A Tale of Two Communities: B-race-ing disaster responses in the media following the Canterbury and Kaikōura earthquakes

2 authors:

Lucy Carter
Massey University
1 PUBLICATION   **0** CITATIONS

SEE PROFILE

Christine Kenney
Massey University
12 PUBLICATIONS   **96** CITATIONS

SEE PROFILE

Some of the authors of this publication are also working on these related projects:

part time PhD View project

Disaster Risk Reduction View project

A tale of two communities: B-race-ing disaster responses in the media following the Canterbury and Kaikōura earthquakes

Lucy H. Carter*, Christine M. Kenney*

Joint Centre for Disaster Research, GNS Science/Massey University, Massey University, P O Box 756, Building T20, 94 Tasman Street, Wellington 6021, New Zealand

ARTICLE INFO

ABSTRACT

New Zealand media reports have shaped public discourses on the role of community stakeholders in responding to the devastation caused by the 2010–2011 Canterbury earthquakes and the Kaikōura Earthquake in 2016. Anecdotal evidence has also suggested that Māori disaster management responses to both contexts received differing levels of media attention and thus inconsistent recognition within the public domain. Iwi (Māori tribes) have historically enacted kaitiakitanga (cultural guardianship) for their respective regions. Contemporary iwi remain obligated to ensure the wellbeing of local Māori as well as the broader community and environment during adversity, and act accordingly. Media stories pertaining to Māori responders' actions in the aftermath of 2016 Kaikōura earthquakes, have highlighted the effectiveness of such community-led responses as well as the importance of maintaining a unified and well integrated approach to recovery management. In contrast, very few media reports provide comment on the Māori earthquake recovery response to the 2010–2011 Christchurch earthquakes. In this article, the ways in which Māori responses were represented by the media following both natural hazard events, are examined. Media conceptualisations of Māori disaster management leadership are explored through drawing on content and thematic analyses while constructions of Māori cultural identity are considered in the context of disaster management practices. Tensions pertaining to public recognition and legitimatisation of Māori response capabilities are also documented and will inform refinement of media approaches to disaster communication as well as national emergency management policy and protocols.

1. Introduction

The New Zealand media played an essential role in communicating crucial information on earthquake response activities immediately after the 2010 and 2011 Christchurch earthquakes and setting the subsequent public narrative regarding the earthquake recovery response. A common phrase heard in the Māori community during the aftermath of the earthquakes, *kia kaha Ōtautahi (*stay strong Christchurch), was taken up and widely disseminated by the media as an emphatic message to encourage the collective recovery of Māori and the wider community. The message of 'staying strong' was widely embraced throughout Canterbury as well as by national and diverse international actors who responded to the recovery needs of Christchurch. However, mainstream media failed to acknowledge the significant emergency management capabilities and support extended to the community by the Māori Earthquake Recovery Network. While Māori media programmes Marae TV and Te Karere TVNZ presented specific stories on local Māori disaster-related concerns as well as the collectivised Māori recovery response in the weeks following the earthquakes, this information had

limited recognition in local and national media messages. The actions of the Māori earthquake recovery network have subsequently been addressed within disaster and public health research literature ([21]; Phibbs, Kenney, Solomon, 2015), yet media silences regarding the Māori response had largely continued until the Kaikōura earthquake on the 14th of November 2016.

Canterbury revisited the social, health, economic and physical impacts of major seismic activity during the aftermath of the Kaikōura earthquake and subsequent aftershocks. The local iwi (tribes) Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Kuri reprised their roles as support providers for the broader community during a disaster through enacting their tribal responsibilities as kaitiaki (cultural guardians) for the region. The local Ngāti Kuri marae (tribal community centre) Takahanga was immediately operationalised as a registered Ministry of Civil Defence and Emergency Management Welfare Centre, and became a key support hub for all community residents; garnering considerable media attention. Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Kuri and Takahanga marae subsequently became central characters within the disaster response narrative that was created by Māori and mainstream media.

* Corresponding authors.
  E-mail addresses: L.H.Carter@massey.ac.nz (L.H. Carter), C.Kenney@massey.ac.nz (C.M. Kenney).

Anecdotal evidence and scrutiny of recent media reports suggest there has been a marked increase in the level of recognition accorded to Māori disaster response actions and a recognizable shift in the way Māori disaster management approaches are represented by the media. In this article a comparative analysis of New Zealand-based mainstream and Māori media stories published between the September 4th, 2010 and the November 14th, 2016 that reported Māori disaster management responses, is presented. Threading through the analysis of media framing between 2010 and 2016 is the theme of Māori identity in disaster response and how this is crafted, practised and reproduced in the media.

2. Background

Māori mātauranga (knowledge) and the roles played by Māori communities in responding to disasters have historically been given little attention by the media. As an exemplar, marae played a significant role in addressing the needs of the local community and supporting regional recovery after the 2004 Manawatū floods [18]. While regional emergency management actors were acknowledged by the media, there was little recognition of the support contributed from the local Māori community. Yet Māori have a significant history and knowledge of natural hazards and disaster management due to their longstanding genealogical relationship with Aotearoa, New Zealand [23]. Iwi responsibilities as kaitiaki (cultural guardians) for their respective rohe extend particularly to marae, which are focal points for communities to access accommodation, food social support and medical care in the event of a disaster. In addition to a moral and spiritual imperative to provide hospitality and care for the community, some marae (Rautahi Marae in Kawerau, Te Hora Marae in Canvastown and Waikawa Marae in Picton for example) have been designated "welfare hubs" by the Ministry of Civil Defence and Emergency Management (MCDEM) and will be activated by the Ministry to receive individuals in need of assistance in the event of a disaster. The ability to host and shelter large numbers of affected individuals means that marae are often indispensable to disaster response efforts in local communities (Hughes and Hudson, 2007). Māori whānau as well as national and international relational networks constitute an equally significant resource, for ensuring timely operationalisation of personnel and material support in response to a major disaster, as exemplified in the aftermath of the Christchurch earthquakes.

The 2010 and 2011 Christchurch earthquakes (collectively referred to as the Canterbury earthquakes) began on September 4th, 2010 when a 7.1 magnitude earthquake occurred at 4.35 am in Darfield, Canterbury. The earthquake resulted in widespread damage to built infrastructure including utilities, and caused a significant number of injuries amongst the local population. In the immediate aftermath of the earthquake, MCDEM declared a state of emergency within Christchurch and activated welfare centres within the region to address the needs of community residents. Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, the resident iwi (Māori tribe) in Christchurch, holds cultural guardianship responsibility for the Canterbury region, and the local Māori response to the 2010 earthquake was enacted accordingly. Deep community ties were harnessed to facilitate support for the community at large as the tribal leader at the time of the earthquake stated:

> "We take seriously, our responsibility to serve and support not only our own tribal members, but also the wider community within which we live" [48].

Tribal governance subsequently collaborated with local Māori stakeholders, Māori organisations and other iwi to operationalise a national Māori earthquake recovery network to support the people of Christchurch [4]. The network's actions were shaped by the cultural value: *aroha nui ki te tangata*- extend love to all people [35]. Disaster recovery work was also organised at the community level with many hapū and marae, both local and those situated outside Canterbury

reaching out to provide resources and sharing messages though social media about where to access accommodation, and other forms of assistance.

A further large magnitude (6.3 M) earthquake that was centred under urban Christchurch occurred on February 22nd, 2011 at 12.51 p.m. The earthquake caused catastrophic damage and resulted in the loss of 185 lives, making it the second deadliest natural disaster of any kind in New Zealand. Approximately 800 buildings in the city centre were destroyed and more than 6000 'red zoned' properties declared uneconomically viable for repair [6]. There were also significant disruptions to vital services following both earthquakes including sanitation, utilities and water supply as well as health and social support services. A meeting was held on February 23rd, 2011 at Rēhua Marae with key Māori stakeholders representing Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, the Christchurch Urban Māori Authority, Te Puni Kokiri- The Ministry of Māori Development, the Southern Māori electorate, the Police and the Ōtautahi Māori Wardens Association [8]. Tā Mark Solomon was designated as the media spokesman for the Māori disaster response and Ngāi Tahu subsequently mediated "communication and collaborative decision making with Government ministries, local authorities, NGOs and other Māori tribes" ([22], p. 756). Assistance from other iwi was organised in the form of financial support, material donations and personnel to help affected families in Christchurch.

On November 14th, 2016 at 12.02 am a 7.8 magnitude earthquake struck in North Canterbury causing widespread damage. The coastal town of Kāikoura, a popular tourist destination, was cut off from access by land due to road damage. There was significant damage to some buildings, as well as water, sewerage, phone and power infrastructure. In addition, approximately 1000 tourists were stranded in the days following the earthquake. The local marae 'Takahanga', opened up to receive and register between 500 and 1000 individuals with reportedly several hundred tourists sleeping at the marae [28]. Over the next six days, the marae served up 10,000 meals and assembled 1700 care packages for distribution to victims of the earthquake, thus supporting tourists and locals alike [53]. The marae received resource support from other Māori stakeholders. As an exemplar, 1000 crayfish were donated to the marae by Ngāi Tahu fisheries whose local refrigeration unit lost power following the November 2017 earthquake [17]. Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu also organised three teams of volunteers to assist in the earthquake response. Logistics was managed by a team at Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu Head office, a second team provided support on the ground in Kaikōura and the third team was based in Cheviot to organise transport for evacuees as well as deliver food and other supplies for distribution in Kaikōura. On the 20th of November 2016, Takahanga Marae served its last meal but marae members stated that they remain committed to helping people in need of assistance [53].

The 2010, 2011 and 2016 earthquakes represent focusing periods for the media during which a significant volume of media texts concerning the earthquakes was produced. The Māori disaster response initiatives had a central role within the disaster management framework, a proven history of success in organising disaster response and garnered praise from local communities. Despite the effectiveness evidenced by the Māori response to managing disaster risks and impacts in both contexts media coverage of Māori activities was limited and/or inconsistent. The manner in which Māori initiatives were framed by mainstream and media sources was also not always an accurate representation of the ways in which Māori responses were developed, implemented or more broadly how local disaster response situations unfolded.

3. Research focus and design

This qualitative research project has been developed to address gaps within the disaster research literature pertaining to media representations of Māori disaster management capabilities. The project has been designed and implemented by Māori researchers in accordance with

Māori research and ethical principles [5,47]. Data that documented Māori disaster management responses to the 2010, 2011 and 2016 earthquakes were identified through conducting a content analysis of relevant online news articles, radio interviews and television news videos. Data analysis has investigated the ways in which the media have framed Māori responses within carefully crafted narratives about earthquake recovery in the Canterbury region.

3.1. Media constructions of disaster

There is a significant body of literature concerning the crucial role that the media plays, both in the dissemination of information in a crisis and through their responsibility in shaping the way a community responds and experiences a disaster [39,41]. In addition to shaping behaviour, previous work has explored the potential that media-framed portrayals have to construct, reinforce and reflect societal attitudes ([12,13,15]; McKinnon, Gorman-Mundy, Dominey-Howes, 2017). This process of framing by the media often draws on particular aspects of a perceived social reality to create a striking and appealing narrative for media consumers. Through framing, the media becomes a persuasive force, able to influence not only public attitudes but additionally, "the interpretations and… decision-making strategies of citizens" ([45], p. 239). Accordingly, public narratives, reinforced stereotypes and even policy making decisions may be influenced by aspects such as choice of language, story angle, accompanying imagery and sometimes media silence.

Due to the highly emotive and time-pressured nature of disaster reporting the formation of large-scale public narratives become crucial for an audience to make meaning of an event. This is underscored by inadvertent or deliberate choices on what narratives are included and what narratives are silenced [30]. A consequence of this is that complex and seemingly "new" narratives such as the Māori public identity and their role within the Christchurch disaster response context have often been either simplified or ignored in the face of larger public narratives that follow more traditional meta-narratives favouring hierarchies and individual leadership.

3.2. Minorities in the media

Issues of selective representation, omission and silencing of minority narratives in a disaster have been explored in multiple global contexts. For the purposes of this research, a comparative exploration of two key case studies has been conducted. Sommers et al. [49] conducted a seminal study that investigated constructions of race through the exploration of the North American media's focus on African-Americans following Hurricane Katrina. In contrast, McKinnon et al. (2006) examined how sexual orientation and gender shaped media narratives about the LGBTI communities' experiences following flooding disasters in Brisbane during 2011 and the 2010–2011 earthquakes in Christchurch, New Zealand. The study by Sommers et al. [49], focused on the "accessible constructs" of the Black New Orleans community through negatively associated language and a story angle focused on violent crime ([49], p. 4–7). While there are few sources that analyse the portrayal of Māori in the media following a disaster, there are several decades worth of research on the similar role mass media has played in the reproduction of racism and marginalisation of Māori [16,29,32,42]. Although there are links between these examples of media representation of minorities in disasters (primarily, silencing, othering and negative stereotyping), comparisons between diverse communities best serve as a theoretical base for a topic that has been largely invisible in disaster research, the portrayal of Māori disaster management and response in disasters.

The information and interpretation, stories and "meanings" created by the media have power implications as they have the authority to identify and promote the story angle and archetypes within the disaster response [3]. Similar to the portrayal of African Americans by the

media as discussed in Sommers et al. [49], Pihama [38] and Wall [54] argue that Māori are often negatively stereotyped in the media and associated with violence and crime. This is particularly relevant in the context of media reporting on disasters and the racial associations in the reproduction of "panic myths" such as African Americans depicted as "looting" and white Americans labelled as "finding supplies" (Tierney et al., 2006, p. 63) or unsubstantiated media reports about a predominantly Māori gang stealing from children at an earthquake welfare centre [10]. The prevalence of negative stereotyping is not only problematic for framing narratives about Māori values, identities and leadership, there are potential ramifications for the inclusion of Māori within key policy decision-making.

McKinnon et al. (2006), argue that if we accept media reporting is an influential tool in decision-making and policy discussion during disasters [20], and, that the voice of mainstream media is inherently heteronormative and cisnormative, then we must conclude that media play "little to no role in encouraging policy developers to consider LGBTI issues in emergency management and disaster risk reduction policy" ([30], p. 139) and do little to improve knowledge of LGBTI vulnerabilities in disasters. Unlike LGBTI groups in New Zealand however, the Crown has a statutory obligation to engage with Māori as partners. Despite the statutory obligation acknowledge, the depiction of Māori as partners with the Crown is not often reflected in media narratives and in fact, a lack of representation may undermine this position. Gregory et al. [16] argue that Māori are a historically under-represented group in New Zealand mainstream media who are "not allocated their share of the "voice", given their status as Indigenous people who have been unjustly treated in the colonization of Aotearoa" ([16], p. 53). Further research [2,9] supports the view of Gregory et al. [16], and showcases that New Zealand mass media does little to rectify public marginalisation of Māori perspectives. Moreover, through reproducing a predominantly negative discourse on Māori statutory rights to equal partnership with the Crown [27,33], the media perpetually undermines Māori aspirations for equitable participation in New Zealand society. Thus, the heteronormative and cisnormative media focus during disaster reporting is unlikely to support or promote a greater understanding of Māori disaster response perspectives, nor encourage policy developers to be more inclusive of Māori in the disaster management policy decision making process. In summary, the narratives and framing constructed by the media through selective representation, negative stereotyping and silencing of Māori within a disaster response context, may have consequences for public perception as well as policy decisions.

An analysis of the overarching themes and narratives constructed by the media may help us articulate a better understanding of both mainstream and Māori perceptions of Māori disaster responses as well as elucidate some of the consequences of the portrayals put forward. Thus, the overarching question guiding this research is: 'How have Māori disaster management capabilities and practices that were drawn on in response to the Canterbury and Kaikōura earthquakes been framed by the media?

3.3. Data collection

For the purposes of this research, "media texts" included newspaper and online news articles, television and video news stories and radio news items for analysis. One area of focus in disaster media analysis has been a comparison between television and newspaper reporting of a natural hazard event. while taking into consideration, that television reporting is often frequent, fast-paced and reliant on visuals whereas newspaper stories are typically longer, more detailed and processed more slowly [50]. The move away from traditional news sources such as newspaper and television to online news sources has blurred the line between this historical distinction. Online news stories are often a hybrid text form providing newspaper-style long and detailed text-based stories that incorporate multi-media elements such as video and audio

L.H. Carter, C.M. Kenney

clips.

The term 'Canterbury Earthquakes' was applied in an exploratory search conducted using Google's 'News' function. The search yielded N = 117,000 results and a following search using the term "Kaikōura earthquake" yielded 92,500 results. Search parameters were narrowed to the joint terms "Canterbury earthquake Ngāi Tahu" and "Kaikōura earthquake Ngāi Tahu", which yielded respectively 1320 and 917 results as well as the term "Takahanga Marae earthquake", which resulted in 264 matches. Matches were examined to ascertain overall relevance to the key research themes: Māori disaster management and earthquake recovery responses. The majority of media reports were deemed irrelevant as source material, so a further search was conducted of mainstream and Māori online news outlet websites (e.g. Stuff NZ, The New Zealand Herald) to identify stories that had been missed during the initial key word search. News feeds including: newshub.co.nz, tvnz.co.nz, radionz.co.nz, Māori television.com and waateanews.com were also searched while youtube.com was scanned for video news stories that had been archived. This search yielded an additional 12 videos. Seventy-six articles were analysed and each text was categorised in terms of text medium, date, news source, author, tone and relevance.

3.4. Data analysis

Media reports were initially analysed using an iterative open-coding process ([11]: 182). Primary codes identified during this process included references to Māori and Māori organisations, response terms, and connotative language. Texts were subsequently coded thematically to develop core categories and then Axial coded ([44]: 213) to both reduce the number of, and refine thematic codes in order to ensure 'best (analytical) fit" ([14]: 62). Further to block coding the media texts for particular themes, (e.g. disaster response action, response values), additional codes were developed that incorporated similar traits (or subcategories) from which, final thematic codes were created. The final thematic codes for the analysis were "voices", "identity", "values", "response action", and "tensions".

4. Findings

Media reports about the Māori earthquake recovery response constitute a small subset of the articles and news bulletins that have commented on disaster management following the 2010, 2011 and 2016 earthquakes in Canterbury, New Zealand. As a consequence, Māori disaster management capabilities have been positioned in the margins of the various public narratives on Earthquake recovery that have been fostered and disseminated by the media. However, the number of media texts that address Māori responses to natural hazard disasters have more than doubled between the 2010, 2011 and the 2016 earthquakes. There were n = 4 media texts which addressed the Māori disaster response in relation to the 2010 Canterbury earthquake, n = 20 media texts addressing the 2011 earthquake and n = 53 media texts addressing Māori disaster response in relation to the 2016 Kaikōura earthquake. (Tables 1, 2)

The increase in media reports of Māori disaster response capabilities and actions has suggested an increased level of interest within the media's target audience, the general public. However, mainstream and

Table 1
Media Texts Collected.

	2010 earthquake (n)	2011 earthquake (n)	2016 earthquake (n)	Total (n)
Articles	3	12	38	53
Video	1	8	11	20
Audio	0	0	3	3
Total	4	20	52	76

Table 2
Comparison of Mainstream and Māori Media Texts.

	2010 earthquake (n)	2011 earthquake (n)	2016 earthquake (n)	Total (n)
Mainstream media texts				
Articles	3	6	29	38
Video	0	0	3	3
Audio	0	0	3	3
Total	3	6	35	44
Māori media texts				
Articles	0	6	9	15
Video	1	8	8	17
Audio	0	0	0	0
Total	1	14	17	32

Māori media have differed in terms of the number and quality of reports they have circulated. Mainstream media produced more texts in total (n = 44 and n = 32 respectively), as well as more than twice the number of articles that addressed 'Māori disaster responses' than Māori media (n = 44 and n = 15 respectively). In contrast Māori media sources produced a greater number of televised commentaries than mainstream media (N = 17). Differences in the ways in which Māori activity has been represented within the media, may be partly explained by the influence of Māori cultural approaches to communication that privilege kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face engagement). In this regard, *Māori Television* (a Māori media provider), and *Marae Investigates* and *Marae TV* (Māori media programmes hosted on Mainstream television provider TVNZ) have acted as significant information sources on Māori matters through disseminating messages as televised news. The output of mainstream media presents the strongest increase in media texts addressing Māori disaster response over time with almost five times the amount of news media covering the 2016 earthquake compared to the 2011 earthquake. Alternatively, Māori media text output addressing Māori disaster only slightly increased (from n = 14 to n = 17) between the 2011 and 2016 earthquake coverage.

5. Discussion

As the above analysis has articulated, coverage of Māori responses to major natural hazard events appear to have increased between the 2010 and 2016 sequences of earthquakes. Yet, given the paucity of media reports as a percentage of the overall corpus of media reports on responses to the Canterbury earthquakes, there is still a relative media silence in regards to Māori disaster responses. A further concern, is the ways in which Māori disaster responses have been framed in both mainstream and Māori media texts.

5.1. "It's Just What We Do"- Public Recognition and Legitimatisation of Māori Kaupapa Values and Response Capabilities

The manner in which Māori disaster responses have been guided by collective kaupapa (values) and the implicit nature of cultural attributes such as kaitiakitanga and manaakitanga, are respectively enacted and embodied by the Māori communities as a form of habitus. Māori cultural capital is central to the success of Māori disaster responses following the earthquakes, but not limited to purely the Māori world. Kaupapa principles such as widely promoted "kia kaha Canterbury" are valued throughout the broader community of New Zealand as exemplifying what is locally understood as "the kiwi spirit" that is invariably enacted in times of disaster. In such instances Māori cultural capital may be reconstructed as a form of trans-cultural capital

This community-minded Māori worldview extends beyond the acute and individual situations following disasters. Embedded within this view is the kaupapa of *kaitiakitanga*-guardianship and responsibility to the people and land of Canterbury or *arohanui ki te tangata*- love to all

people. Concepts such as kaitiakitanga constitute collective action and practice. In a Māori worldview, kaitiakitanga is not just the concept of holding stewardship, in a disaster it is practised through the mobilization of resources, opening of marae, hosting and feeding the displaced and other direct responses to adversity. As Tā (Sir) Mark Solomon discussed in an interview immediately following the 2011 earthquake:

> "everything we do is based on "the" community, it's all of us. Of course we've got special concern for our families but we're part of this community. This disaster has hit everyone, and our response is for the people of the community of Christchurch." [35].

The kaupapa and practice of *manaakitanga*-hospitality is directly linked to the kaitiakitanga enacted by Māori communities in their respective tribal lands. As Robyn Wallace, CEO of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu's He Oranga Pounamu stated in an interview with Radio New Zealand, "it's not just about our own, we will offer help to others as well as we can. Obviously our own are our focus for us and I mean, that's what we're there for, we're all a big family so we're looking after our family. It's what we do, it's what we do well, manaaki," [43]. The feeding and sheltering of the thousands of people stranded in Kaikōura following the 2016 earthquake was not presented as a particularly novel activity for the marae. As marae responder Major Timbs stated "We've done a hell of a job, because that's who we are, that's our way… We're here to help, we'll help anybody" [53].

Particularly within mainstream media texts, the manaakitanga of the marae and marae volunteers were embedded within a "local community response framing". The emphasis on a value-driven response presented in mainstream media texts was more focused on the activities of individual actors in the response who were perpetuating these values rather than the actions of collectives such as Takahanga marae. Human interest pieces focused on local community members "chipping in" to the response work. For example, in the Stuff story "Red-stickered Kaikoura man working mammoth shifts at Takahanga marae", local community member Dave Burt stated "The community's very close here, they all kind of work together … Everybody's in bad shape and everybody needs help, no matter what state you're in, so we need to help each other" (Truebridge, 2016). The focus of the article however, was about Mr Burt's house being red-stickered and his individual generous spirit, working long hours to feed the community despite his own hardship.

A testament to the process of meaning-making by the mainstream media was the process through which *kia kaha*-be strong was transformed from a Māori kaupapa into the primary value characterising the community recovery in the media following the 2010 and 2011 Canterbury earthquakes. In a mainstream media opinion piece published in *The Press* on September 15th, 2010, Tā (Sir) Mark Solomon signed off with the statement:

> "We have shown this week that we are one community, and this adversity will make us stronger. Kia kaha Canterbury; let us remain strong". Solomon [48].

Kia kaha Canterbury/Christchurch became the explicit rallying call for resilience within the community, as well as being proliferated through street art, t-shirts and music. The widespread mainstream appeal of concepts such as *kia kaha* [31], over and above concepts such as manaakitanga and "arohanui ki te tangata" is reflective of overarching media narratives. By using a generalized rallying call of kia kaha [24] the media is able to couch stories of community resilience within traditional highly individualized narratives of "kiwis coming through" in difficult circumstances to help their communities:

The manner in which Māori values were presented and appropriated in mainstream and Māori media helps elucidate the narratives that are important and valued by a New Zealand audience. However, there has been a consistent common thread between the depiction of Māori values guiding disaster response. In the coverage of the 2010, 2011 and the 2016 earthquakes, values of community and responsibility have

been a primary force for both Māori and mainstream recovery efforts. Despite the increased proliferation of Māori kaupapa in the framing of the earthquake disaster responses, Māori values are still often couched by the media within westernised and individualistic narratives.

5.2. "We are Ngāi Tahu"- Constructed identities within the media

While Ngāi Tahu were recognised as a legitimate and central player within the disaster response, the media's discursive construction of the "Ngāi Tahu" identity in media texts appeared vague. The Ngāi Tahu collective identity is a complex ensemble of human and non-human elements, including individuals, communities, hapū, marae and land. Similar to the difficulties mainstream media had in capturing Māori disaster response kaupapa in an authentic manner, the focus on individual leaders or a broad "community" in disaster reporting is counter-intuitive to the collective nature of Māori identity.

Through the coverage of the three earthquakes, a new media-specific identity of Ngāi Tahu was constructed as a unified and autonomous disaster response modelled on existing mainstream disaster response organisations such as the New Zealand Red Cross and MCDEM. Language used by both mainstream and Māori media reinforced representations of an autonomous entity working in collaboration with other disaster response organisations. In one of the first video interviews with Mark Solomon after the 2010 earthquakes, Ngāi Tahu is described as "immediately" reacting to the earthquake [19] and "already active in their work for Canterbury earthquake victims by spearheading the Māori Recovery Network" [51]. Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu is described as having "teamed up with the Civil Defence service to provide emergency relief." [25]. Additionally, "we've just finished a briefing session with Civil Defence… They have helicopters and we have some too" [36].

In comparison to Ngāi Tahu, marae and their position as autonomous actors within the disaster response were rarely mentioned. The authority for marae to open and provide welfare assistance was assigned to either non-Māori disaster organisations, "Civil Defence have agreed for Tuahiwi Marae, which is 100 years old, to be opened" [19] or through the authority of the Ngāi Tahu disaster response "One of those [Ngāi Tahu] projects includes opening the doors to Takahanga Marae in Kaikōura and providing satellite phones to provide a means of communication". Mane [25] Following the 2010 and 2011 earthquakes, articles providing information for individuals needing assistance positioned marae primarily as physical accommodation that was open for shelter [1,7].

As well as the positioning of marae as subordinate to the dictates of Civil Defence and reliant on iwi, marae were positioned within media talk as more passive than iwi "it's been three days since the quake and none of the iwi marae are open for business" [19]. Māori media sources in particular made this distinction, situating individual marae purely as shelter providers for displaced individuals. The media's failure to recognise the active, coordinating role undertaken by marae within the wider response to the Canterbury earthquakes response is concerning [19]. Media conceptualisations of marae as solely accommodation spaces may be highly problematic as they minimise the role of marae as sources of psychosocial, emotional and spiritual support during disasters [22]. This perspective is evidenced in the comments of evacuees hosted at Takahanga Marae in the aftermath of the Kaikōura earthquake [46].

A report presented to the 2012 Global Risk Forum, on the effectiveness of the Māori response to the February 22, 2011 earthquake in Canterbury constituted the first acknowledgement of marae as valuable and multifaceted resources in a disaster [21]. However, recognition by mainstream and Māori media recognition in New Zealand of the work done by marae in the aftermath of the Canterbury earthquakes did not occur until after a later report was published by the local Canterbury District Health Board in 2013. Although the report detailed the leadership role undertaken by marae in building community resilience

following the disaster [4], this information did not gain significant traction within the media. That said, local media reports, are representative of institutional recognition in regards to the role of marae in disasters as autonomous actors rather than as solely physical shelters or extensions of iwi(tribal) practices. Media interest in Māori approaches to disaster risk reduction changed significantly immediately after the 2016 Kaikōura earthquake due to Takahanga Marae's conspicuous role in the Kaikōura disaster management process.

While news coverage of Takahanga Marae was unanimously positive in both mainstream and Māori media, there were several instances in which the language applied in describing Takahanga's response in media reports undermined the Marae's agency and authority in the recovery space. As an exemplar, media recognition was presented with caution, evidenced in a Radio New Zealand interview with Robyn Wallace who directed the Ngāi Tahu response to the Kaikoura earthquakes. The interviewer questioned "is there a danger perhaps … that marae might be relied on a bit too much you know, to step in and displace other dedicated service providers?" [43]. This concern aligns with the way in which Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu was positioned in the media, as "teaming up" with Civil Defence [25] in order to enact repose activities. In both instances the language chosen by the media to discuss the legitimacy of marae as disaster responders infers that marae are rightly situated outside of the "normal" collective of actors who are socially authorised to conduct disaster risk and recovery management work.

5.3. Who has the voice? –Leadership and collective responsibility in Māori disaster recovery

A final major theme that emerged in the analysis was the presentation of leadership within the Māori disaster recovery by the media. Throughout the media coverage for the earthquakes, a tension existed between Māori values of collective responsibility and identity and the Eurocentric conceptualisation and privileging of leaders as individuals.

The description and identification of "leadership" and parameters of power within the non-Māori disaster response efforts was often straightforward. Following the 2010 and 2011 earthquakes, the leaders of significance were the right honourable John Key, Prime Minister of New Zealand, Bob Parker, the Mayor of Christchurch at the time and John Hamilton, the Director of Civil Defence and Emergency Management. The position of these individuals as leaders in the disaster response was heightened when a national state of emergency was declared by Prime Minister (now Sir) John Key. Under a state of emergency, governance authority pertaining to managing a disaster is handed over to a national controller and a range of new options as well as powers become available and are enacted under the Civil Defence Act (2002).

In contrast, within the local Māori community following the 2010 earthquake there was no mandate over who should represent Māoridom as spokesmen for the disaster recovery. After the 22 February 2011 earthquake and the formation of the nationalised Māori Response Network, Tā (Sir) Mark Solomon, as the Kaiwhakahaere (chairman) of Ngāi Tahu was delegated a leadership role (as well as other local Māori leaders such as Norman Dewes from Te Rūnanga o Ngā Maata Waka). Responsibilities included overseeing the collectivised Ngāi Tahu and Māori response, liaising with other government and non-government organisations as well as representing the Māori earthquake recovery response to both Māori and mainstream media. However, this liaison and representation position was not an autonomous role. Public leadership of the Māori Earthquake Response Network constituted both an obligation and responsibility subject to ongoing negotiation with the wider Māori community as Tā Mark stated to the media: "…I have gone to the community to ask for their agreement (permission)…."

Despite the Māori collective process being the sole avenue for determining leadership of the Māori Recovery Network, mainstream media persisted in disseminating a narrative of individual heroes taking

the reins after the earthquakes, in which Tā Mark Solomon was positioned as the singular voice of Māori. However, the political work done by media narratives of successful individualism in response to adversity was disrupted by simultaneous press releases and other media reports which highlighted collective Māori agency and actions in response to the Canterbury and Kaikōura of earthquakes. In an opinion piece published in *The Press* on September 15th, 2010 for example, Solomon provided extensive details on not only what was being organised by Ngāi Tahu to help local Cantabrians but what assistance had been provided by other iwi and Māori from further afield. He stated:

> "Indeed, from all over the world - from our own Papatipu Rūnanga (sub tribes) throughout the South Island who have offered support, to Ngāpuhi in the far North and Ngāti Awa near Whakatane, who have offered to send craftsmen to fix our marae" [48].

In terms of collective responsibility at the national and international levels, the Māori disaster response was coordinated with the Iwi (tribal) Leaders' Forum following the earthquakes. The autonomy of each individual iwi in organising their resources to assist Christchurch was integrated in a unified Māori disaster response while the prevailing value of "there is no you, there is no me there is only us" supported a rapid logistical response. Extensive material and economic resources were distributed and disaster response workforce deployed into Canterbury within 48 h of the February 22nd, 2011 earthquake [26,52]. Marae also activated in other parts of the country to receive evacuees [40].

The collaborative organisation and enactment of leadership in the Māori disaster response was at odds with mainstream models of disaster response in which decision-making capabilities are usually allotted to a single controller overseeing a response (Director's Guidelines for the CDEM Sector, 2012: 4). In the event of a disaster, long standing relationships may be upheaved and gaining access to a new point of contact in the event of a disaster may be difficult. Self-reporting from Ngāi Tahu kaumātua (elders) described Civil Defence as a "hard to reach" organisation and highlighting issues around systemic cultural insensitivity through a failure to recognise tribal authority and an underrepresentation of Māori within Civil Defence (Phibbs, Kenney & Solomon, 2015). Following the 2016 Kaikōura earthquake, Māori Development Minister Te Ururoa Flavell explicitly pointed to a breakdown in communication between agencies and marae. This purportedly left Takahanga marae struggling to identify key contacts and to secure enough supplies to support the 10,000 meals that were served [37].

The combination of identified issues within media reporting, particularly the privileging of white, heteronormative and individualistic leadership narratives, have reinforced the lack of Māori representation in disaster management. Broader structural issues of marginalisation including barriers to Māori engagement with the formal emergency management infrastructure, have also been ignored by the media. These glaring gaps in disaster risk, response and recovery reporting by the media suggest that there are lessons to be learnt in mainstream about equitable and responsive communication in disaster contexts, as prioritised in the 2015 Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction.

6. Conclusion

In this article the question 'How have Māori disaster management capabilities and practices that were drawn on in response to the Canterbury and Kaikōura earthquakes been framed by the media?', is addressed. Comprehensive analysis of media commentary confirms that although there is an increase in representation of Māori response capabilities in the media, and many of these stories present positive depictions of the Māori disaster response, heteronormative and Pākeha (non-Māori) perspectives continue to both dominate the media as well as obscure or obfuscate key values and identities within the Māori world. As a consequence, dissatisfaction amongst Māori over public representation and legitimisation of Māori response capabilities has

created ongoing tensions within the disaster response sector that require resolution.

A comparative analysis of media representations and coverage of the Māori disaster response emphasizes the inter-sectorial challenges between the Māori disaster response, mainstream media and government-based disaster management groups during the aftermath of both events. Similar to the findings discussed in McKinnon et al. (2006), who found that, although the media reported the experiences of the LGBTQI community, the media plays little or no role in encouraging policy developers to consider LGQBTI issues. This finding suggests that increased representation of Māori response capabilities in media reports does not necessarily translate to an increase in attention or presence in policy making decisions.

In an article published recently on the Kaikōura earthquake in Ngāi Tahu's quarterly magazine, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu Earthquake Response and Recovery Director Robyn Wallace states that one year on, "we are still trying to strengthen partnerships and engagement". In addition, contrary to the period following the Christchurch earthquakes during which time Ngai Tahu entered a statutory partnership with the Crown as stipulated in the 2011 Canterbury Earthquakes Recovery Act, in order to progress earthquake recovery, following the Kaikōura earthquake, the Iwi was excluded from the recovery governance structure set out in the Hurunui/Kaikōura Earthquakes Recovery Act 2016. Wallace [34] asserts that as a consequence of this marginalisation, "Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu has had to draw on its relationships, expertise, and experiences as the Iwi authority in order to engage" with key stakeholders in the Kaikōura recovery process. The lack of formal engagement with the Iwi as a partner in the earthquake recovery process suggests that further strategic development is required to ensure appropriate recognition of iwi as statutory partners within the disaster management infrastructure and policy making processes.

The 2015 Sendai Framework for disaster risk reduction 2015–2030, to which New Zealand is a signatory, explicitly articulates the need for a broader, more people-centric approach to disaster risk reduction. Global signatories accept that disaster management must be multi-disciplinary, inclusive and accessible through collaboration across public and private sectors including the media. Additionally, under the Framework, governments are required to actively empower local authorities to work and coordinate with Indigenous peoples in disaster risk management. Lessons learned from this research on prioritising inter-sectorial culturally-responsive communication and ensuing policy implications may have global relevance, particularly for other nations with Indigenous residents, and/or value- based cultures, policies and practices within the sector.

References

[1] An Update from Rāhui Katene, MP for Te Tai Tonga, 25 February 2011. Scoop.co.nz. Retrieved from: ⟨http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/PA1102/S00387/an-update-from-rahui-katene-mp-for-te-tai-tonga.htm⟩.

[2] K. Barclay, J. Liu, Who gets voice? (Re)presentation of bicultural relations in new Zealand print media, N. Z. J. Psychol. 32 (2003) 3–12.

[3] L.E. Barsky, J.E. Trainor, M.R. Torres, B.E. Aguirre, Managing volunteers: FEMA's Urban Search and Rescue programme and interactions with unaffiliated responders in disaster response, Disasters 31 (4) (2007) 495.

[4] Big Ups for Canterbury Marae, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2013. Retrieved from ⟨http://ngaitahu.iwi.nz/our_stories/big-ups-canterbury-marae/⟩.

[5] R. Bishop, Whakawhanaungatanga Collaborative Research Stories, Dunmore Press Ltd, Palmerston North, 1996.

[6] Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority, Recovery Strategy for Greater Christchurch Mahere Haumanutanga o Waitaha. Christchurch: Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority, 2012. Retrieved from ⟨http://cera.govt.nz/sites/default/files/common/recovery-strategy-for-greater-christchurch.pdf⟩.

[7] Christchurch Earthquake, Day 3 Updates, 6 September 2010. The New Zealand Herald. Retrieved from: ⟨http://m.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?C_id = 1& objectid = 10671408⟩.

[8] Christchurch Quake Special: Marae Investigates, 2011. Marae TV, TVNZ. Retrieved from ⟨https://www.youtube.com/watch?v = HiH2FyKPDcU⟩.

[9] G.M. Colvin, The Soliloquy of Whiteness: Colonial Discourse and New Zealand's Settler Press, 2010, pp. 1839–1873.

[10] M. Dickison Earthquake shelters tell of gangs, theft- and great helpers, 13

[11] R.M. Emerson, R.I. Fretz, L.L. Shaw, Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes, University of Chicago Press, 2011.

[12] R.M. Entman, A. Rojecki, The Black Image in the White Mind: Media and Race in America, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, IL, 2001, pp. 28–29.

[13] O.H. Gandy Jr, Racial identity, media use, and the social construction of risk among African Americans, J. Black Stud. 31 (5) (2001) 600–618.

[14] B. Glaser, Theoretical Sensitivity, Sociology Press, Mill Valley, CA, 1978.

[15] M. Gilens, Race and poverty in America: public misperceptions and the and the American news media, Public Opin. Q. 60 (1996) 515–541.

[16] A. Gregory, B. Borell, T. McCreanor, A.M. Barnes, R. Nairn, J. Rankine, H. Kaiwai, Reading news about Māori: responses from non-Māori media audiences, Altern.: Int. J. Indig. Peoples 7 (1) (2011) 51–64.

[17] S. Harris, 20 November 2016. Takahanga Marae serves last dinner after Kaikoura quake as Red Cross set up centre. The New Zealand Herald. Accessed from: ⟨http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?C_id = 1&objectid = 11751819⟩.

[18] J. Hudson, E. Hughes, The role of marae and Maori communities in post-disaster recovery: a case study. GNS Science Report 2007/15, 2007.

[19] J. Ihaka, 10 March 2011. Quakes- what happens when Iwi experience the wrath of Ruamoko. Marae TV, TVNZ, Retrieved from: ⟨https://www.youtube.com/watch?V = Z6R2Cj3M3QY⟩, 2011.

[20] D.M. Kelly, The public policy pedagogy of corporate and alternative news media, Stud. Philos. Educ. 30 (2) (2011) 185–198.

[21] C. Kenney, D. Paton, D. Johnston, J. Reid, S. Phibbs, Addressing Risk and Resilience: An analysis of Māori communities and cultural technologies in response to the Christchurch earthquakes. IDRC Davos 2012 Integrated Risk Management in a Changing World – Pathways to a Resilient Society Compendium, 2015, pp. 373–376.

[22] C. Kenney, S. Phibbs, Shakes, rattles and roll outs: the untold story of Māori engagement with community recovery, social resilience and urban sustainability in Christchurch, New Zealand, Procedia Econ. Financ. 18 (2014) 754–762.

[23] D.N. King, J. Goff, A. Skipper, Māori environmental knowledge and natural hazards in Aotearoa-New Zealand, J. R. Soc. N. Z. 37 (2) (2007) 59–73.

[24] Kiwis Come Through: Kindness in the Wake of the Earthquake, 21 November 2016. Stuff.co.nz. Retrieved from: ⟨http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/86696955/kiwis-come-through-kindness-in-the-wake-of-the-earthquake⟩.

[25] A. Mane, 15 November 2016. Ngai Tahu work with Civil Defence to provide relief Māori Television, TVNZ. Retrieved from: ⟨http://www.maoritelevision.com/news/regional/ngai-tahu-work-civil-defence-provide-relief⟩.

[26] Maori Wardens Recognised for Quake Effort, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2011. Retrieved from ⟨http://ngaitahu.iwi.nz/maori-wardens-recognised-for-quake-effort/⟩.

[27] D. Matheson, The interpretative resources of Aotearoa New Zealand journalists reporting on Maori, N. Z. J. Media Stud. 10 (2) (2007) 91–105.

[28] I. McGregor, November 14 2016. Earthquake: Isolated South Island towns damaged, cut off Stuff.co.nz. Retrieved from: ⟨http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/86421716/75-quake-isolated-south-island-towns-damaged-cut-off⟩.

[29] J. McGregor, M. Comrie, Balance and Fairness in Broadcasting News 1985–1994 Massey University, Palmerston North, 1995.

[30] S. McKinnon, A. Gorman-Murray, D. Dominey-Howes, Disasters, queer narratives, and the news: how are LGBTI disaster experiences reported by the mainstream and LGBTI media? J. Homosex. 64 (1) (2017) 122–144.

[31] Memorial Service: 'Kia kaha', says Prince William, March 18 2011. The New Zealand Herald. Retrieved from: ⟨http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?C_id = 1 &objectid = 10713363⟩.

[32] A. Moewaka Barnes, M. Gregory, T. McCreanor, R. Nairn, F. Pega, J. Rankine, Media and Te Tiriti o Waitangi, Kupu Taea, Auckland, 2005, p. 2004.

[33] R. Nairn, F. Pega, T. McCreanor, J. Rankine, A. Barnes, Media, racism and public health psychology, J. Health Psychol. 11 (2) (2006) 183–196.

[34] D. Nation, December 2017. One Year On Te Karaka. Retrieved from: ⟨http://ngaitahu.iwi.nz/our_stories/one-year-on-tk76/⟩.

[35] Ngāi Tahu Leader Mark Solomon in Christchurch After the 2011 Quake, 26 February 2011. Marae TV, TVNZ. Retrieved from: ⟨https://www.youtube.com/watch?V = 4vVmM99VUqg⟩, 2011.

[36] Ngai Tahu Redirects Resources to Help After Kaikoura Quake, 15 November 2016. Radio New Zealand. Retrieved from: ⟨http://www.radionz.co.nz/national/programmes/morningreport/audio/201823874/ngai-tahu-redirects-resources-to-help-after-kaikoura-quake⟩.

[37] Quake-shelter Marae Faced Communication Breakdown, 27 November 2016. Radio New Zealand. Retrieved from: ⟨http://www.radionz.co.nz/news/political/319019/quake-shelter-marae-faced-communication-breakdown-flavell⟩.

[38] L. Pihama, Repositioning Maori representation: Contextualising Once Were Warriors, Film. Aotearoa N. Z. (1996) 191–193.

[39] C. Piotrowski, T.R. Armstrong, Mass media preferences in disaster: a study of Hurricane Danny, Soc. Behav. Personal.: Int. J. 26 (4) (1998) 341–345.

[40] Pipitea Marae continues to host earthquake evacuees, 25 February 2011. Scoop.co.nz. Retrieved from: ⟨http://wellington.scoop.co.nz/?P = 32288⟩.

[41] P. Ploughman, The American print news media 'construction'of five natural disasters, Disasters 19 (4) (1995) 308–326.

[42] J. Rankine, R. Nairn, A. Moewaka Barnes, A. Gregory, H. Kaiwai, B. Borell, et al., Media & Te Tiriti Waitangi, Kupu Taea, Media and Te Tiriti Project, Auckland, 2008, p. 2007.

[43] Robyn Wallace- Marae to the Rescue, 20 November. Sunday Morning, Radio New Zealand. Retrieved from: ⟨http://www.radionz.co.nz/national/programmes/sunday/audio/201824562/robyn-wallace-marae-to-the-rescue⟩.

[44] Johnny Saldaña, The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers, Sage Publications

Inc, Thousand Oaks, CA, 2013.

[45] D.V. Shah, D. Domke, D.B. Wackman, The effects of value-framing on political judgment and reasoning. Framing Public Life: Perspectives on Media and our Understanding of the Social World, 2001, pp. 227–243.

[46] L. Sligo, 25 February. Marae opens its doors to earthquake victims*The Marlborough Express*. Retrieved from: ⟨http://www.stuff.co.nz/marlborough-express/news/4703754/Marae-opens-its-doors-to-earthquake-victims⟩.

[47] L. Smith, Decolonizing Methodologies Research and Indigenous Peoples, 2nd ed., University of Otago Press, Dunedin, 2001.

[48] M. Solomon, 14 September. Support floods in from near and far after disaster. *The Press*. Retrieved from: ⟨http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/opinion/perspective/4129606/Support-floods-in-from-near-and-far-after-disaster⟩.

[49] S.R. Sommers, E.P. Apfelbaum, K.N. Dukes, N. Toosi, E.J. Wang, Race and media coverage of Hurricane Katrina: analysis, implications, and future research

questions, Anal. Soc. Issues Public Policy 6 (1) (2006) 39–55.

[50] J. Stauffer, R. Frost, W. Rybolt, Recall and learning from broadcast news: is print better? J. Broadcast. Electron. Media 25 (3) (1981) 253–262.

[51] Super Haka Planned for Christchurch, 5 May *Yahoo! News*. Retrieved from: ⟨https://nz.sports.yahoo.com/rugby/a/9322742/super-haka-planned-for-christchurch/#page1⟩, 2011.

[52] Tainui, Hawaii Send Iwi Earthquake Reinforcements, 7 March *The Press*. Retrieved from: ⟨http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/christchurch-earthquake/4738550/Tainui-Hawaii-send-iwi-earthquake-reinforcements⟩.

[53] M. Towle, 21st November, We're here to help, we'll help anybody. *Radio New Zealand*. Accessed from: ⟨http://www.radionz.co.nz/news/national/318520/'we're-here-to-help,-we'll-help-anybody'⟩.

[54] M. Wall, Stereotypical constructions of the Maori 'race' in the media, N. Z. Geogr. 53 (2) (1997) 40–45.