official title and authority, Anishinabe speakers were more often assigned the generic identity of 'Indian' and their official role was not named (K. Barclay & Liu, 2003; Pietikainen, 2003; Rankine, et al., 2011; Voyager, 2000). Similar differentiation between settler and Indigenous speakers in how they are identified was marked by Budarick and King (2008) and Simmons & Lecouteur (2008) in analyses of coverage of the 'Redfern riots'. Analysis of visual images employed by newspapers and television in their coverage of the 'Oka Crisis' Corrigall-Brown & Wilkes

(2012) reported similar differences in the captioning of images between indigenous participants and provincial officials. As quotations are known to enhance credibility and authority (Gibson & Zillman, 1993; van Dijk, 1991), the two quotation practices actively undermine indigenous speakers' ability to present their case with clarity and authority. Further examples of such portrayals are provided by Carstarphen & Sanchez (2010: 323) and Abel, et al. (2012: 73).

Where tribal and state officials were quoted in an article - over a third of the items did not include both - the latter spoke first 83% of the time (see also Hodgetts, et al., 2004; Rankine, et al., 2014; Wilkes, et al., 2010a). Given the imbalance created by the quoting practices it is not unsurprising that all the analysed articles were adjudged to support the State's arguments for limiting the Anishinabe spearfishing harvest. State arguments were presented uncritically with official's quotes providing more than a quarter of the headlines. Officials' views were commonly stated before Anishinabe speakers could provide a different perspective, even if the press conference being reported on had been called by the Anishinabe. The researchers were concerned that, in most items, Anishinabe speakers were only heard within the hostile context created by these practices (K. Barclay & Liu, 2003; Due, 2008; Hollinsworth, 2005; Phelan & Shearer, 2009). Finally, Perkins & Starosta (2001) noted that the impact of this one-sided reporting was magnified when journalists failed to include pertinent information, examples of which include: not relating the Anishinabe quota to either the fecundity of the walleye or the release of fingerling walleye into the lakes from Anishinabe nurseries; not specifying what '*closing lakes'* meant in practice; and not mentioning that the actual harvest consistently fell short of the announced quota (Perkins & Starosta, 2001: 81).

Obviously any review of mass media representations of indigenous peoples will attend to media production however, that focus should not be taken to detract from the effects and consequences of the institutionalization of other settler practices. One example that documents the impact of institutionalized settler practice is Miranda Brady's (2013) study of how the mandate and record-creating practices of Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) affected those providing testimonials about their experiences in the Indian Residential Schools (IRS). Her observations were that the Commission's practices which included: guidance provided to those testifying, time constraints imposed on speakers, and the way testimonies were recorded, prioritised dispassionate, 'factual' presentations. She also showed that some speakers were, to an extent, able to subvert those settler-mandated goals and priorities by situating their testimony within traditional speaking and story-telling practices.

Part 4 Discussion

> *"… contemporary prejudiced talk functions primarily to construct minority group members negatively by the deployment of discursive moves and interactional strategies."*
>
> (Augoustinos, et al., 1999: 371)

The preceding sections have been devoted to introducing the problematic/topic of this review, outlining our sampling approaches, discussing the 'resources' used in everyday practices of representation, and considering their likely effects. Martha Augustinos' comment provides an apposite frame within which to locate the practices of mass media representations of indigenous people in contemporary colonial societies and, by applying her observations of discourse, to sharpen this brief discussion. In it we focus on ways in which what we had stacked into heuristically convenient silos are used and recombined with each other and the common sense of political and other communities of affective practice, to sustain a seamless society-wide discursive denigration of indigenous peoples shaping policy, practice, and interactions between indigenous and settler peoples. We place this thread first because we have come to recognise it is central for both this area of research and efforts to decolonise settler societies (Moewaka Barnes, et al., 2012; Nairn, et al., 2014). After that we look at the naturalising of settler society, conceptualise preferred readings (Corner, 1991; Richardson, 1998) and offer some thoughts about the implications for people's health in the settler-states.

Representations in practice

The findings from the 80 studies reviewed expose similarities in the coverage and practices across the Anglo-settler states that, while probably predictable, might occasion the odd surprise. The similarities reveal the mass media to be key players in the establishment and maintenance of these ethno-discursive colonies (Mann, 2005; McCreanor, 2012) across different hemispheres and markedly variable indigenous contexts. Despite acknowledged differences, the stories each country's local mass media choose to tell and the resources they use in their narratives show marked commonalities. In this monograph we chose to summarise those similarities along three broad, overlapping axes: Violent/Criminal; Primitive/Emotional; and Noble/Ignoble Savage. These axes seem to us to organise the discursive terrain and, in doing so, draw attention to the normally unmarked poles of settler common sense in which settler-European ways are characterised as: Peaceable/law-abiding, advanced/rational, and civilised/cultured. The primary effect of representations generated within these axes is to erase the indigenous peoples - actually or symbolically – (Gilchrist, 2010; Klein & Shiffman, 2009; Tuchman, 1978a), or, as an apparently acceptable alternative, to deny them their indigeneity reducing the tangata whenua to being just another ethnic minority (Due & Riggs, 2012; Fitzgerald, 2010; Henry & Tator, 2002a; Saroli, 2011). Shadowing those representations are the mostly unspoken affirmations of the colonising-

state and the implicitly positive characterisations of settlers. As the negating representations sweep the indigenous peoples from consciousness, the affirmations enhance the possibility of representing the settlers and their state as 'native' (Banerjee, 2000; LeCouteur, et al., 2001; Osuri & Banerjee, 2004).

The studies reviewed build on classic descriptive studies like that conducted by Richard Thompson (1953, 1954a, 1954b, 1955) who analysed how New Zealand newspapers reported on or about Māori people in the 1950s, providing a vital benchmark and beacon for subsequent analyses. He examined more than ten thousand items of news about Māori to provide a comprehensive account of what was considered news about the Indigenous peoples at that time. While, like the research reviewed here, the analysed items were settlers telling stories about 'their indigenous people' in ways that were more negative than positive, there was a general lack of the sustained denigration and marginalisation seen across the reviewed research (see Rankine, et al., 2014 for an update on Thompson's findings). Specifically, Thompson identified four themes he judged relatively favourable to Māori: Māori are generous and hospitable; Māori are good rugby players; Māori are artistic, musical and good craftsmen; and Māori are good soldiers. He adjudged seven themes to be negative: Māori are lazy and irresponsible; Māori abuse Social Security (welfare); Māori are content to live in dirty over-crowded conditions; Māori are morally and socially irresponsible; Māori are political opportunists; Māori hold large areas of land irresponsibly (Thompson, 1954a: 1-5). Relying primarily on the Primitive/Emotional axis identified in our review of contemporary research, these negative themes portray Māori peoples as feckless, child-like misfits in an otherwise well ordered, stable society. Clearly, the issues of settler-state legitimacy and settler belonging have begun to bite over the 60 years since Thompson's study and the mass media have responded by intensifying the denigration and marginalisation of indigenous peoples.

A further difference between most of the studies reviewed and the earlier descriptive work was the concern to establish how the identified derogation and marginalisation of indigenous peoples was achieved and legitimated. Several researchers (Budarick & King, 2008; Lacroix, 2011; Rankine, et al., 2014; Wilkes, et al., 2010a; Wilkes, et al., 2010b) argue that racializing indigenous participants in conflicts and controversies makes it easy to direct attention away from government and settler actions responsible for those conflicts and controversies and, consequently, to focus on the 'disequilibrium' created by the indigenous challenge. Those moves grant the focus on indigenous challengers - routinely represented as violent and unreasonable - a specious legitimacy. A number of researchers emphasise the role of the everyday production practices that ensure events are reported through settler eyes, authoritative indigenous voices are muffled, and constantly affirm the reasonableness of colonising-state institutions, practices, and authority (K. Barclay & Liu, 2003; Henry & Tator, 2002b; Morris, 2005; Perkins & Starosta, 2001). Other researchers emphasise the discursive resources that enable portrayals of indigenous peoples as

threatening 'Others' (Corrigall-Brown & Wilkes, 2012; LeCouteur, et al., 2001; Moewaka Barnes, et al., 2012; Richards, 2007).

This is not the place to once more rehearse the content of these themes and resources rather we wish to explore the interconnections and implications for identity, community, and wellbeing of all peoples, indigene and settler, in these colonial societies. The mass media representations of indigenous peoples in settler states identified in the reviewed research pack a flurry of punches that constantly stress and undermine indigenous peoples in their everyday lives (Moewaka Barnes, et al., 2013). As utilized by individuals, collectives, and institutions these resources and themes enable understandings of indigenous peoples through which they are discredited, rendered deviant, silenced, and marked as the 'Other' who is denied legitimacy and subjected to symbolic annihilation (Klein & Shiffman, 2009; Tuchman, 1978a).

As discussed in Part 3, the origins of these discursive resources appear to lie in the earliest European encounters with indigenous peoples (Goldberg, 2002; Hannaford, 1996). Those encounters and the ensuing cultural clashes were filtered through chauvinistic European understandings to become 'travellers' tales' that were quickly utilised as evidence supportive of European myths and fantasies about the farthest reaches of the globe. This 'made-in-Europe' knowledge about and attitudes towards the wider world was being widely shared prior to the development of adequate technologies for oceanic voyaging and the Enlightenment (Blackburn, 1997). Explorers, colonists, and settlers utilised that knowledge to interpret the new lands and peoples (Ward, 1839), elaborating it to provide foundations for the now current settler common sense that underpins widely utilised understandings of the colonising-state, its everyday authority and its associated institutions and practices (Nairn, et al., 2006b). As the reviewed research shows, mass media routinely rehearse, recycle, and rely on such settler common sense, performing the vital functions of disseminating and legitimating both the common sense and the 'reality' it enables and underpins.

We argue that the broad axes seen so strongly across our corpus are discursive offspring of the European mythologies and pre-settlement knowledge. Brought and reworked by colonists and settlers, these discourses now dominate and define the colonial landscape where they are shown to be present in every sphere and across all levels of analysed structures of the state (Due & Riggs, 2010; Henry & Tator, 2002a; Hodgetts, et al., 2004; McCallum, 2013; Peterson, 2005; Shulist, 2012; Widener & Gunter, 2007). Individuals internalize and personalize these broad axes for understanding themselves and those with whom they interact, either directly or symbolically (Hartley, 1996). Relationships are structured by these discourses as they affect, and sometimes specify, the position from which an individual speaks to others. The axes are codified into social structures, processes and practices, and they are deeply sedimented into national narratives that members of each settler society construct and repeat about who they are and their nation's place in the

world (Meadows, 2000; Miller & Ross, 2004; Nolan, 2009; Osuri & Banerjee, 2004; Rankine & McCreanor, 2004). Simultaneously the myriad facets, variations, and flexibility of these discursive resources enable things to be said about residents of the state, as peoples and individuals, in almost every conceivable situation and context, weaving a seamless, ubiquitous, potent but 'unacknowledged' (Billig, 1995) common sense, of enormous explanatory force. The breadth of the reviewed research in terms of the media analysed; the national jurisdictions in which those media operate; and the range of analytic approaches adopted; leads us to assume these phenomena are driven by settler needs, especially the need to create, nurture, and legitimate their new state (Nairn, et al., 2006b; Osuri & Banerjee, 2004). Ward Churchill (1992) succinctly captures the essence of those 'needs': "…the national identity of the colonizer is created and maintained through the usurpation of the national identity of the colonized …" (p. 33) and, of course, that means that the identity of settlers and their nation is threatened by any recovery or strengthening of indigenous identity.

To complete our discussion we summarise our thinking about three aspects of the use and effects of settler common sense and the resources that enable its expression. First we look at the legitimation and naturalisation of the colonising-state, then outline our take on the concept of 'a preferred reading' that we see as central to all analyses of the practices and institutions through which settlers and their state sustain the colonial takeover. Finally, we provide a brief account of the implications of these media representations for the health and wellbeing of both Indigenous and settler peoples.

Naturalising the settler state

Benedict Anderson (1991) has argued that every nation creates its own stories about its origins, characteristics, institutions, and practices (see also Hage, 2000). At any moment in each nation there will be alternative stories competing for dominance; jostling to be the story that underwrites and is enabled by the hegemonic common sense of that time (Hale, 2002; Meadows, 2000). Across the Anglo-settler states the dominant stories have long been those spun by colonists and settlers that are constantly retold in the mass media (Harding, 2006; Meadows, 2000; Nairn & McCreanor, 1990, 1991; Wilkes, et al., 2010b). Constant retelling of these hegemonic stories ensures their form and content, like the discursive resources employed in their telling, are always being renewed enhancing both their familiarity and apparent authority. That is why Phelan (Phelan, 2009) could explain the remarkable degree of editorial consensus he observed in his data as occasioned by the widespread accessibility of pertinent terms and ideas that were widely accepted as reasonable. He summarised his analysis:

> "I conclude that the four newspapers non-coercively functioned as agents of ideological closure by disseminating, naturalizing and legitimizing *particular* understandings of the conflict…" (p.233).

In part he was affirming that settler societies are always needing to legitimate the continuing colonial takeover (Belich, 2009; Due & Riggs, 2011; Hill, 2004) and the racial formation (Omni & Winant, 2002) colonisation imposed on peoples living there.

Essed (Essed, 2002) prefers to refer to the naturalized as 'everyday', emphasising that its ordinariness arises from the taken for granted expectations and conditions without which the everyday cannot be managed. For the hegemonic practices and institutions to be 'natural' in this sense they must be accepted or treated as the outcome of organic processes thereby ensuring that there appears to be no alternative to the existing everday reality (LeCouteur, et al., 2001). For settler society to be successfully portrayed as natural in this sense, it is necessary for settler interests, their stake in that achievement, to be masked. Such masking of settler interests appears to be little explored although Osuri & Banerjee (2004) do point out that it involves glossing over the 'white diasporas' that overran the indigenous peoples to create their ethnocratic settler-states (Mann, 2005). When cultural practices and institutions are naturalised they are considered normal, unexceptionable, and taken for granted, functioning as an apparently a-cultural standard for comparing 'Them' to 'Us' (Ericson et al., 1987; Moewaka Barnes, et al., 2012; Nairn, et al., 2011b). Spennemann et al. (2007) exemplify such naturalisation as they situate their analysis of publicity for Indigenous Cultural Tourism (ICT) entirely and apparently unreflectively within what they treat as the a-cultural ordinary of the colonising-state. Other instances of implicit or explicit comparison are provided by McCreanor, et al. (2011) who showed that the small number of print media accounts of Māori commercial activity relied on the accepted ordinariness of capitalist business practices that were deployed in concert with three settler discourses: 'Māori are privileged', 'Good Māori fit in/Bad Māori protest and demand restitution', and 'Māori culture is primitive' (Moewaka Barnes, et al., 2012).

Colonists have long established their hegemony in the jurisdictions from which this corpus of media materials is drawn so it feels fair to name the processes through which that dominance has been achieved and justified as ethno-discursive cultural projects (Mann, 2005). Those cultural projects not only provide conceptual justifications for the invasion and domination of lands now subsumed in the individual colonising-states but also continue to enable the majority of settlers to live comfortably with that often violent and routinely oppressive takeover. Mass media, despite asserting that they have a "fundamental responsibility to maintain high standards of accuracy, fairness and balance and public faith in those standards" (New Zealand Press Council, no date), have consistently told stories that legitimated and naturalized these colonial takeovers. In the earliest materials analysed the efforts to legitimate the colonial takeover - the settlers' cultural projects - were overt (Ballara, 1986; Coward, 2012; Harding, 2006; Voyager, 2000; Writer, 2002). However, once a settler controlled government and legislative machinery was established and could be used in pursuit of settler ends, naturalisation of the colonial state and legitimation of its authority became the priority. More recent research identifies persistent legitimating thrusts in White discourse and mass media materials (for example LeCouteur, et al., 2001;

Nairn, et al., 2012; Osuri & Banerjee, 2004). While there is no doubt that mass media do monitor certain aspects and sites of power, the reviewed research has identified multiple instances of routine production practices and circumstances in which media are key players in disseminating the legitimating constructions of colonial authority and colonising narratives. Such narratives tell citizens who they are, how they are, and who they might ever be. Clearly, the praxis of mass media is colonial; albeit overlaid with other important power discourses such as gender, class, and age. Through its symbiosis with corporate commerce mass media have been articulating the narratives of enterprise, commerce, and profit long before the first shiploads of colonising settlers landed.

Future research needs

Accounts of mass media representations of indigenous peoples such as those reviewed here provide a compelling body of evidence of the contribution of media to the ongoing work of colonising-states to naturalise and legitimate colonial dominance. There are however, significant lacunae in this corpus of research of which the most obvious is the relative absence of studies of practices, specifically, those of media consumers and producers. Of the 80 studies we reviewed only two (Gregory, et al., 2011; Moewaka Barnes, et al., 2013) focused directly on people's interpretive practices. Given the small number of studies in this area it is important to mention Vanessa Poihipi's (2007) study of audience responses to Māori representations on Māori Televison. See also J Smith (2016) and research on Native American representations and responses (Pack, 2007) that were not identified in the literature search. A further study (Shulist, 2012) analysed responses to the decision to broadcast commentaries of particular events at the Vancouver Winter Olympics in indigenous languages, identifying different interpretive themes employed by opponents and supporters of the decision. Broadly, the findings of these studies are consistent with the thrust of the textual analyses reviewed here however, if this field of study is to contribute to the decolonisation of settler states, more detailed knowledge of the interpretive practices of media consumers is required, particularly how they utilise their life-experiences and whether their experiences affect the discursive resources and interpretive frames utilised in understanding media materials (e.g. Tuffin et al., 2004) (see also Richardson, 1998). Comparative studies provide a potentially valuable approach to gathering such information. Four studies in our sample (Garcia-Del Moral, 2011; Greyeyes, 2008; Meadows, 2000; Roosvall & Tegelberg, 2013) made international comparisons that, although focused on media production practices rather than consumer readings demonstrate how illuminating comparative studies are (see also Part 2 vii Comparisons).

The majority, some seven out of every eight studies in our sample, provide evidence of media production practices shaping representations of indigenous peoples and the use of those depictions. Much less common are studies that provide an "analysis of the cultural habitus/sensibility that journalists/media professionals bring to the coverage of indigenous politics" (Phelan, 2017, personal communication). Studies that do explore ways in which the

ethos of that professional world impacts on or can be identified in the analysed depictions (for instance (Chassen-Lopez, 2008; Coward, 2012; Fitzgerald, 2010; Furniss, 2001; Iseke-Barnes, 2005; Mackinlay & Barney, 2008) are much less common. The relative lack of detailed understandings of the habitus in which media materials are produced means that drivers of widely identified practices, such as the routine balancing of pro-indigenous statements with statements favouring the colonising-state while regularly leaving many of the the latter without such balance (K. Barclay & Liu, 2003; Hodgetts, et al., 2004; Lang, 2015; Perkins & Starosta, 2001), remain implicit, only accessible to intuition. The role played by commonplaces of neo-liberal market capitalism (Lang, 2015; McCreanor, et al., 2011; Spennemann, et al., 2007) provide clear instances of this. Related to this need to be more conversant with the habitus of media professionals is a need for analyses of popular culture. Four items in our sample analysed sports news coverage (Coram, 2007, 2011; Falcous & Anderson, 2011; McCreanor, et al., 2010) and a further 11 (Chassen-Lopez, 2008; Fitzgerald, 2010; Greyeyes, 2008; King, 2009; Lacroix, 2011; Mackinlay & Barney, 2008; McKee, 1997; Nolan, 2009; Pagan-Teitelbaum, 2012; Peterson, 2005) studied telenovela, television drama soaps and cartoons, and films although most of these, like the sample as a whole, do not identify influential elements of the professional culture or the habitus in which the producers are immersed.

For decolonising work to be effective much more needs to be known in relation to the representations of indigenous peoples and actors together with the use made of those portrayals. Further, as those representations co-occur with representations of women and the multi-faceted opposition to global capitalism, there is a need for studies locating these representations within the political economy of various media. As noted previously (Part 3 ii Membership Categorization Devices), relationships between representations of indigenous peoples and other forms of cultural politics are not discussed here as such links were not canvassed in the reviewed research. Assuming no such body of research already exists examination of those links and how they are portrayed or masked in media depictions should be a priority, one that requires a strongly collaborative approach oriented to the affective-discursive practices (Wetherell, et al., 2015). Researchers undertaking such work should, wherenever possible, include social media, see for instance Kopacz & Lawton (2011a, 2011b, 2013). One way to accelerate this work would be to have contributors to conferences or publications such as *Whitening Race* (Moreton-Robinson, 2005) collaborate to initiate multi-dimensional understandings of the links between and implications of those linked oppressions within the particular situations investigated.

Despite these limitations and the need for the kinds of research just outlined, the analysed materials clearly show that exercises of governmental belonging (Hage, 2000) in which White settler society presumes itself, and itself only, to provide the a-cultural norm against which indigenous persons and peoples can, and have been, assessed and found wanting, are relatively common in mass media materials. Forms such judgements take include: opposition to '[settlers] losing rights' and resistance to 'supporting [indigenous] privilege'

(Perkins & Starosta, 2001; Phelan, 2009; Phelan & Shearer, 2009; Pietikainen, 2003) triggered when indigenous actions or claims disrupt settler processes and equilibrium (Abel, et al., 2012; Due & Riggs, 2010; Henry & Tator, 2002b; Shulist, 2012). Such judgements dismiss indigenous knowledge and social organisation as inherently inferior, inadequate, and irrelevant for settler-society (Furniss, 2001; Harding, 2006; Moewaka Barnes, et al., 2012; Tuffin, et al., 2004; Voyager, 2000). Simultaneously particular settler-states celebrate their self-understandings as being tolerant and multicultural (Henry & Tator, 2002a; Osuri & Banerjee, 2004). That popular self-representation is, as Hage (2000) argues, a self-justifying white fantasy promulgated and affirmed by those who presume their whiteness entitles them to specify both the space(s) to be occupied by indigenous peoples and various minorities, and how those peoples should behave to be considered acceptable to the colonising-state in which they (now) reside.

Preferred meaning

> *"'We' know about democracy and 'they' do not; 'we' have values of integrity, honesty, and compassion that 'they' do not; that 'we' are a law-abiding, orderly, and modest people while 'they' are not."*
>
> (Sherene Razack 1993, cited in Wilkes, et al., 2010b: 43)

Underlying practically all the research reviewed here is the presupposition that, for each media text, there is an obvious or common sense interpretation that will be evident to most readers or viewers. Researchers target that obvious reading seeking to render it problematic. Preferred reading is the term Corner (1991) coined for this widely obvious reading that he, and others (Richardson, 1998), argue readers are guided towards by the media framing, a view resisted by those who hold that texts are polysemic and that readers are not so constrained. In riposte, Corner (1991) argues that the extent to which particular texts and visual images are actually polysemic is limited by:

> "[the] considerable degree of *determinancy* [that texts possess, emphasis in original] … [as] a result of their using, among other things, systems of signification based on widespread social/national acceptance and having low levels of ambiguity." (p.274)

Corner's prescription can be seen in much of the reviewed research where the analysed texts were shown to be purveying a standard story constructed of widely familiar discursive resources that substantially limited opportunities for alternative readings (Abel, 2006; Budarick & King, 2008; Corrigall-Brown & Wilkes, 2012; Due & Riggs, 2010; Gilchrist, 2010; Gregory, et al., 2011; Harding, 2006; Hodgetts, et al., 2004; Lang, 2015; Moewaka Barnes, et al., 2013; Nairn, et al., 2014; Perkins & Starosta, 2001; Phelan & Shearer, 2009). While the consistency of the preferred readings across these items might suggest a conscious intent on the part of producers of these texts we consider it more useful to focus on the mass

media production practices and the familiar systems of signification shaping the texts (Furniss, 2001; Phelan, 2009; Phelan & Shearer, 2009; Seymour, 2012).

Certain elements appear to supplement the familiar systems of signification that denigrate and marginalise Indigenous persons and peoples. There are Rhetorically Self-Sufficient (RSS) elements (Wetherell & Potter, 1992) that rely on the settler presupposition that their state is legitimate. Examples include: 'one law for all', '[abiding by] laws of the land', 'habits of civilization', 'being realistic [or practical]' (see also Coward, 2012; Harding, 2006; Morris, 2005; Peterson, 2005; Phelan, 2009). Another set of elements presume the success of assimilation policies so that indigenous peoples can, at this time and place, reasonably be expected to conform to the norms of the dominant society (Abel, et al., 2012; Carstarphen & Sanchez, 2010; Furniss, 2001; McCreanor, et al., 2011; Morris, 2005). And there are the all too familiar narratives that enable particular (pro-settler) interpretations of events and situations (Carstarphen & Sanchez, 2010; Fitzgerald, 2010; King, 2009; Phelan, 2009; Tuffin, et al., 2004). All these elements, and the listing is not exhaustive, are part of the intertextuality that suffuses peoples' readings of media texts (Nairn, et al., 2006a).

The intertextuality of familiar stories that renews associations and revivifies the hegemonic common sense, so the stories are readily experienced as possessing an instant authority or credibility (Kahneman, 2011) that writers of news stories desire for their reports. The apparent authority these familiar stories enjoy comes in large part from their being constantly retold from the settler perspective, using settler-developed discursive resources that include 'naturalized categories' functioning as Membership Categorization Devices (Part 3), assembled according to everyday mass media production practices (Fairclough, 1993). The relentless flow of such stories ensures the logic and 'reality' of the colonising-state is constantly rendered self-evidently legitimate and ordinary. The reviewed research, in which the recycling of these dominant or standard stories (Gilchrist, 2010; LeCouteur, et al., 2001; Nairn & McCreanor, 1990; Nairn, et al., 2006b; Osuri & Banerjee, 2004) serves to sanitise the brute force of the colonial takeover attests to that conclusion. In large part that sanitising is accomplished by granting primacy to 'positive' settler intentions and goals while focusing intently on indigenous actions that can be characterised as savage, untrustworthy, or simply inappropriate in a modern civilised society (Hollinsworth, 2005; Nairn, et al., 2012; Wilkes, et al., 2010a). To this end the established associations between 'naturalized categories' and violence, crime and riots (Gannon, 2008; Hollinsworth, 2005; Nairn, et al., 2012; Wilkes, et al., 2010b), drunkenness (Due & Riggs, 2012; Furniss, 2001; Miller & Ross, 2004), and being locked into a primitive past (Mackinlay & Barney, 2008; Peterson, 2005) enable preferred readings to encode endemic, rather than systemic causes (Budarick & King, 2008; Simmons & LeCouteur, 2008).

Health implications for Indigenous and settler peoples

A sub-set of articles among the research papers in this corpus refer to the effects of the representations on the health of those represented (K. Barclay & Liu, 2003; Due & Riggs,

2012; Gregory, et al., 2011; Hodgetts, et al., 2004; Lang, 2015; McCallum, 2007a, 2011, 2013; McCreanor, 2008; Miller & Ross, 2004; Moewaka Barnes, et al., 2013; Nairn et al., 2011a; Nairn, et al., 2014; Rankine & McCreanor, 2004). Where there is a focus on health, that of indigenous peoples is portrayed as poor so much so that some media proclaim 'an indigenous health crisis'. Central to these portrayals are notions of indigenous weakness, or weaknesses that, as constructed in mass media, are endemic to the people. Indigenous leaders are characterised as failing their people by being greedy, self-serving, misguided, or simply inadequate (Due & Riggs, 2012; Hodgetts, et al., 2004; Lacroix, 2011; McCallum, 2013; Wilkes, et al., 2010a); while their people are concurrently portrayed as failing or refusing to take responsibility for their own health (McCallum, 2013; Miller & Ross, 2004; Rankine & McCreanor, 2004).

Alcohol, its misuse, consequent drunkenness, and resulting violence is such a common element in Australian, Canadian, and American media representations of indigenous peoples (Furniss, 2001; Hollinsworth, 2005; McCallum, 2007a; Miller & Ross, 2004; Morris, 2005) that it appears to have become a category-bound activity (Schegloff, 2007). Consequently, alcohol misuse – 'can't hold their drink' is part of what is commonly known about an indigenous person (Schegloff, 2007: 469). When drugs, drug taking, and drug trafficking appear in mass media representations of indigenous peoples they are associated with "inexcusable violation[s] of the law" (Budarick & King, 2008: 362). In the media materials analysed for this review, drugs appear less often than alcohol and, when mentioned, both cue ascriptions of lawlessness and addicts' failings described utilising common sense about addicts and addiction. In here analyses of the reporting of violence against women both Garcia Del-Moral (2011) and Gilchrist (2010) found that abuse of drugs and alcohol, not dressing conservatively, and engaging in sex for money, were employed to frame women as sharing responsibility for the violence they suffered. Bird (1999) argues that these are current versions of the dirty squaw imagining of indigenous women: imaginings that position her as an unhealthy threat to men's health (see also Pagan-Teitelbaum, 2012).

Both drugs and alcohol are resources used in the neo-liberal lifestyle discourse used to account for health disparities (Hodgetts, et al., 2004; McCallum, 2013). Other components of the cluster include being overweight, smoking, and "refusing to exercise" (Hodgetts, et al., 2004: 465). While any of these cues is too superficial to provide an explanation, their appearance in numerous reports and news stories where powerful people blame the victimized by the dominant system, the discourse serves, as is clearly intended, to direct attention away from role of dominant practices and institutions in peoples' ill-health. The weaknesses imputed to the indigenous peoples can be characterised in different ways that may be variously interwoven while always directing attention away from systemic impacts of settler society, its ideology and institutions.

McConville, et al. (2014) is one of the few studies in which an aspect of settler health is represented. They analysed the affective practices in media reports of Waitangi Day New Zealand's national day), and showed how White (settler) readers were guided to experience feelings of 'missing out' (on a proper national day celebration) because of the disruptive actions of angry Māori. They acknowledged that such aroused stress has implications for the health of the entire population. Their work differs from Furniss' (2001) finding that the local paper enabled White readers to maintain a morally defensible self-image that by prioritising unattractive characteristics of indigenous peoples rather than foregrounding evidence they provided of systemic violence experienced at the hands of powerful Whites and their system. All these findings accord well with van Dijk's (1987, 1992) thesis that contemporary prejudiced talk functions primarily to construct minority group members negatively through the deployment of discursive moves and interactional strategies that enhance positive self-identity and presentation among the dominant group (Augoustinos, et al., 1999).

Conclusion

In this study we have made some effort to emphasise the importance and influence of mass media representations on the status and experience of indigenous peoples in Anglo-colonised territories. We have used a conventional literature review method to identify issues raised in research published between 2000 and 2015 on the topic of media representations of indigenous peoples in such colonised nations and have made some attempts at comparison and synthesis.

Our discussion highlights three key themes that we think provide useful ways of summarising the substantive findings of the review. First, the effectively seamless overlap of broad axes identified in settler-media discourse along with the detailed resources and common sense exemplars and narratives that constitute them in media and community talk and practice. Second, the importance of the normative processes and practices, sedimented over more than 170 years, that have entrenched and naturalised the colonising-state in a self-sustaining dynamic that is resilient and, consequently, very difficult to change. Third, together with other researchers, we see these constituent the lens through which the settler majority experience and interpret the social world underpinning their preferred readings and influencing policies that can be shown to reinforce the status quo. This is a situation that, predictably, produces unjust disparities in the life outcomes for tangata whenua while also affecting the health and wellbeing of settler populations.

Our hope is that the monograph will provide both a stimulus to and a resource for further research and investigation of these well entrenched mechanisms of advanced, ongoing colonisation. Located as we are in Aotearoa New Zealand, the intimate, experiential knowledge that complements our research efforts is firmly grounded here but we see so many similarities and parallels with the other Anglo-settler jurisdictions represented in

these materials that alliances and collaborations seem strongly indicated. It is our hope that this review will be accepted as a positive provocation to take these steps together.

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Appendix 1: Key dimensions of the literature search

- Mass media representations (depictions, portrayals) of indigenous people(s)
- Representations (depictions, portrayals) of Indigenous peoples as minority groups (outgroups)
- In societies described as: democratic, democracies, post-colonial , and settler
- Analyses relating findings to: colonisation, racism, social exclusion, marginalisation, symbolic annihilation
- Including work that examines the naturalising of: coloniser/colonial - values, beliefs, practices, and institutions
- Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi

Limits: International and local, in English, published from 2000.

Appendix 2: Reviewed materials; A listing of the items reviewed in this monograph, together with the country whose media were studied, and the medium or media analysed (underlined).

Abel, S. (2006). "The public's right to know": Television news coverage of the Ngapuhi media ban. *New Zealand Journal of Media Studies*, 9(2): 17-26. New Zealand, television

Abel, S., McCreanor, T. Moewaka Barnes, A. (2012). Reporting Te Tiriti: Producing and performing colonial society. In Martin Hirst, Sean Phelan, Veronica Rupar (Eds.), *Scooped: The politics and power of journalism in Aotearoa New Zealand,* (pp.65-79). Auckland: AUT Media. New Zealand, newspaper

Banerjee, S B. (2000). Whose land is it anyway? National interest, Indigenous stakeholders, and colonial discourses. *Organization & Environment, 13* (1): 3-38. Australia, generic

Banerjee, S B., & Osuri, G. (2000). Silences in the media: Whiting out Aboriginality in making news and making history. *Media, Culture & Society, 22*: 263-284. Australia, newspaper

Barclay, K. Liu JH. (2003). Who gets voice? (Re)presentation of Bicultural relations in New Zealand print media. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*, 32(1): 3-12. New Zealand, newspaper

Budarick, J. King, D. (2008). Framing ideology in the niche media: The Koori Mail's construction of the Redfern riots. *Journal of Sociology*, 44(4): 355-371. Australia, newspaper

Bullimore, K. (1999). Media dreaming: Representation of Aboriginality in modern Australian media. *Asia Pacific Media Educator*, Issue 6: 72-80. Australia. newspaper

Carpenter, CM. Yoon, KH. (2014). Rethinking alternative contact in Native American and Chinese encounters: Juxtaposition in Nineteenth-Century newspapers. *College Literature: A journal of critical literary studies, 41*(1) Winter: 7-42. USA, newspaper

Carstarphen, MG. Sanchez, JP. (2010). The binary meaning: Native/American Indian media in the 21st century. *Howard Journal of Communications*, 21: 319-327. USA, newspaper (print & on-line).

Chassen-Lopez, FR. (2008). Distorting the picture: Gender, ethnicity, and desire in a Mexican telenovela. *Journal of Women's History*, 20 (2): 106-129. Mexico, television mini-series.

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Coram, S. (2011). 'Official' discourses of race and racism: Inclusion, intent and inversion mediated within journalistic communiques vis-à-vis the Australian indigenous athlete. *Social identities: Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and Culture*, 17(2): 169-184. Australia, correspondence with newspaper

Corrigall-Brown, C. Wilkes, R. (2012). Picturing protest: The visual framing of collective action by First Nations. *American Behavioural Scientist*, 56(2): 223-243. Canada, photos (newspaper)

Coward, JM. (2012). Making sense of savagery: Native American cartoons in *The Daily Graphic*. *Visual Communication Quarterly*, 19: 4, 200-215. USA, illustrated paper (editorial cartoons)

De Lorenzo, C. (2005). Photography Redfern *Proof*: Exhibition as medium. *Visual Anthropology Review*, 21(1&2): 138-162. Australia, photographic exhibition

Due, C. (2008). Laying claim to 'country': Native Title and ownership in the mainstream Australian media. *Media/Culture Journal*, 11 (5): http://journal.media-culture.org.au/index.php/mcjournal/article/viewArticle/62 Australia, newspaper

Due, C. & Riggs DW. (2010). Representing Australian land: Mainstream media reporting of Native title. *International Journal of Critical Indigenous Studies*, 3 (1): 26-36. Australia, newspaper

Due, C. & Riggs DW. (2012). The terms on which child abuse is made to matter. *Australian Feminist Studies,* 27 (No. 71): 3-18. Australia, newspaper

Falcous, M. & Anderson, W. (2011). Fighting in whose corner? Boxing, the sports press and the Australian imagination. *Continuum: Journal of Media and Cultural Studies,* 25 (5): 743-753. Australia, newspaper (sports press)

Fitzgerald, MR. (2010). "Evolutionary stages of minorities in the mass media": An application of Clark's model to American Indian television representations. *Howard Journal of Communications,* 21, (4): 367-384. USA, television (drama, serials)

Furniss, E. (2001). Aboriginal justice, the media and the symbolic management of Aboriginal Euro-Canadian relations. *American Indian Culture and Research,* 25 (2): 1-36. Canada, newspaper

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Gilchrist, K. (2010). "Newsworthy" victims? *Feminist Media Studies*, 10 (4): 373-390. Canada, newspaper (local)

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Greyeyes, M. (2008). He who dreams: Reflections on an Indigenous life in film. *TRiC / RTaC,* 29 (1 Forum): 110-128. Canada and USA, cinema television

Harding, R. (2006). Historical representations of aboriginal people in the Canadian news media. *Discourse and Society*, 17 (2): 205-235. Canada newspaper

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Iseke-Barnes, J. (2005). Misrepresentations of Indigenous history and science: Public broadcasting, the internet, and education. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 26(2): 149-165. Canada, public broadcast television, NPS website

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Kopacz, MA & Lawton, BL. (2013). Talking about the YouTube Indians: Images of Native Americans and viewer comments on a viral video site. *Howard Journal of Communications*, 24(1): 17-37. USA, YouTube (videos, comments)

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