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Comparing Coverage of Indigenous Affairs

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Targeting the Media: Comparing Print and Television News Coverage of Indigenous Affairs

by *Michael Meadows*
with *Cratis Hippocrates and Kitty van Vuuren*

Abstract

When it comes to reporting on Indigenous affairs, the media in Australia remain the primary source of information about such issues for most people. This is clear from recent audience research with the community radio station 4 AAA Murri Country in Brisbane (Meadows, van Vuuren and Wymarra, 1997) and is supported by numerous studies both here and overseas. But there is little research that examines how different media might report on these issues in different ways. We tend to assume that a study of one media form—print, radio or television—reflects patterns in all. We have acknowledged that different media, too, have different requirements (sound grabs, photographs, vision etc) and that this influences the shape of news as it is consumed by audiences.

Introduction

This analysis is drawn from an investigation of news coverage of Indigenous issues by *The Courier-Mail*, *The Cairns Post*, *ABC TV News* and *National Nine News* between 28 January and 3 February 1996. The case study examines news coverage of Indigenous protest meetings in Brisbane during that period. We also include here a broader sweep of all news stories that dealt with Indigenous affairs in that period. The study was part of one of the last research projects funded by the Queensland Anti-Discrimination Commission before federal government cutbacks led to its closure in December 1996. It seeks to investigate the reporting of 'the everyday' and compares newspaper and television news coverage of the same events.

Background

Previous studies of media representation have tended to focus on one medium or the other. There are few investigations which compare the different ways in which different media interpret the same event—what James Curran has described as a 'divergence of interpretative

Dr Michael Meadows is journalism convenor at Griffith University. Cratis Hippocrates is journalism convenor at Queensland University of Technology. Kitty van Vuuren was research assistant for this study and is completing her PhD on community broadcasting with the Australian Key Centre for Cultural and Media Policy at Griffith University. This project was funded by the Queensland Anti-Discrimination Commission

frameworks' (Curran 1990:123). Curran's study in the 1980s concluded that radio and television coverage of news events did not necessarily align with tabloid newspaper coverage, suggesting the need to pay more attention to media genre in analysis of the representation of events. He argued that the language used in broadcasting news reports—Channel Four News, Thames News London Weekend Television and local radio news—was much less adversarial than that adopted by the tabloids. What this suggests, he argues, is that proprietors ultimately influence the relative autonomy experienced by some journalists and that this may change from one period to the next. The influence on journalistic activity, then, is mediated through the structure of the various news organisations (Curran 1990).

But does this mean that ABC TV News, generally perceived as being more liberal in approach than commercial television, will do a better job than their commercial counterparts? How does newspaper coverage compare with both? These are questions we pursue in this study.

Research methodology

The approach we adopted for this element of the research project entailed applying discursive analysis to media coverage of the chosen case study—a series of Indigenous protest rallies in central Brisbane. Discursive analysis involves examining media text—news stories, pictures, headlines etc—*in context* to assess how issues are represented. This approach seeks to consider news stories as whole entities but at the same time, examine how they are constructed. It involves identifying a number of discursive elements which determine in which ways a story might be read or interpreted by audiences. It might reveal, for example, evidence that suggests that one interpretation of a story is more likely to be preferred than others. This struggle over the meaning of news is a central argument for using such a methodology.

Research methods such as content analysis—quantitative analysis—are limited in what they tell us about the 'meaning' of news. Counting stories, or the number of times certain events take place can reveal important trends, but coupled with a more qualitative approach—such as discursive analysis—can help to reveal the deeper structures and meanings which make up all news stories.

Teun van Dijk (1991), too, identifies the need to examine the semantic significance of the text or words of news stories. He identifies 'News Schema' like headlines, story introductions, key events, context, history or background, quoted passages, and comments (including letters to the editor and regular columnists) as elements of analysis. This approach includes *omissions* from stories that might be more revealing of news practices in some cases. Van Dijk's discursive method includes

an examination of the text that leads to questions such as why particular choices of language and descriptions are preferred over other possibilities. A combination of the two techniques of content and discursive approaches creates the climate for a more meaningful analysis of news stories. Discursive analysis, then, aims to discover general patterns enabling a researcher to identify broad characteristics. Media analyst Stuart Hall (1975:15) has defined the approach like this:

[Discursive analysis approaches] are more useful in penetrating the latent meanings of a text, and they preserve something of the complexity of language and connotation which has to be sacrificed in content analysis in order to achieve high validation.

Like Stuart Hall, others (including Christians and Carey 1981; Sepstrup 1981; Real 1989) suggest that both quantitative and qualitative research methods should rely on a 'long preliminary soak' in the selected material to either define categories (content analysis) or to enable selection of representative case studies to be more intensively analysed (discursive analysis). Both produce and employ evidence but a discursive approach is able to fulfil several key research functions as Stuart Hall outlines (1975:15):

- to identify detail in a text on which interpretation of meaning is based;
- to outline relevant supporting or contextual evidence;
- to take into account material which either disproves or modifies hypotheses which emerge; and
- to indicate why one reading of material or data is more appropriate than another.

So discursive analysis enables a careful identification and examination of a number of elements that construct news stories. Using a methodology adapted from van Dijk (1991) and Hall (1975), our approach here entailed examining the following elements:

- news schema—story position and size, headlines, story introductions or leads, main focus, use of background information, verbal reactions and comments, visuals;
- style and rhetoric—ideological implications of the choice of words and phrases; and
- socio-cultural context—ideas and assumptions inherent in news stories which influence the interpretation by readers or audiences.

Using this methodology, we selected a sample of news stories in *The Courier-Mail* and Brisbane television news bulletins produced by the ABC and Channel 9 over a seven-day period, 28 January-3 February 1996.

Key elements that make up the focus of this study are:

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- the number of stories used in the sample period;
- use of headlines;
- position and size of stories in newspapers or TV bulletins;
- story introductions (leads);
- story focus;
- use or omission of background information or context;
- verbal reactions (who is allowed to speak for whom?);
- use of visuals;
- implications of use of particular words, phrases; and
- ideas and assumptions included in news stories.

In this exercise, all stories chosen were assessed using these criteria.

Findings

Despite the findings and recommendations of several key inquiries into Indigenous people and the media since 1991, virtually all television news stories continue to ignore important contextual information regarding Indigenous affairs (Meadows with Oldham 1991).

<i>The Courier Mail</i> (13)	12
<i>ABC TV News</i> (9)	1
<i>National Nine News</i> (6)	0
TOTAL (28)	13

While this accusation may be levelled at television news coverage in general, it nevertheless underlines a consistent approach to a section of the Australian audience which remains the most disadvantaged—the context is almost always omitted. During the survey period, less than half of the total number of news stories run included some contextual explanation (Table 1.). And significantly, it was *The Courier-Mail* that stood out here. But more on that later.

Of the 28 news stories examined, just nine or about one-third quoted an Indigenous source directly (Table 2.). If we include indirect quotes, the ratio is still less than half. This unfortunate finding was mirrored in our longitudinal study of 20 years' coverage of Indigenous affairs in *The Courier-Mail* and *The Cairns Post*. It showed that on average,

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journalists with *The Courier-Mail* use Indigenous sources in about 30 percent of all stories about Indigenous affairs.

Table 2.
Stories which quoted Indigenous opinion leaders
28 January to 3 February 1996

	Directly	Indirectly
<i>The Courier Mail</i> (13)	6	3
<i>ABC TV News</i> (9)	2	0
<i>National Nine News</i> (6)	1	0
TOTAL (28)	9	3

Table 3.
TV News coverage of Indigenous affairs
28 January to 3 February 1996

Line-up		duration	issue	tenor
<i>ABC</i>				
28.1	9	1.45	land rights	positive
28.1	11	1.50	arts	positive
29.1	3	2.00	land rights	neutral
30.1	7	1.30	land rights	positive
31.1	6	2.00	racism	negative
1.2	9	2.00	racism	negative
1.2	10	1.00	discrimination	positive
3.2	5	1.30	identity	positive
3.2	14	0.20	sport	positive
<i>National Nine News</i>				
28.1	17	0.30	arts	positive
29.1	5	0.15	arts	neutral
31.1	7	1.45	racism	negative
31.1	17	0.30	sport	positive
1.2	2	1.30	racism	negative
3.2	13	0.15	sport	positive

For *The Cairns Post* the figure is slightly higher—40 per cent. But neither of these figures has changed in 20 years (Hippocrates, Meadows
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and van Vuuren 1996). When we turn to television news, the picture is much worse. Of the 15 news stories run by both the ABC and Channel Nine during the period in question, just three allowed an Indigenous person to speak about Indigenous issues

If we take a closer look at television news, some other interesting trends emerge (Table 3.). While the ABC tends to run longer stories than National Nine News in general, stories which have a negative edge, either involving conflict or the like, tend to be longer, and are placed higher up in the news bulletin. This trend is more obvious with the commercial news service and suggests the continuing dominance of conflict as a news value. It's also significant that the 'positive' stories about sport and the arts, for example, tend to be given far less time on air on Channel Nine than the ratings' chasing bad news stories. Again, we don't wish to make too much of this except to suggest that it supports existing notions of news values and how these determine priorities for producers or sub-editors

The Brisbane rallies

A coalition of Indigenous organisations in Queensland planned a three-day summit in Brisbane from Wednesday 31 January until Friday 2 February 1996. The summit, planned as a series of public rallies in King George Square in Brisbane, sought to place important issues back onto the public agenda in the lead-up to the Mundingburra by-election (held on Saturday 3 February) and the federal election, set for 2 March. The issues identified by summit organisers included continuing deaths in custody and the failure of the Native Title Act and state legislation to deliver land rights to the dispossessed. The summit agreed on a log of claims which was served on both state and federal governments calling for a state-based Indigenous land acquisition fund alongside an Aboriginal commission which could administer funds for the implementation of recommendations of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody. Following two days of meetings—and two protest marches—the summit participants decided to end their gathering one day early, explaining that the forum program had been completed ahead of schedule.

Media coverage

31 January

The first time viewers of *National Nine News* learned of the summit was in a news bulletin opener on 31 January which told its audience, 'Police showered with paint bombs in a city protest' over vision of uniformed police splattered with red paint. The accompanying news story was seventh in the line-up that night behind stories on the Mundingburra by-

election, the federal election campaign, and a murder in Brisbane. The reader's intro set the scene:

Aborigines have come up with a new weapon in their continuing protests over black deaths in custody. Paint bombs splattered police and the Executive Building in Brisbane today, following an angry march by about 200 demonstrators.

The story length—an unusual 2 minutes—its use of language, and the linking of words and images reinforced the expectations already suggested in the bulletin opener. The reporter's script made up for the ambiguous vision. We were informed that the protesters 'anger boiled over' before 'fearing a riot', police ordered 'an immediate end' to the protest. The story continued in this vein, describing how demonstrators 'screamed' at shoppers in the mall before throwing paint bombs at the Executive Building and police. This was accompanied by a short, angry shout: 'This is blood from our people.' The significance of the red paint might easily have been missed by an inattentive viewer.

Curiously, the story script took us back to where the marchers had started—King George Square—with this comment: 'At a rally in King George Square, speeches about deaths in custody set the tone for the day of action'. There was no indication of the content of the speeches and how they 'set the tone'. What were protesters saying about deaths in custody? Why did they march? These questions remained unanswered. But by the time marchers had reached the Executive Building in central Brisbane, 'the issue became land rights'. How was not explained. The last few sentences of the story reveal more about the reporter than the topic with which he was trying to come to terms. After explaining that protesters promised they'd be back, he concluded the story with these words: 'Earlier speakers called for a strategy of more angry confrontation with police—a return to the 70s, they said, when there was fighting in the streets'. None of this was supported by interviews or excerpts from speeches. It was opinion and, as other reports suggest, inaccurate.

The Nine news story did not name or interview any of the Indigenous participants

ABC TV News audiences were greeted with a bulletin opener which proclaimed, 'Three arrested as Aboriginal protest anger erupts' over images of people being arrested. Placed number six in the bulletin line-up, the introduction seemed little removed from its commercial counterpart but there was some attempt to place the story in context:

Protesters marching against Aboriginal deaths in custody were arrested in Brisbane today after violent scuffles. Demonstrators had attended a peaceful rally in the city before marching on the

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Executive Building where they demanded to meet Premier Wayne Goss—but he was in North Queensland and their frustration boiled over.

The reporter introduced her voiceover explaining with some vision, that an earlier rally had been peaceful. This story, too, acknowledged a possible reason for the march—to urge the implementation of recommendations of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody. As with the Channel Nine story, we were told how the protesters' anger increased along the way until 'the crowd's anger boiled over'. The reporter's use of the same metaphor as her commercial counterpart is interesting. But she did explain the significance of the red paint: 'Two protesters claimed the State Government had blood on its hands and to illustrate the point, hurled red paint bombs at the Executive Building, splattering police and security guards.' As with the Channel Nine story, demonstrators warned they would return. Some important contextual information appeared as the last sentence: 'Aboriginal groups from around Australia will be conducting forums in Brisbane over the next three days discussing strategies to improve conditions for Indigenous Australians.'

This story featured just one acknowledgment of an Indigenous speaker, the late Santa Unmeopa. No one else was either interviewed or named.

1 February

Next morning, Brisbane's only daily newspaper *The Courier-Mail* featured the event on page five—an important news page. The paper used two photographs: a large one across four columns of poet Lionel Fogarty pressed against the bars of a police paddy wagon, and a smaller picture of three police officers arresting demonstrator, Tony Castons. Significantly, both Aboriginal men are named in the photograph captions. The headline reads: 'Paint protest over prison deaths.' The writer, Indigenous affairs reporter Marcus Priest, is able to explain the symbolism of the red paint in his short introduction that does focus on the newsworthy issue of the arrests. He writes:

Three Aboriginal protesters were arrested yesterday after splattering police and the Queensland Government Executive Building with paint which they said symbolised Aboriginal blood.

In the second paragraph, the link between the protesters and the arrest of Lionel Fogarty—the brother of Daniel Yock, who dies in the back of a police car in 1993—again provides useful context which is absent from most of the television news fare. *The Courier-Mail* story runs for 18 paragraphs and includes seven paragraphs of quotes from a protest

organiser, Wayne Wharton. ...None of the television news stories managed more than a few seconds of shouting from Indigenous participants. Police were the only ones given time to comment in television news versions of this event.

But the newspaper story provides much more background, omitted from the television news versions. It explained the nature of the summit that had delivered a log of claims to the Queensland Premier, Wayne Goss, and to the Federal Aboriginal Affairs Minister, Robert Tickner. The log of claims included a demand for the establishment of an independent Aboriginal-run commission into Aboriginal deaths in custody and seats to be set aside in Parliament for Aboriginal people. This story also explained—contrary to either of the television news stories—that the tactics adopted represented a return to the *non-violent confrontations* of the 60s and 70s.

Significantly, *The Courier-Mail* published a feature in the paper's *Perspectives* section (page 17) dealing with the issue of Aboriginal deaths in custody. Written by criminologist Paul Wilson, the story provided important background to the claims Indigenous people were making at the time.

TV News

Demonstrators gathered again in King George Square. The meeting went for many hours before a decision was taken to stage another march.

This repeat performance by demonstrators prompted National Nine News to elevate the story to second in the line-up that night. The bulletin opener declared: 'More paint bombs and arrests as Brisbane protesters demand land rights.' The introduction to the story set the tone:

In Brisbane for the second day running Aboriginal protesters have bombarded a public building and onlookers with red paint. Four people were arrested when police intervened in a land rights demonstration.

Which particular aspect of land rights protesters were concerned about was not explained. This time, we heard that the 'land rights demonstrators took to the city streets' and 'heckled a group of visiting [Aboriginal] entertainers'. The reporter informed us that although marchers had a permit, they inexplicably 'lost patience' when they reached the Family Services Department headquarters in the city. Why did they lose patience? There were arrests and the demonstrators threw paint bombs but this time, there was a difference— 'Police and media were the prime targets along with the building itself.' We were left with another thinly veiled threat: 'Police are preparing for a similar display tomorrow.'

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Only one person was interviewed and named in the story, a police officer.

Targeting the media?

On that same evening, Seven Nightly News took its coverage one step further. Describing the protest in its introduction as 'Brisbane's second ugly display of racial violence in as many days', this story, too, claimed the media had come under attack. The reporter presented it like this: 'A decision was made to return (sic) to Musgrave Park, some turning their rage on the media.' Edited in here is a grab from one of the protesters who shouts: 'Don't use your microphone like a baton!' Why would he say this?

Several observers and the Channel 10 News story reveals that a member of a television news crew did indeed jab the marcher in the back several times with a boom microphone. When the protester turned around to protest—justifiably so—his angry response was caught on tape and made a great action grab. None of the TV news stories that night acknowledged this. For most viewers across Queensland—and interstate—here was yet another inexplicable example of an ill-tempered demonstrator attacking the media. In fact, it was a case of the media deliberately provoking the demonstrator.

The Channel Nine story interviewed and named one police officer.

ABC TV News coverage that evening did little to dispel this impression. In fact, the bulletin opener—a short sequence of videotape showing a police officer covered with a red substance struggling with a demonstrator was accompanied by this voiceover: 'And black anger spills over on the streets of Brisbane.' It looked like blood.

The story was placed ninth in the bulletin line-up and the introduction went some way towards resolving the question about the red substance, but the framework of violence re-emerged:

For a second day in a row police have clashed violently with some members of Brisbane's Aboriginal community. Four people were arrested during today's protest march in which Aborigines threw paint at police.

When the mandatory paint bomb sequence appeared on screen, the reporter explained that this time they were 'fired' at buildings and police and that three people were charged with 'seriously assaulting police officers'. No such charge exists. And as if on cue, the ABC, too, ended with the threat of another march tomorrow. This story contained no explanation for the march and as to why red paint was again thrown.

The ABC news story interviewed and named one person, a police officer.

2 February

The Courier-Mail story was back to page nine, but again, the paper used two photographs—both focusing on the arrests. One large picture showed three police arresting an Aboriginal man and the smaller photograph is a head shot of a police officer ‘spattered’ with paint. The story headline reads: ‘Four arrested over paint bombs.’ The first two paragraphs, again by Marcus Priest, informs us:

Four Aboriginal demonstrators were arrested for paint-bombing a government building yesterday as Aborigines continued their campaign of confrontation. The red paint symbolised the blood of Aboriginal people who had died in custody, protest organisers said.

This story—20 paragraphs long—includes and names two Indigenous speakers at the rally that preceded the march. The story gives over nine paragraphs—almost half of the available space—to Indigenous comment. Although the story uses the arrests and the paint bomb throwing as a lead in, it provides more valuable context for those wondering why the protest took place at all. This important background explanation was notably—and predictably—absent from all of the television news stories.

One observation by Priest in the story is worth highlighting. He writes: ‘Police were covered in red paint as were journalists who were caught in the cross fire.’ Quite a different perspective from that of being ‘under attack’. One commercial television reporter subsequently was awarded \$4000 compensation following a claim brought against the police union for damage to clothing caused by the red paint.

In his story, Priest is also able to confirm—from information gathered at the forum that *preceded* the march—that there would be no further marches, as was the case. How is it that Channel Nine and ABC TV journalists reported the very opposite in their version of events?

3 February

The Courier-Mail continued with its coverage with some interesting observations from reporter Marcus Priest. These appear in a comment piece written by him on page five, curiously placed inside an unrelated story concerning disruption at the Aboriginal community of Hope Vale in far North Queensland. The headline reads: ‘Hope Vale cowers as violence grows’. Priest’s comments on the protests of the past few days are worth reproducing in full:

It is sad that Aboriginal protesters had to resort to paint to get their message heard.

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Sad because they felt they had exhausted all other means of getting their concerns heard; the public and the government had been deaf to their cries.

It is sad, also, that their message was still ignored by the majority of the media who chose to concentrate on the so-called 'violence' of protesters. It should be noted, however, that while the protests were fiery, they were not violent.

For the record, the protesters' main concerns were three: the rising number of Aboriginal deaths in custody; the failure of the Aboriginal Land Act and the Native Title Act to provide land for the majority of Aboriginal people; and the wastage of government money on Aboriginal bureaucracies.

Combined with social and economic disadvantage, heightened by a recession in which they were one of the greatest victims, there is a growing radicalism and desperation to have their message heard—whatever the cost.

In the same edition of *The Courier-Mail*, two additional stories concerning Indigenous issues provide an important window into the diverse nature of Indigenous endeavour. One, written by historian Henry Reynolds, outlines the enormous contribution Aboriginal people have made to the state's pastoral industry. The second story, heading the newspaper's Employment Section, features a large picture of an Aboriginal man seated at a computer. The headline reads: 'Murrinet set to put Aborigines on info-highway.' What a contrast to the images of confrontation and violence which continue to obsess the creators of television news.

Conclusion

This case study revealed all too clearly the superficiality of television news coverage. It revealed an almost complete absence of Indigenous voices with selected grabs serving to reinforce the framework of 'violence' set up to explain the events as news. There was an almost complete lack of context for the march in TV news coverage. Important explanation of background that would have had a significant impact on how the stories might be 'read' by TV audiences was missing. This enabled the dominant framework of violent confrontation to prevail as the prime news value.

It showed clearly how particular ideologies—ideas and assumptions about the world—come to predetermine news values and story angles (Hall 1990; Meadows 1988). None of the television news stories dwelt at length on the many hours of public debate that preceded the marches. Just one (ABC TV News) named an Indigenous participant. The availability of videotape that suggested violence meant that the stories

were framed in this way with almost no explanation for the so-called 'violence'. Channel Seven's description of the event as 'racial violence' raises other questions. This sensationalist approach is continuing evidence of that particular station's inability to come to terms with a sense of responsibility in covering such events.

In November 1995, the Australian Broadcasting Authority upheld its first ever complaint of a TV news story tending to incite racial hatred. It was Brisbane's Channel Seven that was the culprit in that case. The station showed file tape of a brawl from one demonstration in a story about another—which was conducted peacefully. The Authority considered that 'the broadcast of the program would have been likely in all the circumstances to stir up racial hatred against Aboriginal people on the grounds of their race' (Australian Broadcasting Authority 1995:16).

Coverage in *the Courier-Mail*, on the other hand, did enable Indigenous people to speak, often at length, about the complexity of the issues involved. Although still tending towards a framework of confrontation as the major news value, the series of stories enabled a more considered and in-depth view of events to be presented. In addition, the newspaper published longer feature stories dealing with the very issues at the bottom of the rallies in the same editions. Again, this provided valuable contextual information for readers.

This case study suggests that there is a distinct advantage for readers, newspapers, and audiences alike if a specialist reporter is assigned to cover such issues. In this regard, the coverage by *The Courier-Mail* (by Marcus Priest, former specialist Indigenous Affairs journalist) revealed the possibilities either missed or avoided by both television news services under examination here. Priest, working within Queensland Newspapers was able to work within a more liberal interpretative framework than the television news journalists (Curran 1990). This is borne out by the newspaper's new editor, Chris Mitchell, who has openly pursued a reformist agenda (Schultz 1995).

On the subject of the space available to tell a story, it is often argued by practitioners and critics alike that it is difficult to get across complex issues in a two minute TV news story (350-450 words). Two minutes, of course, is a long story by television news standards. The norm is closer to one minute. But in this case study, the stories we analysed were closer to two minutes in length. Despite this, the *Courier-Mail* managed to include important contextual information and to quote Indigenous protagonists at length in stories that used almost exactly the same number of words. Clearly, other influences determined the TV

news approach. It was the availability of 'action' visuals that drove decisions about news value and news judgement.

The nature of the coverage by *The Courier-Mail* suggests that the media can play a positive role in reconciling what are perceived to be 'problems' in Indigenous-non-Indigenous relations by providing context and enabling participants to speak (Meadows 1994). On the other hand, this study, along with the findings of two 1991 inquiries—the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody and the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission's Racist Violence inquiry—suggests that television news media continue to show a reluctance to take on the responsibilities which should accompany the right to inform mass audiences. Television news journalists in this case worked within more restrictive interpretative frameworks than that of the newspaper, determined as much by genre as by their organisational ideologies. It is difficult to say whether anything other than vision will continue to dominate in constructing reality for television news producers. But it seems that much more can be done than was done in this case study. Providing context for the events which will undoubtedly continue to be the focus of television news stories might help to answer the 'how' and 'why' questions which journalists still seem to find the most difficult to answer.

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Please Remember the Readers

Most potential readers of *AJR* articles, be they academics, researchers, or students are usually required to read many journals. They often need to look for particular types of information. Journalism educators have the talents and training to satisfy these needs, which are the envy of their fellow academics. Yet when they submit articles to their academic journals they pretend to be third-rate, student sociology writers. So, as a minimum, people submitting articles must follow the following 'rules'.

- The headlines must entice readers, and be an immediately intelligible description of the contents of the article.
- Every article must start with an Abstract of between 50 and 150 words. This Abstract should describe the context of the article, and its findings. Readers then know whether to read on or move to another article. The Abstract must not include a table-of-contents.
- This must be followed by an Introduction, which describes the contents of the article.
- The Conclusion of all research articles must include a justification. The benefits/applications of the findings must be clearly identified, particularly as they relate to the practice of journalism.