PATCHING UP THE DIFFERENCES: AN EXPLORATION INTO

WHANGANUI GANG IDENTITY

by

Feona Jessica Sayles

A thesis submitted to the faculty of Humanities and Cultural Studies,

Victoria University of Wellington

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctorate of Philosophy

January 2021

ABSTRACT

The District Council (Prohibition of Gang Insignia) Act 2009 ('Gang Insignia Act 2009') came into force in 2009 and prohibited the 'display' of 'gang insignia' within 'specified areas' of the Whanganui District. The purported aim of the legislation was to reduce intimidation of the public and confrontations between gangs. There was no requirement for intent on the part of the wearer of the insignia. This made the Whanganui gang insignia ban unique in terms of criminal law as it maintained that harm was inflicted due to group identity rather than specific conduct. This raises the question of how an identity can be constructed so that it is considered capable of causing criminal harm. To address this question, this research looked at the ways in which the media contributed to the construction of gang identity during the period of 2004 to 2013. This was achieved through (1) a content analysis of reports from three print newspapers and two online newspapers, (2) a content analysis of reader interactions with the reports, and (3) a textual analysis of two print newspapers. The research was guided by moral panic theory so looked for ways in which the events related to stages or elements of moral panic. The focus of the moral panic was also expanded so as to explore the overall context operating at the particular time. It was found that the events did correspond to a moral panic model and that whilst the panic was triggered by key occurrences of gang violence, the underlying motive for the panic could be attributed to racial tensions, penal populism, and the use of a terrorist frame. Whilst this research focuses on the construction of gang identity, the techniques used by the media can be applicable to other group identities.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 5.5 Number of articles by topic for the period October 2005 to May 2006 (Wanganui Chronicle).

Figure 5.6 Number of articles by topic for the period October 2005 to May 2006 (Dominion Post).

Figure 5.7 Front page of Wanganui Chronicle 10/05/2007.

Figure 5.8 Image of Jhia funeral showing her mother (source Dominion Post 10/05/2007 p. 1).

Figure 5.9 Image of gangs.

Figure 5.10 Image of Jhia often used in reports.

Figure 5.11 The number of articles utilising each source.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to acknowledge the assistance of my supervisors Russil Durrant and Michael Roguski. They have gone above and beyond the duty of supervision to allow me to complete this research. Both of you are legends. I also wish to thank my colleagues at Massey University who have provided support and my husband Rob who kept me smiling.

INTRODUCTION

This research arose as a result of the *Wanganui District Council (Prohibition of Gang Insignia) Act 2009* ('*Gang Insignia Act 2009*') which allows the Whanganui District Council to make bylaws prohibiting the wearing of gang insignia in certain areas. At this point I will emphasise that there are two spellings of the area: Wanganui (old) and Whanganui (new). The new spelling became accepted as the correct spelling in 2009 but allowed for either spelling to occur. In 2015 the new spelling was adopted as the only spelling (Land Information New Zealand, 2015). In some places, the research needs to use the old spelling as that was the correct spelling for the time; in all other places the new spelling is used.

The '*Gang Insignia Act 2009*' reflects a view that the wearing of gang insignia should be considered a social problem that requires legal intervention. My research adopted a social constructionist perspective and sought to discover the meanings attributed to gang insignia by members of the Whanganui community, how these meanings have developed, and the consequences arising from adopting the legislative meaning. I used a moral panic framework to guide this discovery. Moral panic theory highlights the importance of the media so the focus of my research analyses media representations of 'gangs'.

The *Gang Insignia Act 2009* came into force in 2009 and prohibits the 'display' of 'gang insignia' within 'specified areas' of the Whanganui District. The stated aim of the legislation was to reduce intimidation of the public and confrontations between gangs through the prohibition on the display of gang insignia. There is

no requirement for intent (to intimidate or cause a confrontation) on the part of the wearer of the insignia so the legislation and subsequent bylaw that was enacted criminalised all public displays of gang affiliation. Whilst the bylaw that was created has now been repealed, the empowering legislation (*Gang Insignia Act 2009*) is still in force and could be used to re-create another bylaw in the future. The reason why the bylaw was considered invalid was that the bylaw had 'specified places' in which the prohibition could operate as being the entire urban area of Whanganui along with the majority of public places. This was in breach of the limitation in the Act which stated that any bylaw should not have the effect that all public places are specified places; hence the bylaw was ultra vires. When the review of the bylaw took place the Court also noted that the prohibition on displaying gang insignia appeared to be a disproportionate limit on freedom of expression, but acknowledged that parliament was aware of this and intended to 'unjustly' limit freedom of speech.

My first approach towards this legislation was legally orientated. I considered that on the face of it, this legislation sought to punish a person due to their status rather than actual behaviour so appeared to violate principles of criminalisation which maintains that only sufficiently serious _behaviour_ should be subject to criminal sanctions (Bowles, Faure & Garoupa, 2008). Even though this behaviour can include lesser harms such as offence, there is still a need to have some form of behaviour.

Criminal law can be used to protect the rights of others, and at times may mean diminishing the rights of some people to protect these rights. This process is one

that is guided by the New Zealand by the *New Zealand Bill of Rights Act 1990 (NZBOR 1990).* As such I focused on these provisions to understand how this law was justified. A preliminary safeguard against unwarranted limitations on rights is the requirement in s7 of the *NZBOR 1990* that the Attorney-General report to the House of Representatives as to any potential inconsistencies with the *NZBOR 1990* contained within newly introduced bills. The report of the Attorney-General in relation to the bill concluded that there was only a 'tenuous' connection between the purported harm and the relevant provisions in the bill, and when it came to proportionality (was it sufficiently serious) it was considered that there would be a disproportionate impact on freedom of expression and as such presented an inconsistency with s14 of the *NZBOR 1990.* Even though the bill (and later Act) breached the *NZBOR 1990* it was allowed to become law. The big question was why? An answer to this question could not fully be provided through a purely legal approach, so whilst this research may have had a legal perspective as its origins, it evolved as being research that is firmly centred within the social sciences.

Research in New Zealand has largely focused on youth gangs and the factors associated with interventions with these types of gangs (Eggleston, 1997; Ministry of Social Development, 2008; Nakhid, 2009). Hence, there is a need to have more research that investigates adult gangs. Research that has been conducted into adult gangs has considered interactions with authority (Manley, 1995), media representations of gang identity, and the feelings of public and gang members in relation to these representations (Green, 1997; Haslett, 2007). This prior research did not look at the types of processes and feelings that may be

engaged when the construction of gang identity has reached a stage that it is criminalised. There has been some investigation into this, particularly where the idea of gangs and moral panic have been suggested or explored. Gilbert (2010) provides an in-depth account of gangs in New Zealand and refers to moral panic in terms of political responses to the 'gang problem'. Monod (2017) also refers to a situation relating to gangs that had characteristics of a moral panic and places this within previous New Zealand dialogue and studies that have led to gang identity as a folk devil. The last major study of gangs as a target for moral panic was Kesley & Young (1982) that was situated in the late 1970s early 1980s. This addressed a similar context in which the law reforms came about. There was racial discontent, particularly in the Whanganui area and there was a potential national economic crisis occurring at the time.

The concept of how fear of gang identity is produced has not been addressed in prior New Zealand research. Instead, research in the area of public attitudes towards crime and criminal justice consists of nationwide and localised studies that have addressed public knowledge as to rates of offending (Young, Morris, Cameron, & Haslett, 1997), perceptions as to the seriousness of certain offences (Davis & Kemp, 1994), and preferred sentencing (Ransom, 1981). The last major study of this nature (Paulin, Searle & Knaggs, 2003) was conducted in 2003.

Overseas research has explored fear of gangs and gang conflict. However, these studies (some of which are discussed below) have varied in their interpretations as to what gangs are and what may cause fear or conflict in relation to gangs. From a social constructionist perspective these differences are to be expected as

this perspective maintains that the features, characteristics, and composition of identified groups as well as the ways in which the group members interact with themselves and other groups are shaped by local culture, so are largely dependent on aspects such as the history and conventions that exist in particular places at a particular time (Adler & Adler, 1994; Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Mallon, 2007; Hall, 2000). My research adds to this body of knowledge as it looks at the local context in which the gangs developed and were identified for the type of legislation that was enacted.

When it comes to defining gangs and gang membership there is probably one consensus – that there are few universal definitions available. The locality, cultural and media influences present, and the users of the definitions can impact on what type of group is commonly considered a 'gang' and the nature of the 'gang problem' (Sharp, Aldridge, & Medina, 2006). As a result, there are numerous definitions of just what a 'gang' is within the relevant literature (Decker & Van Winkle, 1996; Ebensen, Winfree, He, & Taylor, 2001; Horowitz, 1982; Petersen, 2000; Spergel, 1984).

These difficulties in defining what gangs are can create problems when comparing studies and obtaining reliable statistics. They can also lead to inaccurate labelling. This may erroneously criminalise individuals or groups and may elevate the status of social problems associated with these people (Bullock & Tilley, 2008; Esbensen et al., 2001).

One of the concerns that led to the ban on insignia being implemented was the

occurrence of inter-gang violence. The idea that gangs foster and develop through violence is a common theme in some studies (Decker, 1996; Howowitz & Schwartz, 1974; Spergel, 1984). However, violence is not always common as a gang activity and the reasons for its occurrence can vary depending on the nature of the gang and its members.

Loftin (1986), Papachristos (2009), and Decker (1996), maintain that violence spreads into sectors of a community through a process of contagion which can be seen when three main factors are present: violence is spatially clustered, is reciprocal, and will escalate. Papachristos (2009) found that the spread of the violence depended on the social and moral networks operating within the community. The cause of the contagion was the need to assert dominance and protect honour which spreads when gangs who are attacked seek to assert themselves by attacking another (weaker) gang within the network so as to maintain some standing within the network system.

The second concern that led to the insignia ban was that the insignia itself might act to intimidate members of the public. This concern reflects the idea that the public are fearful of gang insignia. New Zealand research on fear of crime appears to be limited; the most consistent effort is the New Zealand Crime and Safety Survey (NZCSS) (conducted approximately every three years). However, the usefulness of the survey is limited for my research as it does not contain information on specific fears such as a fear of gangs.

The Whanganui District Council conducts a 'Whanganui Community Views

Survey' (WCVS) annually which contains questions relating to feelings of safety in the CBD and at home. From 2009, the survey began asking for reasons as to why residents feel unsafe. Table 1 shows the results from 2009-2011 for reasons why people feel unsafe.

Table 1

Reasons for feeling unsafe in Whanganui

Year	Aggressive youth	Undesirable people loitering	Intimidation/don't know what might happen	Drunk people	Potential for violence	Gangs
2009	1st=	1st=	3rd	8th	7th	4th
2010	1st	2nd	6th	3rd	4th	5th
2011	2nd	1st	3rd	5th=	4th	5th=

These results indicated that it was uncertain why gangs had been targeted as the public in Whanganui are less afraid of gangs than other factors that exist in Whanganui.

One concept that became highly relevant to my research is identity. Whilst some definitions of identity have held it to comprise unchanging characteristics (it is 'fixed'), there appears to be some consensus within the social sciences that the nature of identity is flexible and is constantly being reformulated depending on the particular time and space (Hall, 2000; Kebede, 2010). Some gang research, along with media, political and police depictions of gangs, appear to represent the identity of gangs as being fixed. This can create the risk of predetermining the outcomes and narrowing the research focus (Fujii, 2010). Some research (for example, Horowitz, 1982; Garot, 2007), has shown that context is highly important for the display of gang identity. It therefore seems that it is better to

approach gang identity using the 'soft' concept of identity.

Social identities are categories that are constructed to assign meaning to groups of individuals who share characteristics. These categories and the associated meanings are either claimed by those within the group or assigned by those with the power to define/construct the group. When the identity is constructed from the position of a powerful group it may be a product of 'othering' (Jensen, 2011). For gangs within New Zealand, demonstrations and regalia that enhance the image of a 'dangerous rebel' could also be viewed as a means of resisting devaluation – they are trying to create an image that is powerful and resists the devaluation of their cultural heritage (Taonui & Newbold, 2016; Roguski, 2019).

As social constructions, identities are viewed as products of specific historical, political and cultural contexts which are constantly in a process of being reformulated through interaction with others (Hall, 2000). Due to this constant process, identity can be considered in terms of something that we 'do' not something that we 'have' (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000; Buckingham, 2008; Fujii, 2010). Hence, 'identity' is an outcome of 'identification' which is a process of managing multiple socially constructed groups (social identities) that the individual has access to, which co-exist together, and are brought forward or performed according to a particular context (Ben-ner, McCall, Stephane, & Wang, 2006; Brubaker & Cooper, 2000; Butler, 1990; Goffman, 1959). Acting out and performance of identity has been explored by researchers such as Garot (2007).

The idea behind the 'Gang Insignia' legislation appeared to be that removing visible signs of gang identity would reduce performance of gang identity and this inability to demonstrate their identity as gang members will reduce intimidation and confrontations. However, since identity is fluid and capable of alteration, the ways in which it is performed can also change. Legislation based on a fixed form of identity which is reliant on gang regalia to perform the identity is not likely to resolve the problem of gang intimidation/conflict. As such, the legislation could be considered to be a token gesture towards the 'gang problem' rather than a means by which real change could occur.

Identity as a concept has motivated many theories, including labelling theory which is the basis for the idea of moral panic. According to Cohen (1972, p. 9) a moral panic will occur when a "condition, episode, person or groups of persons" is identified as being a threat, the level of threat posed by the (e.g.) group is elevated through dissemination and exaggeration of the threat, and the reaction to the group is disproportionate to the actual threat posed. The identified group becomes demonised ('Folk devils') which can increase levels of community fear about these groups and may lead to feelings of intimidation when in the presence of these 'folk devils'. Social problems may be elevated to a level where it is perceived that legal intervention (criminalisation) is required, or criminal behaviour may be more stringently repressed through the process of moral panic.

There are three main theories as to how the panic is set in motion ('Grassroots', 'Elite Engineered', and 'Interest Group' theories). No matter which theory is adopted, in each situation: there must be a concern (either real or perceived) held

by the public; the concern must be one that elites/interest groups decide to act on; and, the media is the means by which the panic is conceptualised and spread. If one of these factors is missing, the panic does not occur. If there is no perception of public concern, interest groups or elites will not find support and there will be no widespread panic. At the same time the creation of the moral panic needs to also involve elites or interest groups to give the 'threat' focus (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2009). Essentially, the public fears and concerns contribute the moral substance of the panic, whilst the interest groups/elites provide the timing of the panic.

Many of the 'panics' that have been identified have occurred at times when a community is undergoing periods of uncertainty or change, so the moral panic can act as a means to reassert social controls or 'moral boundaries' (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2009; Hall et al., 1978; Hunt, 1997). The targets of the panic are visible groups or behaviours that challenge existing standards held by the influential majority in society, and so become representative of the unease created by the period of uncertainty. As such, both Cohen (1972) and Goode & Ben-Yehuda (2009) maintain that a moral panic is not about the tangible 'threat' that is the target of the panic. Hence researchers need to look at what the 'threat' symbolises in terms of the community's cultural and moral standards.

Cohen (1972) produced a model for moral panic research that is described as a processional model. Goode & Ben-Yehuda (2009) have produced a model of the key elements that comprise a moral panic. They also provide guidance as to how each element can be measured so that researchers can assess whether a particular

situation corresponds to a 'moral panic' (the attributional model). The methods used in my research would allow for an identification of whether the processional model or the five key elements (concern, hostility, consensus, disproportion and volatility) are present in the Whanganui situation. If it appeared that Whanganui had been subject to a 'moral panic', my research would then look at the broader context of why this may have occurred and the impact the (possible) panic has had on those who are labelled 'folk devils'.

The overall objective of my research was to understand how gang identity had been attributed with such deviance that laws could be created to prohibit displays of this identity. After reviewing relevant literature, I decided on using a moral panic model to assist with understanding what might have occurred. The use of this model was intended to bring about a potential framework within which I could explore added context and factors that contributed to the law changes happening at this time.

Specifically, I sought to:

- explore the characteristics attributed to gang identity and whether these characteristics have altered over time. If the characteristics (or the importance of certain characteristics) have altered over time, I would identify some of the factors/forces that have been present during these times of change;

- discover if differences exist between key stakeholder groups as to definitions of gang identity and, if there are differences, to explore possible reasons as to why the interpretations of one group has been favoured as being the 'true meaning' over the meanings of other group/s;

- explore how gang identity has been represented by authorities such as politicians, police and the media, and consider whether this has shaped (and possibly re-shaped) the meanings attributed to gang identity;

- discover ways in which gang identity is performed (such as displays of gang insignia) and how this performance impacts on members of the community. If the performance of gang identity appears to have changed over time, I would investigate how this may have altered (or will alter) the experiences of members of the community.

The lack of a universal consensus about what gangs are, and the importance of context and social environment, was the main reason why the methodology chosen for this research has its basis within the social constructivist perspective. This perspective contends that knowledge of our world and the meanings within it arise as a result of human relationships and interaction. Social constructionists maintain that there is no single absolute reality/truth; instead, what exist are claims made by actors within a particular (local) environment as to what meanings we should give to certain events/entities.

My research accepts that conditions such as gangs and gang violence do exist in Whanganui. However, their status (and that of gang insignia) as a problem, arose from the meanings that were attributed to these conditions. Using a social constructionist perspective allowed my research to understand why insignia was considered to be a serious harm requiring intervention, through looking at the process that has led to the label of 'serious social problem' being given to gang insignia in Whanganui (Moses & Knutsen, 2007).

My research used different approaches to explore gang identity and the impact of this identity on the Whanganui community. The key time period that is of interest is 2006-2007 which marks the time when the legislation was first proposed (March 2006) and put forward as a parliamentary bill (November 2007). This could be seen as the key period when gang identity rather than gang behaviour became targeted as being a serious social problem. The research was extended to evaluate trends in media coverage and attitudes towards gangs and will also cover a suitable time period after the enactment of the Bill and Bylaw.

I chose a mixed methods approach to the information that I had. First, I analysed news reports (also referred to as new article or new items). Analysis of media reports was initially restricted to reports appearing in the local paper. The reason for choosing the local press as opposed to national papers to begin with is that: (1) the object of my research is to ascertain the definitions and representations of gang identity in Whanganui – hence it is the local press coverage that will be most relevant; and (2) local press coverage is more likely to contain 'low profile' events that, although minor, contribute to current definitions whilst national press

coverage would focus on 'high profile' events. However, I found that national reports were needed to understand why this became an issue that national government, as opposed to local body government, wanted to become involved in. The search was expanded to include this.

The analysis of these reports was conducted on a quantitative and qualitative level. The quantitative assessment allowed for an accurate assessment of factors such as an increased level of attention for the issue and to identify the most prominent themes, frames and sources. The reports were analysed using content analysis, which was guided by framing theory (Entman, 2007). Using framing theory for content analysis allowed for the analysis of a large numbers of articles without yielding 'data that misrepresent the media messages that most audience members are actually picking up' (Entman, 1993, p. 57). It is an approach used in content analysis for research that has a social constructionist perspective (Altheide, 1997; Herda-Rapp, 2003).

A qualitative analysis of newspapers' portrayal of the saga was conducted as a quantitative approach to assess the latent content and overall context in which it was produced. A main influence on this assessment was the concept of the media as story tellers. To assist me with this type of assessment I was in part guided by Wester et al.'s (2010) approach. The process involved reading all the articles to gain an overall appreciation of the events. The assessment of the headlines of the articles which were viewed in both in terms of their literal meaning and inferences to ascertain how different 'chapters' (articles), contributed to the development of the 'story'. The articles were then read again with attention being paid to passages

and phrases considered to be character setting or reinforcing stereotype story telling. Attention was paid to how the actor was represented by themselves and how others represented the actor.

Relevant media reports were obtained using online searches, Newztext and Factiva. The searches used the keyword 'gang' to retrieve articles where gangs are mentioned. The reports were then checked to remove any reports where the use of the word gang related to a situation that was not related to my research. A preliminary search of the databases produced 2719 articles where the term gang was mentioned. After screening, this was reduced to 891 articles.

As well as analysing the news reports I also looked at reader comments. These were obtained via searches for letters to the editor and searches for online comment. The purpose for doing this was twofold. First, my content analysis was guided by framing theory. This theory can have two objectives: first, to establish the existence of dominant frames; and second, to identify how readers interact with the frames. Looking at the reader comments assisted me in understanding how the readers might interact with the frames. The second reason was that in terms of moral panic models, it has been often commented that merely measuring increased media attention, or just using the media 'voice' does not accurately convey whether the public were panicked. The use of increased media coverage relies on the assumption that the media is a tool and a voice for the public, which is not always correct. By looking at the reader comments I could gain some insight as to how the public were either accepting or rejecting the media stories, and what their feelings (potential levels of panic) were towards the events.

The news coverage was first analysed on a holistic basis for frequencies to produce an overall appreciation of news coverage during the period. This helped establish initial patterns for potential agenda setting. For example, increases in the number of stories dedicated to Whanganui gangs could indicate that this issue had increased in importance. The results showed there was an elevated level of media attention directed towards Whanganui gangs in 2006 and also in 2007. This corresponded to two events of gang violence in Whanganui. The second event in 2007 was the killing of a young girl as a result of a drive-by shooting. There were differences between national and local news as to what is important for their readers to know. Local press was reasonably constant with their coverage of the 'gang issue', but with the expected increases, as events made the issue more newsworthy. National press only became fully elevated after the second event.

To explore the coverage's potential framing, the topics, sources, valence and responses were explored using a selection of variables to discover the ways in which topics, sources and responses may have been used to influence how to think about an issue or event. Valence provided a holistic measure as to how media considered gangs should be viewed over the period.

In terms of topics, analysis related to how the articles discussed or used Whanganui gangs and Whanganui gang issues. If there was more than one topic discussed, the dominant topic was coded, and then other category/s were recorded in the notes. If the topics were discussed equally, so that a dominant topic could not be selected, then mixed (#8) was selected and the topic numbers were put in the note's column.

The results showed that in 2004, negative gang references had the highest frequency (52%), followed by gang crime (20%). The year 2005 had gang violence (30.3%) as most prominent followed by gang references (24.2%). The position altered in 2006 when law creation became the most frequent topic (58.3%), again followed by gang references (16.2%). This trend of law creation as the most frequent topic continued from 2007 to 2010, with the highest percentage in 2009 (38%), the year that the gang patch ban was introduced as law. In 2011, law creation and gang city were an equal first. By this time, the bylaw had been declared invalid and the news reports showed concern as to how much the bylaw had cost in terms of money and bad publicity for the area.

In terms of prominence given to the topics, the figures indicated that the topic of law creation was given the most prominence, with 34.2% of the page one coverage, as well as 29.1% of one photo and 16% of more than one photo. 'Gang violence' was the next most prominent topic with 23% of page one cover, 14.5% with one photo and 32% with more than one photo.

With the sources used in the topics, the legal source was the most frequently used source for all topics with a count of 530 articles using them as a source (60% of all articles). The topics where legal sources were most often used were 'gang violence' (24%), followed by law creation (21.3%). The legal source was generally used as a means of event confirmation (what has happened), seeking public information and reassurance that police were doing everything they could to resolve problems. Politicians featured as the next most common source. In this

regard, 417 articles were coded as using politicians as a source of evidence. The most frequent topic politicians commented on was 'law creation' (52.5%), with gang city following at 15%.

With the reader comments, the analysis looked at how readers reacted to articles and how they interacted with other readers – whether their interaction showed an acceptance or rejection of the media coverage. To assess whether there might be concern and hostility the analysis looked at the valence of the articles and whether readers accepted or questioned these articles. A strong level of acceptance for articles that were anti-gang could demonstrate there was concern.

A moral panic can also bring about a sense of community, a division between the folk devil and the general public. To gauge this, the analysis included coding for whether the comments showed an 'us' and 'them' stance. When it came to position, as a single category most readers took a neutral stance (40%). However, 'us/them' also had a high count with 34% and strong us/them had 9%. When combing the us/them and strong us/them, this amounts to 43%, so there is a slightly higher count for the us/them category overall. It was also found that the us/them position did not mean that the reader was against gangs – it just reflected that the gangs were classed as a separate group.

To more accurately assess position in terms of the reader attitude to gangs and the call to ban gangs (and gang insignia), I compared position with an anti/pro gang stance variable. The combined us/them category was the most prominent position for the anti-gang stance (61%). The neutral position was the most prominent for

the pro-gang stance (51%).

The qualitative assessment of the reader comments showed a strong level of anti-gang feelings after the shooting of Jhia. It also showed that just because a reader had an anti-gang stance did not mean they supported the idea of a patch ban, or that they agreed with Michael Laws' campaign. As the campaign continued, some anti-gang stance readers did not feel that the patch ban was required.

The qualitative analysis also identified some interesting findings pertaining to how readers interacted with each other. The first posts would 'set the tone' for the discussion and almost seemed to create a control over the discussion. This occurred in both the online and letters comments. The readers who first posted seemed to keep an eye on the interactions and felt compelled to interject at times. The comments that followed would either be a new view or would accept or reject the initial comments. There was no reply comment unless the reader had a strong like or dislike to the prior comments. Hence if the first comments had no reply comments, it was likely that the readers did not feel strongly about the comment.

Overall, the analysis revealed that during the crucial period, gangs started as a nuisance, but the attention given to them and the portrayal of them as demons, or 'folk devils' (Cohen, 1972), gave strength to the idea that their identity was a threat and not deserving of existing within the 'normal' community. This led to the introduction of a law that went further than previous gang orientated legislation in New Zealand.

The coverage by media demonstrated many of the qualities associated with a moral panic. There was an 'inventory' stage where the media conveyed its preliminary representations of the events and the actors that used 'the sensational headlines, the melodramatic vocabulary and the deliberate heightening of those elements in the story considered as news' (Cohen, 1972). The articles told readers that the gangs had engaged in 'vicious assaults' and that they needed to be controlled by the police, who were doing everything they could to 'make the streets safe'. The use of the plural (streets) gave a sense of a threat that was widespread. These images portrayed the gangs as predatory people who were a threat to public safety (Katz, 2011; Morgan, Dagistlanli & Martin, 2010; Cohen, 2002; Monod, 2017).

The continued dialogue helped to identify and shape a clear folk devil. This idea was supported by the results that indicated that the perception of gangs as outsiders, as folk devils, did increase during the campaigns. However, this was not a situation where a new folk devil was created; instead, what occurred was a recycling of an existing devil. Gangs had been already demonised within New Zealand, and there has been previous panics relating to gangs. This latest panic saw the shape of the folk devil (gangs) and the threat that the devil represented being further elevated from prior representations.

Even though it is debated as to whether it is necessary to show disproportion as an element of a moral panic, there were some indicators that it did exist. To assist with looking at the actual threat and whether there may be disproportion I referred to indicators suggested by Goode & Ben-Yehuda (2009). There was some

evidence of the problem being exaggerated with the use of figures that did not accurately convey the gang problem as it was being presented. Also, the statistics of overall offending in Whanganui and also for gang offending (as presented in the police report) show the attention paid to the threat of gang violence and intimidation was much greater than that paid to other threats with an equal or greater level of actual damage.

Since it looked like a panic may have occurred, I considered what the panic may have really been about. To understand this, I looked at the overall context at this particular time and place. I found two main themes of interest. First, at the time of the 2006 campaign the image of the gangs was framed as being war-like terrorists. The threat of terrorism had been a high profile global issue since the 9/11 attacks. It had remained in the public eye with further bombing incidents (for example, the London underground bombing in 2005). In 2006 there had been bomb attacks using bicycles, which further cemented the idea that people were not safe anywhere – even supposedly innocent surroundings could create harm. The terrorism laws that were in force at the time allowed for powers to act against suspected terrorists even if these actions would usually breach human rights. By framing the gangs as a terrorist threat this set the stage to justify solutions (new laws) that could breach the Bill of Rights.

As well as the context of the terrorist threat, on the local level one of the big issues within Whanganui around 2006 was the 'h' debate. The debate had reached the stage where a referendum was conducted to see how the community felt about the inclusion of the letter 'h' in Whanganui. Whanganui had been subject to racial

tension over a period of years. The 'h' debate was just one aspect of the racial divide. This undercurrent of racial separation may have been one of the factors that allowed for public acceptance of the gangs as terrorists, as others who were seeking to disrupt a way of life. One of the gangs that featured most often in the news reports and in public comment was the Mongrel Mob. Their members were (and still are) predominantly Māori. The existing reluctance to accept Māori rights may have influenced feelings towards gang members 'strutting around'.

The racial divide that existed in Whanganui (and for New Zealand) is a flow on effect of colonisation. The process of colonisation reduced and also eliminated prior rights of Māori. This has resulted in a long-standing battle to regain rights, particularly, land rights. Historically some of the main challenges faced by Māori seeking rights were the political and legal impediments to reclaiming land. Warren, Forster & Tawhai (2017) mention the Suppression of Rebellion Act 1863 and the Maori Prisoners' Trials Act 1879 which both sought to reduce the ability of Māori to legitimately claim land and provide resistance against colonisation. This, combined with the military force of the British rule, meant there were limited opportunities to legally obtain rights, so protest actions were seen as necessary.

The concept of protest and of rebellion to European rule is a hallmark of colonial territories. It is under this historical background that New Zealand gangs such as the Mongrel Mob were formed and continue to exist. These ties to Māori protest and defiance against the majority European rule may be a unique factor in the New Zealand attitude towards gangs and the moral panics surrounding them.

When the second event (the killing of Jhia) occurred, these two themes were

present again but also amplified. This time the devil was not just a terrorist who may cause harm – it was an entity that had caused harm. The threat that gangs posed was a threat to our way of life, but in particular, they were a threat to our children. The gangs became faceless beings who prowled the night preying on the innocent.

As well as the discourse of gangs as terrorists, there were other discourses. There were attempts by Tariana Turia to put forward a community centred dialogue towards gangs. However, this was met with harsh opposition from the public and other politicians. Reader comments reflected a view of gangs as being a Māori problem. These comments showed that for some people there was a racial component to the 'gang problem'. This connection between Māori and gangs may have assisted acceptance of the view that gangs were violent terrorists. The idea of Māori activism having a violent approach had been present in the news in 1999 where Māori said that attacks similar to IRA attacks would occur unless land was given back to Māori (Sluka, 2010). There were also reports in 2004 of the SIS monitoring Māori organisations (Sluka, 2010). The racial connection to the concept of terrorism was further reinforced with the Urewera raids in October 2007. As discussed above, racial tension within Whanganui may have been a contributor to the 2006 panic; with the 2007 panic, this national awareness of Māori as a potential terror threat may have also been a contributor. The gangs could be seen as representing the threat that Māori activists posed to the 'New Zealand' way of life.

In summary, the results showed a rise and decline in media attention and public

attitudes towards gangs. These results suggest that there are elements of a moral panic present and that it was generated by elites such as Michael Laws that were supported by media coverage. The overall context that surrounded the campaigns contributed to the outcome. Penal populism, the racial attitudes present within New Zealand, and the linking of gangs as terrorists helped to provide the cement to the foundations of gang definition and identity as one that should be eliminated.

This research was intended to discover why legislation that breaches fundamental rights was able to be enacted. My exploration led me to the conclusion that it was a result of a moral panic. Hence, the research provides a case study of moral panic. This was not a panic where a new folk devil was created - it was the latest episode of a continuing panic relating to gangs. A panic episode will occur when certain factors are present. One of these is media attention. The media will only maintain attention if the subject can meet the criterion of being 'news' – something that is 'transitory and spasmodic' (Cohen, 2002, XXXVIII). The events did meet this criterion, but in order to prolong a panic about the devil, where it was an existing devil, new and greater evils need to be attributed to that devil to keep it newsworthy. This where my research has its best contribution to moral panic literature. It presents a view of how an existing devil can be manipulated and updated according to the context of the particular time. In this case study, existing fears about gangs were able to be enhanced due to wider issues such as race and terrorism that occurred at the same time, to the extent that identity rather than behaviour needed to be repressed.

This page is intentionally blank.

CHAPTER ONE

CONTEXT OF THE WHANGANUI 'GANG PROBLEM'

"Gangs gain their power through intimidation. Intimidation is delivered through numbers in the gang and the shared identity of the patch"

('Mixed reaction to gang-patch law', 2013)

In 2009, Whanganui became the first district to ban the wearing of gang insignia in public places. This occurred because of a perception that Whanganui needed protection from gang conflict, and that this ban would help to make it happen. The 'gang problem' in Whanganui had kept the area in the media spotlight since 2006, creating the impression of an area recently driven into conflict. However, Whanganui is no stranger to conflict.

1.1 Whanganui History

Māori legend tells that the Whanganui River was created due to conflict when it was formed by Mount Taranaki after fighting with Tongariro. His giant steps, as he retreated, formed the gullies into which water flowed, creating the Whanganui River. The river was lifeblood for Māori; it provided a means of transport, communication, and food. When this vital resource and surrounding land became victim to European settlement (Whanganui area was the second major settlement in New Zealand), conflict ensured.

Conflict over land began with the New Zealand Company. A representative of the New Zealand Company had purchased land from Pūtiki pā, lower river Māori, which was then sold to settlers. There was a dispute as to the extent of land that was sold, and the courts found in favour of the lower river Māori but opted for monetary compensation rather than a return of land. Pūtiki pā chiefs gave assurances that the sales would be honoured but the Ngāti Hāua-te-rangi (upper river) Māori were not as happy (Bargh & Cross, 1995). This tension was heightened when Whanganui became home to the Rutland Stockade after the Hutt Valley conflicts.

Tōpine Te Mamaku, a Ngāti Hāua-te-rangi (upper river chief) who had taken part in the Hutt Valley conflicts, saw his chance to challenge local European settlement after the execution of upriver Māori for the murder of European settlers (which was thought to have been provoked by the shooting of an upriver Māori by a British navel cadet). In 1847, Te Mamaku lay siege to the settlement of Whanganui. After fighting at St Johns Wood, the siege ended as a stalemate and peace talks were conducted (Young, 2017).

The peace was short lived. Land sales in 1848 of 35,000 hectares combined with the memory of the previous sales disputes and the loss of warriors in other conflicts left the upper river Māori dissatisfied (Bargh & Cross, 1995). In 1864 when they were indoctrinated into the Pai-marire faith by Matene Rangi-tauira, they were motivated to seek a violent revenge. The upper river Māori proceeded towards Whanganui. They contacted the lower river Māori to let them know they intended to travel down the river to Whanganui to attack the settlement. The lower river Māori

denied access to the river which led to a battle on Moutoa Island. The lower river Māori were successful in defeating the upper river Māori and their efforts were rewarded by the Whanganui residents by the erection of a monument in their honour (Clark, 1975).

The monument which is now in the area known as Moutoa Gardens has the inscription:

> To the memory of the brave men who fell at Moutoa, 14th May, 1864, in defence of law and order against fanaticism and barbarism.

The site of Moutoa Gardens is on land that was once Pākaitore Pā; the ownership of this land has been disputed. This grievance over the land, the honouring of Māori who were loyal to the Europeans, along with ongoing disputes over river rights led to the 1995 protest where Māori occupied the Gardens for 79 days (Young, 2017). The occupation began at the end of February 1995, just prior to the 'fiscal envelope' Hui further up the Whanganui River[1].

Mayor Chas Poynter initially took a stance of peaceful discussion:

> We now need to put a process in place so that we can discuss matters with the local Māori community and iwi in a courteous atmosphere and with proper procedures to be followed.

---

[1] The 'fiscal envelope' was the name given to the government proposals for final settlements on Treaty claims. The Government had angered Māori by putting a cap on the full amount available for settlement, which led to a number of protests and actions around the country.

During the early stages of the protest there were tensions between police and the protesters (Norris, 1995) as well as other residents and protesters. There were calls for a forcible eviction and for government intervention; however, police and the Whanganui District Council maintained that the dispute needed to be settled without force (Kayes, 1995).

While the occupation continued the media generated more attention toward it and to Māori issues. Feature stories that provided background information on the issues appeared, as well as stories warning that allowing the protest to continue could spark widespread civil disobedience. The media attention was not welcomed by all. Moana Jackson was reported as saying the:

> … media coverage and politicians' reactions are designed to create a moral panic among the wider community.

The protest divided the community of Whanganui, both European and Māori – one prominent local Māori family member of Whanganui spoke out against the protest, stating that the protesters were not representatives of Whanganui Māori. Instead, "what they apparently represent are sickness beneficiaries and gang members" (Morgan, 1995).

During the protest, the Black Power and the Nomads gangs (the two prominent

gangs operating at the time; the Black Power gang is discussed later in this chapter), joined forces with the protestors to provide security (Gilbert, 2010). These reports set the tone for the Whanganui 'gang problem' by placing 'gangs' at the heart of conflict ('Police concern at gang at Moutoa', 1995).

As the siege continued, the Mayor and Council were placed under increasing pressure to end the siege. One example of this was a proposed rate strike by residents who felt that the council were not being hard enough on the protesters (Morgan, 1995). Media scorn included comments such as 'the Māori squatters who have taken possession of this public park are making a laughingstock of the police, the Government and the Wanganui District Council' ('Occupation must end', 1995).

Legal advice obtained stated that protesters were incorrect, and the area of land had been part of the land purchases. Despite this, the protesters maintained their stance. The council gave notice to the protesters to leave within seven days in late March, but the protesters remained. Negotiations continued while the council sought a high court ruling over ownership. The protesters called for talks to occur between them and the Crown instead of the council, but this did not occur. A ruling was given on 17 May that the council were the legal owners of the land. The council issued an eviction notice to the protesters and made it clear that this time it would be enforced. On the 18th of May the protesters left of their own accord. While the end to the occupation was peaceful, the protest itself had created lines of division within the Whanganui community.

Tension between local government and Māori continued under Mayor Michael Laws. The district became divided on whether an H should be included in the name of the town. The river and the region were spelt with the H. A report commissioned by the Council claimed that the spelling without an 'h' was usual (Beaglehole, 2009). However, the New Zealand Geographical Board declared that an H should be included in the town name but allowed for different spelling (New Zealand Geographical Board, 2009).

This conflict concerning the spelling of the city's name had been ongoing, but the new attention to the issue coincided with media focus on the 'gang problem' during the period of 2006-2009. In late 2005 there were media reports about requests for the 'h'. This increased in 2006, and in 2009 after the New Zealand Geographical Board decision this increased even further. Laws was determined that the 'h' should not be included. It was not until under the mayoralty of Annette Main that the spelling of the Whanganui District Council changed to including the 'H'.

In 2008 to 2009 another controversy arose in the national media. The topic under discussion was proposed legislation called the *District Council (Prohibition of Gang Insignia) Act 2009* ('*Gang Insignia Act 2009*'). The bill, if enacted, would allow the Whanganui District Council to make bylaws prohibiting the wearing of gang insignia in certain areas. The debate on whether this should occur took part in newspapers, television, radio and finally in parliament. To give some indication of the discussion, the following are extracts from newspapers and parliamentary debates taken from the 2008-2009 period:

Preventing Mongrel Mob and Black Power gang members wearing what

they like is the thin end of an extremely large wedge. This is not just about gang paraphernalia intimidating members of the public and being the catalyst for further gang confrontation. It is about what comes next. Perhaps anything that is deemed vaguely threatening. Burqas? Hoodies? Both intimidate some people. ('Editorial: Gang patch ban taking it too far', 2008)

This is not a debate about freedom of expression. It is an assertion of the rights of the majority to live in peace without being intimidated by criminals. ('Gang patch ban bill passes first test', 2008)

One of the issues I have with this bill is that we are being asked to pass it without knowing the actual impact that it will have on Wanganui and its citizens. (Mackey M., 2009)

After such debate, the *Gang Insignia Act 2009* was enacted in May 2009. This Act prohibited the 'display' of 'gang insignia' within 'specified areas' of the Whanganui District (s12). A person who, without reasonable excuse, was in breach of this prohibition could be convicted and fined up to $2000.00. Further, police had the power to arrest without warrant any person suspected of displaying gang insignia and may have seized the gang insignia (with force if necessary) that has been or is being displayed (s7(1)). Any gang insignia that had been seized is forfeited to the Crown (s7(2)).

The Act also empowered the police to stop a vehicle without warrant if there was reasonable suspicion that a person who has displayed gang insignia is in the vehicle (s8(1)). If a vehicle had been stopped for this reason, the police could search the vehicle and request any person in the vehicle to provide their name, date of birth, address, or any other detail requested by the police (s8(4)). A failure, without reasonable excuse, to comply with this or the request to stop could have resulted in a conviction and a fine of up to $1000.00(s8(5)).

Gang insignia was defined as being any sign, symbol, or representation that shows affiliation or support for a 'gang' (s4). The Law and Order Committee had initially recommended that tattoos be included so as to prevent 'an increase in the use of tattoos by gang members to intimidate the public' but the Bill was later amended so that any 'gang insignia' will not include tattoos. The Act (s4) defined a gang as being the seven listed gangs and any organisation, association or group identified in a bylaw made in accordance with s5. In order to identify such a group as a gang, the Council had to be satisfied that the group has a common name, signs and symbols, and its members, associates, and/or ? supporters promote, either individually or collectively, encourage or engage in a pattern of criminal activity (s5(3)). Section 5 of the Act also allowed for the Council to make bylaws to designate areas of the Whanganui District as 'specified places.'

These powers were in theory restrained by the requirement that the Council use special consultative procedures prior to making the bylaw(s) (s5(2)) and that the bylaw could only be made if it was necessary to prevent public intimidation or

gang confrontations (s5(4)). In relation to designating specified places, any bylaw could not be made if the effect would be to have all public places in the District as 'specified places' (s5(5)). The bylaw passed by the Whanganui District Council in 2009 included more 'gangs' and made the entire urban area a specified area. Although geographically this area does not comprise the entire district, it is where 90% of the population lives. It was due to this extent of 'specified places' that the bylaw was repealed in 2011 by way of a judicial review. In 2012, the Whanganui District Council began a new process of making a new bylaw that would be compliant with the restriction on specified places, but this plan was later abandoned.

The enactment of the legislation and the subsequent bylaw to ban gang insignia created an image of Whanganui as a 'gang city'. However, Whanganui had not always been an area that was perceived as having 'gang related issues' that were different to the rest of New Zealand. In 1997, a survey conducted by Local Government New Zealand as to whether local governments were experiencing gang-related problems resulted in a report that showed whilst Whanganui District Council acknowledged some 'gang issues' these did not appear to be of greater significance to those experienced by other local authorities (Local Government New Zealand, 1997). In relation to organised crime, the report stated:

> … in general, Wanganui Police target individuals *rather than whole gangs* and claim good results since the introduction of this tactic. (Local Government New Zealand, p. 21, emphasis added)

The view that Whanganui was no different was also seen in a media release by Mayor Michael Laws in 2005 in which he stated:

> Wanganui does have a gang problem. It's arguably not as bad as other urban areas in New Zealand, but it's still not good. (Laws, 2005)

Michael Laws did go on to state that he had been discussing gang issues with police and members of the community and was determined to confront the problems.

It would appear that prior to 2006 the Whanganui 'gang problem' was not considered to be one that required high profile media attention and the creation of new laws. So why did this change?

1.2 Road to the legislation

In February 2006 there was a confrontation between two of the resident gangs – the Hells Angels MC and the Mongrel Mob. During this violence the leader of the Mongrel Mob, Peter Randal Nahona, was badly beaten by Hells Angels MC members. There were some reports that he had died (which were false) which put police on high alert for fear of retribution.

In response to the attack, the then Mayor of Whanganui Michael Laws called an extraordinary meeting of the District Council for the 10 March, 2006. The purpose of the meeting was to put forward different strategies to deal with the 'gang problem'. One of the strategies put forward was the creation of a bylaw to prohibit

the wearing of gang insignia. In order to create such a bylaw, there was a need to identify the problem and determine whether a bylaw was the most appropriate way of addressing the issue. It is unclear from the minutes of the meeting as to exactly how the Wanganui District Council identified gang insignia as 'the problem' compared to other gang related offending or behaviours. It appears that the visible presence of gangs was put forward as being 'the problem' by Michael Laws and the meeting was merely a matter of receiving information that confirmed his conclusion. The support for this conclusion came from the briefing the Wanganui District Council received from the District Commander Superintendent Mark Lammas, Acting Area Commander Senior Sergeant Duncan McLeod, and Police Association President Greg O'Connor as to gang activity in general and in Wanganui, in particular. Senior Sergeant Duncan McLeod commented on the number of gangs and recent confrontations that were in public places; it is not clear from the recorded comments as to how gang insignia could be identified as being the cause of these confrontations. In relation to gang patches, the minutes of the meeting summarise comments by Superintendent Mark Lammas as being:

> Whilst a patch readily identified a person as a gang member, there were a number of negative aspects such as the patch intimidated people, people saw the patch but not the wearer, and gang patches were more attractive to people predisposed towards gang behaviour. (Wanganui District Council, 2006, p. 1861)

Greg O'Conner outlined some general statistics on gang numbers and offending

(which included mention of the drugs trade). His comments as to Wanganui gang activity merely referred to the problem being 'gang members strutting around the streets' and said the bylaw would be a success 'if it took the profit out of crime' (Wanganui District Council, 2006, p. 1862). There is no mention as to how he considered that banning gang insignia would reduce profits from crime.

The minutes mention that a benefit of the bylaw would be to increase police powers in relation to gangs as it would give them greater powers of arrest. It is tempting to conclude that it appears the 'real problem' was the inability of police to use existing laws to reduce gang activity and that gang insignia was a means of increasing police powers rather than the insignia being a problem in its own right.

The members of the Wanganui District Council agreed that it appeared that gang insignia was a problem and that a bylaw would be the most appropriate means of dealing with the problem. It was also agreed that a bylaw would be drafted. The process of obtaining the bylaw was halted in June 2006 as the Wanganui District Council received legal advice that it would be in breach of the *New Zealand Bill of Rights 1990*. Under the Local Government Act 2002, s155(3) local governments are prohibited from creating bylaws that would be in breach of the *New Zealand Bill of Rights 1990*, so another means of implementing the ban on gang insignia had to be found. In November 2006 it was decided that the best means to implement the ban was to put forward a local bill to parliament, as parliament has the ability to enact legislation that is inconsistent with the *New Zealand Bill of Rights 1990* if the situation warrants this (this is discussed in more detail below). This bill would enable a bylaw

to be created despite the potential infringement on freedom of expression.

In April 2007, a local referendum was held by the Wanganui District Council (WDC) to gauge support for a ban on gang insignia; 64 per cent of those who voted said they would agree with a gang patch bylaw. In May 2007, a young girl called Jhia was shot by Mongrel Mob members who fired shots into the house of a Black Power member. According to Police Minister Annette King the incident was unusual in terms of gang violence; she is quoted in Time Magazine as stating:

> The killing of innocent people by gangs is very rare. Looking back over time, the only other [such case involving] an innocent bystander was in Christchurch in the 1990s. But having said that, violence between gang members probably does go on every day, and it's unreported. ('Tribal Trouble', 2007)

Even though the killing may have been an 'exception' rather than 'the rule', it still created a nationwide concern for gang activity. When the local bill was put before parliament, it was an incident that was mentioned several times, so may have been influential in allowing the passing of the *Gang Insignia Act 2009* in May 2009. After the passing of the Act, the Whanganui bylaw was created.

The Act and bylaw criminalised the display of (gang) identity rather than criminalising behaviour. This meant that not only had the Whanganui 'gang problem' been escalated to one that required the creation of new laws, it was also a 'problem' that necessitated a law that was controversial.

1.3 Why was this law considered controversial?

Criminal law protects the interests of society by demanding compliance through the use of penalties that deter and punish 'undesirable' behaviour (Ashworth, 2000). However, when 'undesirable' behaviour is criminalised this represents a limitation on the liberty of a person to behave in a particular manner. The principles of criminal law recognise that if members of society are subject to numerous and excessive limits on liberty this can enhance contempt for the law in general and lead to non-compliance (Bjerregaard, 2003; Husak, 2004). As such, it is recognised that the use of criminal law should be restricted in its use and reserved for matters where there is a significant policy objective (Legislation and Design Advisory Committee, 2018). Legal literature identifies several principles that identify ways in which the use of criminal law can be limited so as to preserve respect and compliance with the law. According to Bowles, Faure & Garoupa (2008) these principles include: respect for personal autonomy, the presence of harm, morality, and the need for culpability.

Personal autonomy is the ability to exercise free will in regard to life choices. The concept of autonomy and its relationship to criminal law is twofold[2]. First, acceptance of the autonomous individual means limiting the law so that the ability to self-regulate is maintained. Second, the recognition that individuals are capable of self-regulation imports the concept of responsibility for their choices and lays the foundation for culpability in relation to criminal acts (Cambell, 1967; Fischer, 1982; Gardner, 1998). If the criminal law seeks to limit the autonomy of the individual,

---

[2] For a discussion on the principle of personal autonomy and its relationship to criminal law please refer to Ashworth, (2009 pp. 23-26)

then there must be a compelling reason to do so. Often this reason will occur where the exercise of one person's free choice will restrict the exercise of other people's equally valid choices. This means the principle of respect for personal autonomy is often modified as being that the criminal law should not restrict the liberty (or right) of one person to engage in certain conduct unless it unduly restricts other people's exercise of free choice.

In New Zealand, rights that are recognised as having justification and fundamental importance to its citizens are contained within the *New Zealand Bill of Rights Act 1990*. When the Act was first introduced as a bill it was intended to have a substantial impact on civil rights and to act as a safeguard against the excesses of government. Whilst originally intended to be entrenched and gain priority status, the Act obtained assent on the condition it remained subordinate to all other legislation. This means that although the Act places duties on each branch of government and other public actors to observe the statutory rights, the Act does not provide a mechanism to fully restrain the abuse of power.

A preliminary safeguard against unwarranted limitations on rights is the requirement in s7 that the Attorney- General report to the House of Representatives as to any potential inconsistencies with the *New Zealand Bill of Rights 1990* contained within newly introduced bills. However, there is no obligation on the part of parliament to comply with the report; instead the report merely acts as guidance. In compiling such a report, the Attorney-General will first ascertain if the legislation will have the effect of limiting a right. If there is a potential for one of the statutory rights to be limited, the Attorney-General will then consider if the limitation is justified in terms of s5.

To determine if a limitation on a right is justified often requires a balancing of the right to be limited against the right that will be protected through the limitation. There are two ways in which this balancing may be achieved – either by 'definitional balancing' or by '*ad hoc* balancing' (Butler, A. S., 2002, p.541). Definitional balancing perceives freedoms as having inherent limitations which means the freedom is automatically prevented from being protected when certain qualities are present. In the situation of freedom of speech, this would mean speech would be automatically excluded from protection when it contains the quality of (e.g.) obscenities, regardless of the exact situation in which the obscene speech has occurred. The danger is using this approach was recognised by Tipping j in *Quilter v Attorney-General* [1998] 1 NZLR 523, (CA):

> if restrictions which may be legitimate or justified in some circumstances are built into the right itself the risk is that they will apply in other circumstances when they are not legitimised or justified. (p. 576)

Due to the restrictions of this form of balancing, the New Zealand Courts have adopted *ad hoc* balancing which 'starts with a more widely-defined right and then legitimises or justifies a restriction if appropriate' (Butler, A. S., 2002, p.542). This approach was used and further developed in the case of *Moonen v Film and Literature Board of Review* [2000] 2 NZLR 9 (CA), where the Court considered that after establishing that the legislation had the capability of breaching a provision of the *New Zealand Bill of Rights 1990* the correct test to ascertain whether the limitation was justified was to:

> [First] ... identify the objective which the legislature was endeavouring to achieve by the provision in question. The importance and significance of that objective must then be assessed. The way in which the objective is statutorily achieved must be in reasonable proportion to the importance of the objective.... The means used must also have a rational relationship with the objective, and in achieving the objective there must be as little interference as possible with the right or freedom affected. Furthermore, the limitation involved must be justifiable in the light of the objective. (para 18)

The *Moonen* 'justifiable limitation test' is essentially a three-part test that first identifies the 'rights' (valid claims to freedoms) that the legislation seeks to protect. The second part of the test, 'the rational connection' determines whether the exercise of right to be limited does infringe upon the other right that the legislation seeks to protect. If the exercise of the right does not infringe upon the other right, there can be no justification in limiting the right. The third part of the test introduces the actual balancing exercise – whether the limitation on the right is accurately balanced against the strength of the right that is being protected.

It was the *Moonen* test that was applied in the report issued by the Attorney-General for the *Wanganui District Council (Prohibition of Gang Insignia)* Bill (New Zealand Government, Attorney-General Office, 2008). In the report, the Attorney-General first established that the bill in its current form raised issues of consistency with s14 of the *New Zealand Bill of Rights 1990*, which is the right to free expression.

As there was an issue of consistency, the Attorney-General then proceeded to the three-step *Moonen* test and first identified and assessed the objectives of the legislation. The objective was stated as being to reduce the likelihood of gang confrontations and intimidation of members of the public. As these objectives had the aim of protecting public order and preserving the rights of others, they were considered to be 'significant' enough (they are a valid right) to warrant limiting the right to free expression in some circumstances.

The next step was to assess whether there was a rational and proportionate connection between the objectives and the limitation on free expression. In doing this the Attorney-General had the ability to have referred to a range of evidence and research to establish and support the link between the prohibition on gang insignia and intimidation/gang warfare[3]. The report does not refer to any such evidence. There were two main objectives for the legislation. First, to reduce gang confrontations and second to reduce intimidation. In relation to gang warfare, it was stated that removing one of the means by which gangs identify each other should logically reduce the likelihood of gang warfare. This 'rational connection' suggests that gang insignia not only identifies but also 'marks' a person as a target for confrontation (New Zealand Government, Attorney- General Office, 2008, p.4).

There are some difficulties with this suggestion. As this observation notes, gang

---

[3] Moonen v Film and Literature Board of Review [2000] 2 NZLR 9 (CA); at para 18 the Court indicated that the use of a wide range of factors should be considered by stating: 'whether the limitation in issue can or cannot be demonstrably justified in a free and democratic society is a matter of judgment which the Court is obliged to make on behalf of the society which it serves and after considering all the issues which may have a bearing on the individual case, whether they be social, legal, moral, economic, administrative, ethical or otherwise.'

insignia is just one method of identifying gang membership. There are many other means of gangs identifying each other. Often gang membership will be created due to family or neighbourhood associations within a particular community, so there is a community awareness of who is in a certain gang (Decker & Van Winkle, 1996; Green, 1997). McIntosh & Zahra (2007) revealed a poignant link between family and gang involvement in an extract written when overseeing the experiences of members of a volunteer tourist group who were interacting with local Māori, including young Māori children:

> The volunteers are commenting a lot and very fascinated about the gangs and culture associated with gangs. This is an aspect of the culture they did not expect to encounter. The volunteers discuss how the kids talk about how their parents are in gangs and how they will join the gangs when they get older. The kids are recruited for the gangs at a young age. (p. 550)

Gang related attacks had been on houses of gang members (Wanganui Chronicle, 2005), including the shooting of Jhia Te Tua, so this would support the idea that it is community knowledge rather than the wearing of insignia which is one of the means that leads to the identification of gang members. For example, in *R v Church*, ((unrep) High Court, Wellington, 23 May 2008, Ronald Young) it was reported, that the death of Wanganui toddler Jhia Te Tua arose after members of the Mongrel Mob were 'searching for a Black Power house in Wanganui'.

There were some incidents where members of the public who were not gang members

were subject to abuse due to the wearing of gang colours, which on face value gives credence to the concept that insignia is a source of gang confrontations. However, in the situation of a young child who was harassed for the colour of his shirt, the condemning comments in the media by gang members as to this behaviour suggests that this form of victimisation is not common or sanctioned gang conduct (Katterns & Watson, 2010).

The concept that the role of gang insignia is to provide a means of identification that marks a person out for confrontation has also been questioned by Gilbert (2010) who stated:

> A small city like Wanganui most of the town's gang members are liable to know one another by sight, regardless of dress, so the effect of a patch ban is likely to be minimal. Also, gang violence is a problem all around the world, and yet New Zealand is unique in that street gangs wear patches, clearly the patches alone do not cause violence. (Gilbert, 2010, p. 655)

This was also acknowledged in *Schubert v Wanganui District Council* (HC Wanganui CIV-2010-483-321 3 March 2011), where it was stated that:

> … while gang insignia is one way in which gang members identify each other, there is no evidence before the Court that it is the only means of identification. The police themselves recognise that they are able to identify gang members when they are not wearing any gang insignia, so there is little reason to suspect that the gang members themselves cannot

do the same. (para 191)

Given this, it would seem that the mere display of insignia associated with gangs would have had a limited effect on confrontational gang behaviour. Gangs are most likely able to distinguish who are gang members regardless of dress, so the insignia does not appear to be the real cause of confrontations.

In regard to intimidation of members of the public, it was stated by the Attorney-General that the provision would not reduce intimidation caused by the presence of gang members in a group and their behaviour. It was suggested that the gang insignia may cause intimidation as it 'conveys a message' to the public that the wearers are members of a group known for violence and unlawfulness (New Zealand Government, Attorney-General Office, 2008, p.4).

Although the Attorney-General considered that there was a 'tenuous' connection between the objective and the relevant provision, when it came to proportionality, it was considered that there would be a disproportionate impact on freedom of expression (New Zealand Government, Attorney-General Office, 2008). In order to understand this conclusion, further clarification on the right to freedom of expression and the way in which it may be balanced against other rights is needed.

Expression is not limited to words. It can also take the form of symbols and signs designed to impart a particular meaning. The test devised in *Spence v. Washington* 418 U.S. 405, 409, 94 S.Ct. 2727, 41 L.Ed.2d 842 (1974) as to whether symbols are 'expression' requires an intent to convey a particular message and likelihood that the

message will be understood by those who view it. The context in which the symbol or conduct occurs will also be important as this may help to provide the intended meaning. In New Zealand Courts, the idea of what constitutes expression has been defined broadly as being: 'as wide as human thought and imagination' (*Moonen v Film and Literature Board of Review,* 2000, para 15), so it appears there is a vast array of conduct and symbolism which may be regarded as expression.

Free speech has an ancient tradition within western society and is often associated with the notion of democracy, although its application and worth is further reaching than just political comment. As Emerson (1963) commented, free speech is valued for several reasons:

> The values sought by society in protecting the right to freedom of expression may be grouped into four broad categories. Maintenance of a system of free expression is necessary (1) as assuring individual self-fulfilment, (2) as a means of attaining the truth, (3) as a method of securing participation by the members of the society in social, including political, decision-making, and (4) as maintaining the balance between stability and change in the society. (p. 881)

Not all of these justifications may be present in a particular exercise of speech. For example, in *Brooker v Police* [2007] 3 NZLR 91, a man (Brooker) positioned himself outside of the house of a policewoman who has issued a search warrant for his house. Brooker then proceeded to sing a 'protest' song about the warrant. This exercise of free speech may have satisfied (1) and (4) by allowing him to express his anger

against the warrant in a non-violent way, but was highly unlikely to have satisfied (3).

The case of *Brooker* highlights a common theme in New Zealand and overseas jurisdictions – that expression which is a form of protest should be afforded as high level of protection. In this regard, the Court in *Brooker* stated:

> In assessing the particular weight to be given to freedom of speech in a protest context, respecting the freedom to choose the means of protesting which are seen to be most effective is important. Respect for protest as a means of pressing for change in official policy or conduct is very much part of New Zealand's culture and societal values. A protest concerning perceived overbearing police conduct is well within the spirit of the right to freedom of expression. (para 116)

Given the significance of freedom of expression, it is generally only in exceptional circumstances that it is denied. This sentiment of the need for exceptional circumstances was expressed in *Brooker* by using the following quote from *Terminiello v City of Chicago* 337 US 1 (1949) (US SC), at p 4, where it was stated in regard to free speech that:

> It may indeed best serve its high purpose when it induces a condition of unrest, creates dissatisfaction with conditions as they are, or even stirs people to anger. Speech is often provocative and challenging. It may strike at prejudices and preconceptions and have profound unsettling effects as

it presses for acceptance of an idea. That is why freedom of speech, though not absolute … is nevertheless protected against censorship or punishment, unless shown likely to produce a clear and present danger of serious substantive evil that rises far above public inconvenience, annoyance or unrest.

In the situation of gang insignia, this idea is capable of conveying a variety of meanings. One meaning is that the wearer is intending to send a message that they support (through membership or association) their 'organisation' and its beliefs. According to the promoters of the legislation this message of support is a threat to public order as the organisation is one that stands for crime and violence[4]. By expressing support for a gang, the wearer also expresses support for crime and violence. However, this is not the only message that the support demonstrates. Gangs and their insignia can also be a form of rebellion and protest. For example, the 'Black Power' insignia portrays the clenched fist that is associated with civil rights protests against the oppression of African people (Gilbert, 2010). The Mongrel Mob name and insignia represents anger against colonial oppression and the British systems in place – including the justice system (Gilbert, 2010). So, a blanket prohibition on the wearing of insignia also suppresses these expressions of protest.

This was noted by the Attorney-General that the prohibition would cover a large range of expressions and would not differentiate between the display of insignia that is intended to be confrontational or intimidating and displays that are not intended to

---

[4] Refer to the comments (particularly those of Chester Borrows) in New Zealand Parliamentary Debates (NZPD), Wanganui District Council (Prohibition of Gang Insignia) Bill — Second Reading, vol. 652, pp. 1642

have this effect. The tentative connection to the objectives of reducing intimidation and gang confrontations means the conduct did not provide a 'clear and present danger' and was not a proportionate response. As such, the Attorney-General concluded that the bill presented an inconsistency with s14 of the *New Zealand Bill of Rights 1990* that could not be justified.

A disproportionate response to the 'threat' posed could indicate that this legislation was a result of a moral panic. A moral panic, as discussed in detail in Chapter Three, involves a public reaction to a phenomenon that is disproportionate to the threat posed. The reason for the overreaction may be due to distorted media coverage. My study explores whether the media attention which focused on the 'gang problem' may have been, in the words of Jackson (1995), "designed to create a moral panic". The idea that the 'gang problem' was the result of moral panic was referred to by Tariana Turia in 2007 when she stated Aotearoa / New Zealand was being subjected to a moral panic regarding gangs and that the moral panic created a perception that the gangs were 'completely out of control' (Young, 2007). When reviewing the data, it needs to be kept in mind that gangs had always been considered a threat. The aim here was to see if this 'threat' had increased.

The first question is whether the 'threat' was exaggerated. To assist with this, the remainder of this chapter reviews some of the relevant contextual factors that existed at the time of the perceived threat to review whether such a response (the introduction of the legislation and bylaw) was a reasonable response. This includes an overview of Whanganui demographics, an introduction to the gangs in Whanganui, and a summary of statistical reports relating to offending and community

views on fear.

1.4 Whanganui Demographics

Whanganui District is based in the Central Districts region of the North Island. Whanganui city is centred near the Whanganui River. Figures based on the nationwide census held in 2006 show Whanganui accounted for 1.2% of the Aotearoa / New Zealand population (42,640 residents). The population in Whanganui had been declining, for example there was a fall of 1.5% from 2001-2006. This is a critical period as it corresponds to when the ban was first suggested (Statistics New Zealand, 2006).

As can be seen in Figure 1.1, Whanganui differs from other areas of Aotearoa / New Zealand in that there was a higher percentage of European and Māori whilst there was an under-representation of other ethnic groups in Whanganui in comparison to the rest of New Zealand.
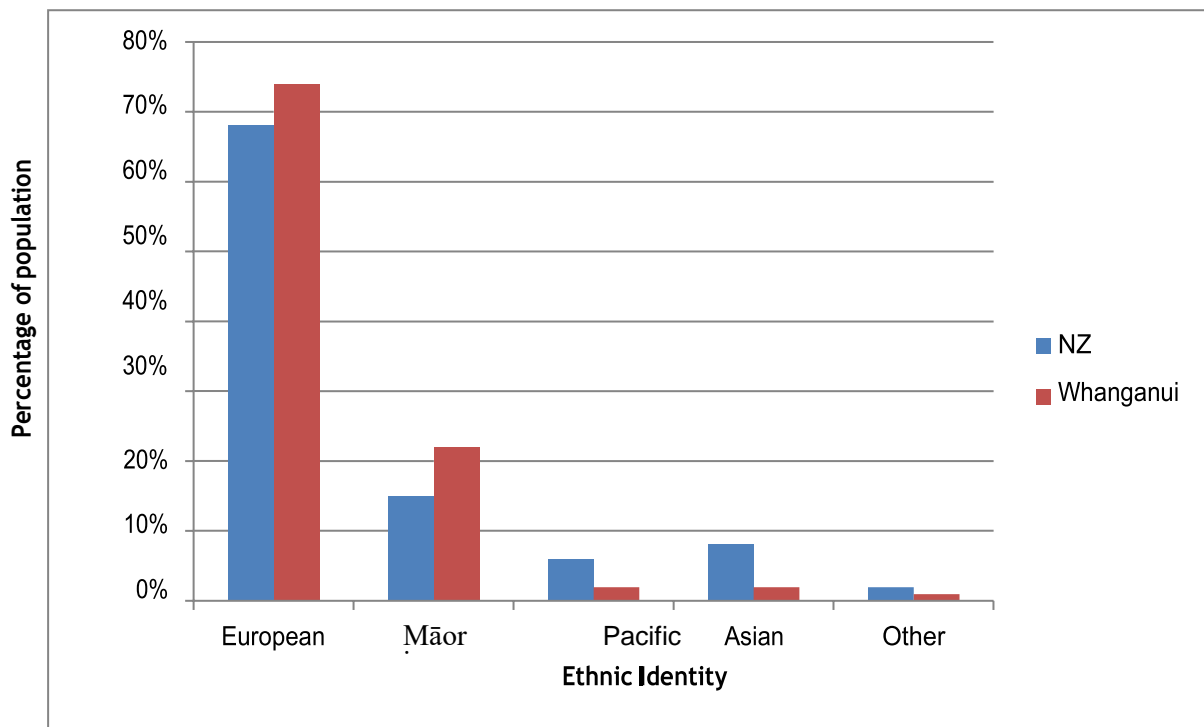

Figure 1.1 Comparison of ethnic diversity between Aotearoa / New Zealand and

Whanganui in 2006. Graph created using data from Statistics New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, 2006.

Whanganui also has an older population compared to the general population. Figures for the age groups are as follows: 15-29 years (Whanganui 17%, NZ 20%), 60-74 years (Whanganui 14%, NZ 11%), 75+ years (Wang 8%, NZ 6%). Areas within Whanganui with the highest medium age (44-50 years) were Springvale East / West, Otamatea, St Johns Hill, Bastia Hill, whilst areas with the youngest medium age (32-33) were Wembely Park, Castlecliff South, and Balgownie.

Figure 1.2 Map of Whanganui Region showing suburbs. (Source: Google Maps)

The level of socio-economic deprivation was higher in Whanganui, compared to the rest of Aotearoa / New Zealand. A smaller percentage of the population live in low deprivation areas (1 or 2 deciles)[5] compared to the general Aotearoa / New Zealand

---

[5] These findings are from the Social Deprivation Index. The levels of deprivation are ascertained using variables that represent nine dimensions of deprivation which range from home ownership to communications within the home.

population whilst a higher percentage live in high deprivation areas. More affluent Whanganui areas are the Hill suburbs and Blueskin whilst high level deprivation occurs in Laird Park, Castlecliff North, Lower Aramoho, Wembley Park, Gonville West, Whanganui Central, Castlecliff South, Mosston and Balgownie, (which all had a level 10) Williams Domain, Gonville East, Cooks Gardens and Spriggens Park (which had a level 9), (Statistics New Zealand, 2016).

Compared to the rest of Aotearoa / New Zealand, Whanganui has lower ethnic diversity, greater deprivation levels and an older population. As is discussed in more detail in Chapter two, these factors can contribute to increased feelings of fear amongst a community, regardless of the actual risk that is posed.

1.5 Whanganui Gangs

The estimated number of patched gang members in NZ in 2008 was 3000 (New Zealand Police Association, 2008). The number of patched gang members in Whanganui was estimated in 2008 to be 90 which represent 3% of the total NZ gang members (Wanganui District Council, 2008). The three main established adult gangs in Whanganui are Hell's Angels Motorcycle Club Wanganui (Hell's Angels), Mighty Mongrel Mob (Mongrel Mob), and Black Power. The Tribesmen have also been present since the mid to late 2000's. The Rebels MC (RMC, an Australian group) have had a growing presence in Aotearoa / New Zealand since early 2011, with some sightings in Whanganui. The main gangs associated with the violence and intimidation that led to legislation being introduced are the older established gangs

---

These are then calculated to find the decile ratings which range from 1 to 10. The lower the decile the least amount of deprivation, (Statistics New Zealand, 2016).

(Wanganui District Council, 2008).

The Hell's Angels was first formed in 1948 in San Bernardino, California. The popular account of the group's beginnings appears to have been subject to media myth making which attributed the group's founding members as being ex-military personnel from an American WWII B-17 Bomber called "Hell's Angels" (part of the 303rd Squadron), who were 'misfits' and found it difficult to adjust to peacetime (HAMC, n.d.). This has been disputed by Hell's Angels, who state that the connection to the military was through an ex-serviceman who was in the American Volunteer Group (AVS) known as the 'Flying Tigers' which had a 3rd Pursuit Squadron called the 'Hell's Angels" (AVS 3PS). This serviceman, Arvid Olsen, knew some of the founding members of Hell's Angels and through this association the name and colours used by the AVS 3PS came about. Olsen was never a member of Hell's Angels (HAMC, n.d.). The Flying Skull design of the Hell's Angels was influenced by designs used by the 85th Fighter Squadron and the 552nd Medium Bomber Squadron, and the red and white colours are also colours used in some of the air force designs (Gilbert, 2010). The Hell's Angels established more charters during the 1950s and the first international charter was established in Auckland in 1961. Today there are approximately 260 charters worldwide. In Aotearoa / New Zealand there are three – Hell's Angels Auckland and Whanganui, as well as the Hell's Angels 'Nomads' which was formed in 2011 comprising high ranking members from Hell's Angels Auckland/Whanganui (New Zealand Herald, December 2011).

The Whanganui Chapter of Hell's Angels was formally the Galgoffa MC which was established in 1975. In 1989 Galgoffa 'prospected' for Hells Angels and gained their

'colours' in 1992 (Gilbert, 2010). The term 'prospect' means that a person or group of people (as in the case of the Galgoffa MC) apply to become members of a group (such as the Hells Angels). Each group will differ as to what their requirements are for the person or people to become members. The term 'colours' refers to group insignia which is worn by members of the group. According to police statistics, in 2009 there were 12 patched members and eight prospects. The Hell's Angels represent a smaller number of members in comparison to the other gangs; this is also reflected in apparent gang offending (New Zealand Police, 2009). However, the police regard them as a serious threat due to their links to the overall Hell's Angels network. The Hell's Angels, as with other Motorcycle Clubs, strongly reject the gang label - they are adamant that they are a club not a gang (Gilbert, 2010).

The Mongrel Mob came into existence in the 1960s and spread through the lower North Island during the 1970s. The legend is that the name arose in 1956 due to a District Court judge calling a group of men before him 'a pack of mongrels', however whether this is accurate is unknown (Isaac & Haami, 2007). The insignia adopted by the gang is a British Bulldog wearing a German Stahlhelm helmet; the gang also uses German symbols from the WWII period such as the 'swastika' and the phrase 'Seig Heil' (which is used by the gang as 'Seig fucken Heil'). According to Tuhoe 'Bruno' Isaac (a former Mongrel Mob leader), the use of these symbols and terms was designed to create a sense of rebellion and rejection of mainstream society, as he comments:

> We felt all levels of society - our fathers and mothers, whanau, Pakeha, Māori l, neighbours, towns, churches, politicians and the public - hated us,

so we just reflected that hatred back at them like a high-noon sun in a mirror. The swastika symbol, taken on board by the original gang members, stood for the enemies our fathers and grandfathers fought against and detested in World War II. In our perversity we appropriated that symbol, proclaimed it as our own and set ourselves up as public enemy number one. Red was our colour and it stood for blood, the blood spilt by our brothers and the blood we shed as a gang. (Isaac & Haami, 2007)

The Mongrel Mob in Whanganui appears to have started in the 1970s. The number of members were estimated to be 44 patched, seven prospects (number of close associates is fairly fluid but is estimated to be around 80-100) in 2009 (New Zealand Police, 2009). The gang is the largest in the Whanganui area, and was described by the NZ Police as being connected to the largest number of gang related offending (New Zealand Police, 2008).

In early 2006 the Mongrel Mob's leader, Peter Randal Nahona, was beaten up by Hells Angels members in a week of violence that motivated the Wanganui District Council to consider implementing the insignia ban. The Mongrel Mob Whanganui started a Facebook page in late 2010, which has attracted close to 900 'likes' and has various posts from Facebook users, both supporters and non-supporters. The Mongrel Mob, like other gangs, projects an image of brotherhood and family which is seen in the following Facebook posting:

X posts message: "Gangs are just a group of pathetic low life cunts who think its cool to fuck shit up". Z (A supporter of MM) posts back: "Gangs

are like family" (posted September 2012).

The Black Power gang began in 1968. The website that was operated by Black Power from 2001-2003 (www.blackpower.co.nz), was one of the first for an Aotearoa / New Zealand gang ("Gang website first", 2001). This site stated that the original members were mostly young Māori men in the Auckland and Wellington areas. In the documentary 'Black Power Fast Forward' (Cathro, 1990), Black Power members said that during the 1960s many Māori moved from rural to urban areas, such as Auckland, which resulted in a sense of loss for young Māori in relation to their family, community, and culture. Gangs such as Black Power helped to fill this void by creating feelings of belonging and being with 'brothers'. The name and symbol (a clenched fist) are taken from the American Black Power movement. This use could imply the group's identity is a political statement, however Jarrod Gilbert, a Christchurch gang researcher, commented in 2009 that:

> The reason they're called Black Power is it sounded cool and the reason they chose [the image] is because it looked cool. I don't think there is too much more to it than that. ("What gang patches mean", 2009)

With respect, while Gilbert may be correct in the sense that the original Black Power did not intend to achieve the same political activism as their American counter-parts, this does not mean there was no political statement or intent with using the name and images. The formation of the gang was the creation of a collective identity comprising young Māori men who felt alienated within mainstream society and its institutions with an aim to increasing their group and personal pride in their heritage – it was

saying: "We are claiming the power that mainstream society is denying us". A claim for recognition and power, and one that is aimed towards institutions is a political statement (Goodin & Klingemann, 1996; Simon & Klandermans, 2001). This statement of rebellion is held in common with other gangs, so it could be said that all gangs are engaging in some form of political activity. In the situation of Black Power, leaders have been prominent with political activism, so the group does have a political background. For example, the founder of Black Power, Rei Harris, stood as a candidate for the Mana Motuhake Party during the 1980s and also used his position as leader to call upon members of Black Power to mobilize votes (Hazelhurst, 2014).

In the early years, the Black Power mainly travelled via car, but in later years they moved towards motorbikes; however, they are not a Motorcycle Club as such. It was violence between the Black Power and Mongrel Mob that led to the shooting of a young girl, Jhia, in 2007 when the Mongrel Mob did a 'drive by' on a Black Power house in Whanganui. This shooting created a new sense of fear amongst the public as to gang violence in Whanganui. When interviewed, a person associated with Black Power was asked if the violence was related to 'turf wars' or drugs, he replied 'just colours I guess' (nh6central, 2012). In June 2009, there were three chapters in Whanganui – 'Whanganui faction' (14 patched, 11 prospects/close associates), 'West Coast faction' (nine patched, four prospects/close associates), and the 'Movement faction' (seven patched, three prospects/close associates) (Wanganui District Council, 2009).

The Tribesmen are a motorcycle club that was formed in the 1980s in Auckland. Although there are Tribesmen in the USA, it appears that the Tribesmen New Zealand

is not connected with these other groups. Chapters of the Tribesmen NZ have been involved with the drugs trade. In 2008, members were arrested and charged with drug and money laundering offences in which an estimated $500,000 worth of drugs were confiscated ('Killer Beez', 2009). The Tribesmen NZ have a 'feeder group' called the Killer Beez which attracts younger members, and which has also been associated with drugs offences. The Tribesmen Wanganui started in approximately 2006 (Wanganui District Council, 2006, p. 1861). In 2009 their numbers were estimated to be 4 patched and 11 prospects/close associates. By 2008 there were 15 offences in Wanganui associated with Tribesmen (New Zealand Police, 2008). In 2011 the Rebels (an Australian gang) moved into areas of Aotearoa / New Zealand. According to police, the Tribesmen featured in this move – some media have named it as a 'patching over', but it seems that in some areas it is a matter of 'family' associations rather than a gang takeover.

The gangs of Whanganui are chapters of well-established overseas or national gang identities (a chapter is a segment of the overall group; they need permission to become a chapter and use the overall group name). They have many younger members, but they differ to many United States and United Kingdom concepts of who are 'gangs' as they are long established and have multi-generational members – maintaining membership for much longer than members of groups called 'gangs' in the United Kingdom and the United States (Ministry of Social Development, 2014) – though it should be noted that more research as to generational gangs from other areas such as the United Stated is being produced. It is not uncommon for both fathers and sons to belong to the gang at the same time (Taonui & Newbold, 2016). The longevity of the gangs and their members has led to firmly entrenched concepts as to rituals, customs

and portrayal of identity. To take away their 'colours' is to take away their heritage. It has also meant that they have a greater group presence, which may contribute to the sense of fear held by Whanganui Community members.

1.6 Whanganui offending and Gang Offending

A review of all recorded offending[6] in Whanganui shows that violent crimes had a steady increase from 2000-2007, rising by about 40 incidents each year (with the exception of 2002 which had an increase of 132 from the previous year, which then dropped by 110 in the following year). The offending that is described is 'reported offences' rather than 'resulted offences'. The reported offending is a higher figure than the resulted offending as these are all incidents that have been reported or discovered by police but have not resulted in an offender being charged (resulted offences). Using this figure means that whilst it can include situations where there was insufficient evidence of an offence (essentially there may not have been an offence actually committed), it may come closer to actual offending rates as the 'non-offence' situations can help to counter the problem that many offences committed are never reported.

The number of drug and 'anti-social' offences in the years 2000-2001 were around 800-900; in 2002 this dropped to 681, and in 2003 it dropped to 490. From 2003-2007, the figures remained around the 500 mark, with a high of 536 in 2007 (an increase of 44 from the previous year). Once again figures rose by a large margin in 2008 – offences increased to 632 (an increase of 96) and remained at this higher rate

---

[6] Taken from Statistics New Zealand databases.

but decreased in 2011 to 562 (decrease of 76).
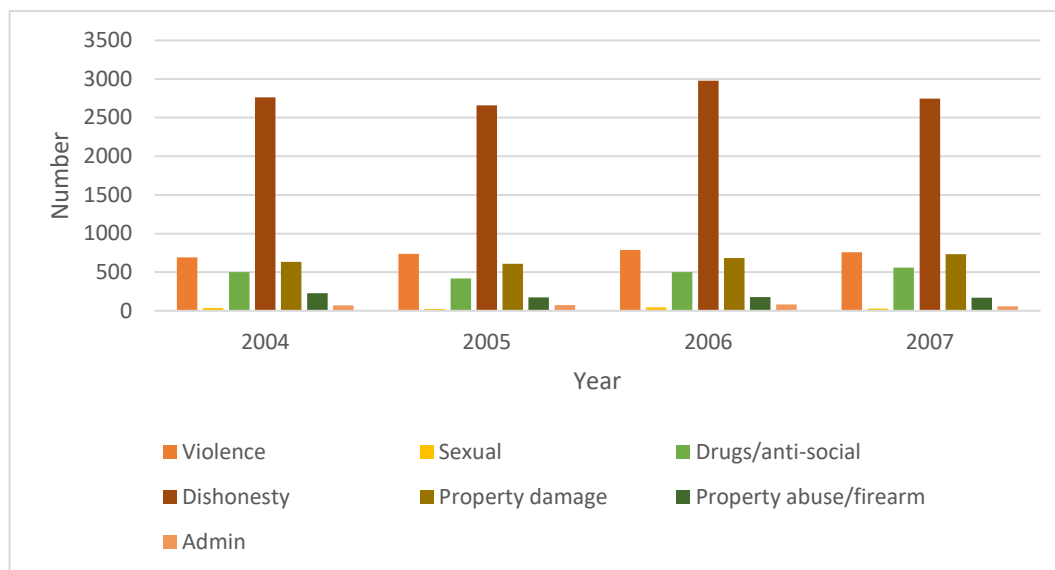
Figure 1.3: Total Offending for Whanganui (2004-2006). Source: Data taken from Statistics New Zealand and adapted.

Dishonesty offences have shown a decline since 2000, with the exception of 2006 (a rise of 268 from the previous year, which then dropped by 181 the following year). Firearm offences have maintained a constant level throughout 2000-2011. Sexual offending was constant through 2000-2009 but showed an increase in 2010-2011. Figure 1.3 illustrates patterns of offending in Whanganui between 2004 and 2006.

It is violent offences (which include assaults and threatening behaviour) that are of the most interest for this research as this form of offending is at the heart of the Whanganui gang ban legislation. As can be seen in Figures 1.4 and 1.5, a breakdown of offending that occurred in places that are 'public' showed that the number of assaults remained relatively unchanged during 2000-2007 (with an exception in 2001 and 2002), but increased in 2008. Total assaults increased between 2007 and 2008 by 142, with an increase of 41 incidents in 'public places'. The year 2010 was a peak

year with 700 assaults, and 217 of these occurring in 'public places'; the year 2011 had the lowest offending between the 2008-2011 period. The overall volume of threats has fluctuated during 2000- 2011 but showed a steady increase with a peak in 2009. The threats in 'public' places have remained constant, though there has been an increase in threats at garages and shops during 2009-2011.
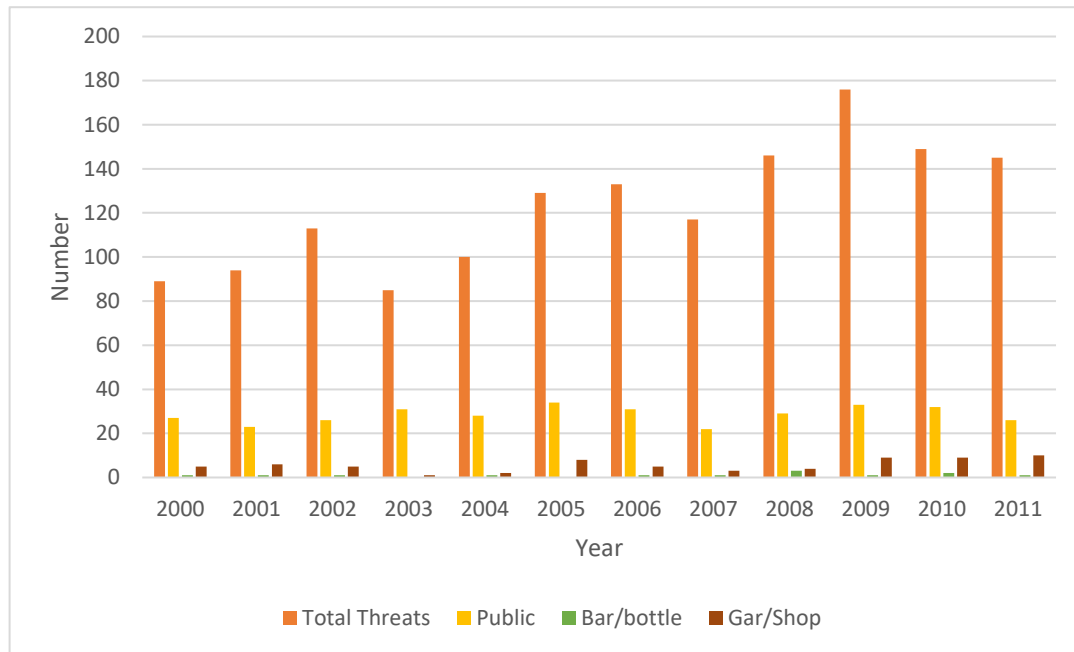
Figure 1.4: Violent offending in Whanganui - Threats. Total Threats, threat in public area, threat in Bar or bottle store, threat at Garage or Shop.
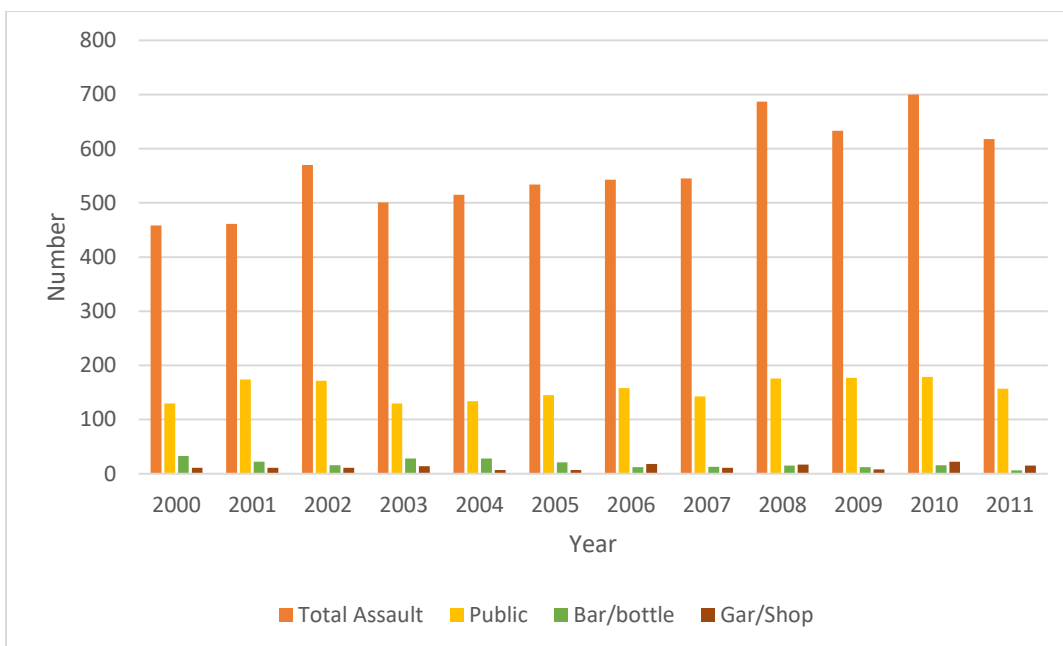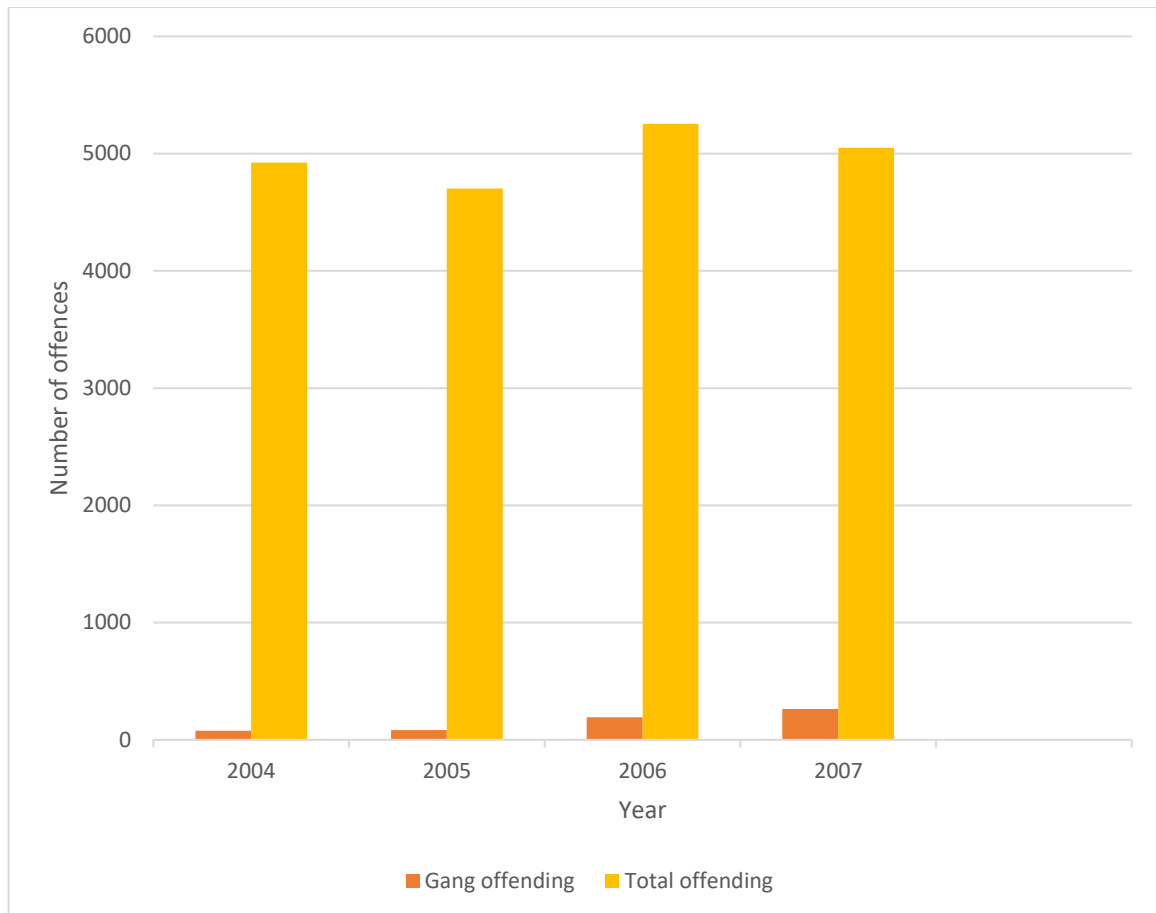
Figure 1.5: Violent offending in Whanganui - Assault. Total Assaults, assault in public area, assault in Bar or bottle store, assault at Garage or Shop.

In terms of gang offending, records supplied by the police show that during 2004-2007 'gang related' offending consisted of 612 offences (the total offences in Wanganui during this period was 19,929 (see Figure 1.6). When referring to police records/statistics, care is needed to correctly identify whether the reports relate to 'gang-related' offending or 'gang-motivated' offending. The former definition of gang offending can increase the level of reported offending as it includes all offending by people labelled as gang members and associates (who may not in fact be gang members). It is therefore possible that offences that are not related to the offenders' gang identity will form part of these statistics. Gang-motivated offending is offending that is done to benefit the gang; this type of offending can include associates but the main criteria is that 'but for' the gang involvement the offending would not occur. Using this definition for offending can result in a marked decrease in levels of 'gang offending' (McCorkle & Miethe 1998; Decker & Curry 2002).

It is unknown as to what the Aotearoa / New Zealand police consider to be 'gang

related' offending; this is a point that was mentioned in the case of *Schubert v Wanganui District Council* (HC Wanganui CIV-2010-483-321 3 March 2011), which was a judicial review of the gang insignia bylaw in 2011. However, the information supplied by the police regarding Whanganui gang offending appears to be consistent with the above definition. This belief is due to the statement in the report that the search was done to find offending for all people who are flagged as having a gang association. The report's list of incidences did include ones where the person was related to a gang member (for example, a sister of a gang member), so it would seem that the figures relate to a much broader group than actual gang members. It is also not known if the 'gang related' offending is 'resulted offences' or 'reported offences', which as explained earlier can alter the number of offences. While this was not mentioned in the report summary, looking through the list of incidents mentioned indicates that it was reported offences. Even allowing for these possible differences, it appears that levels of offending that are attributed to gangs comprise only a small percentage of overall offending (see Figure 1.6).

Figure 1.6 Total offending in Whanganui compared to total offending attributed to gangs. Source: Statistic New Zealand/New Zealand Police

1.7 Gang violence

During the 2004 to 2007 period there were a number of inter-gang conflicts. The frequency of these conflicts and the public nature of them were another concern. The data on these were provided by the police. As shown in Figures 1.7, 1.8 and 1.9, the data shows that initially conflicts occurred between Mongrel Mob and Hell's Angels, which then progressed to being conflict between Mongrel Mob and Black Power.
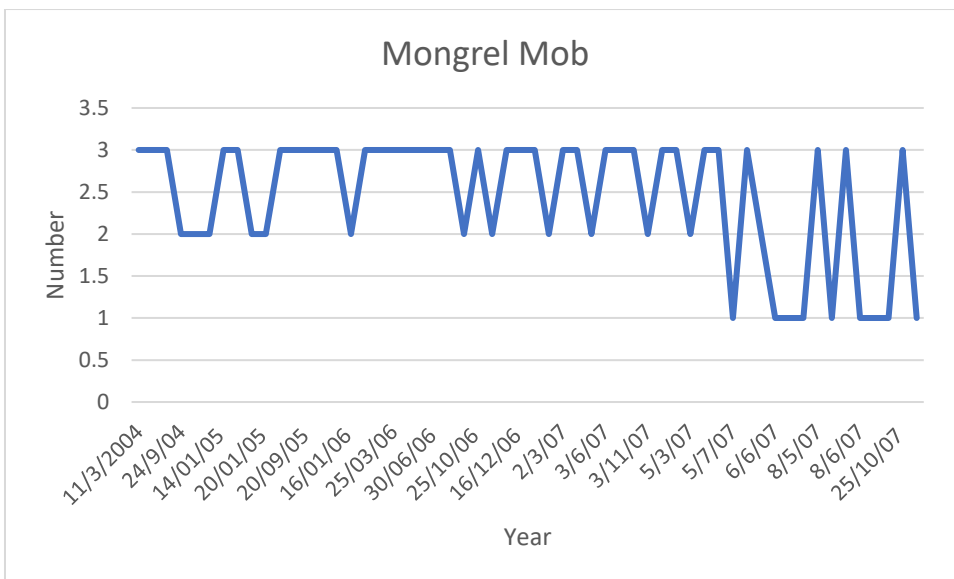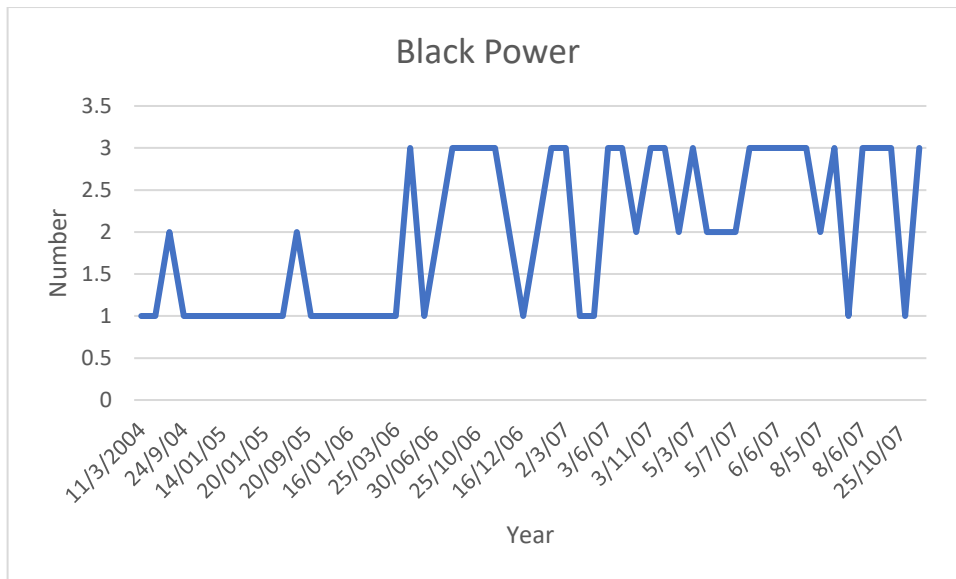
Figure 1.7: Gang conflicts between 2004-2007 for Mongrel Mob. Ranking (shown as number) is 1 = neutral (not involved), 2 = victim, 3 = attacker.
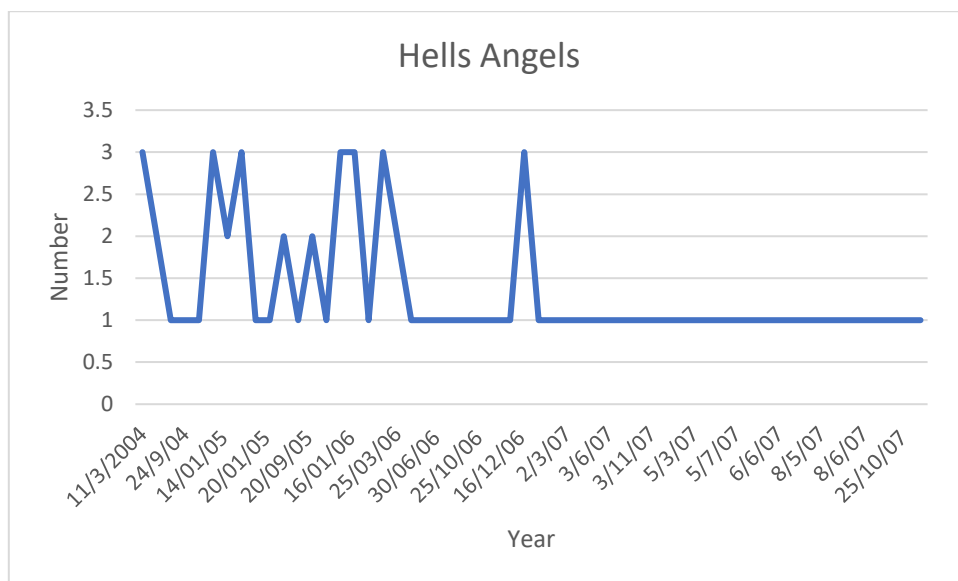
Figure 1.8: Gang conflicts between 2004-2007 for Hells Angels. Ranking (shown as number) is 1 = neutral (not involved), 2 = victim, 3 = attacker.

Figure 1.9: Gang conflicts between 2004-2007 for Black Power. Ranking (shown as number) is 1 = neutral (not involved), 2 = victim, 3 = attacker.

The conflict demonstrates a pattern of gang members being a victim of violence and following this with retaliation. The Mongrel Mob was the most active in conflict, as they were either the victim or attacker as opposed to being neutral. Decreased conflict between the Hell's Angels and Mongrel Mob towards the end of 2006 was replaced with increased activity from Black Power.

One of the reported incidents in February 2007 stated that a person at Tongariro Street had claimed to be starting a new Black Power chapter as the 'movement' (a term used to refer to Black Power) had not done anything lately and they had had a few years to sort it out. This was followed by another incident in August 2007 where Black Power members had fought amongst themselves. May 2007 was a critical time in the gang conflicts as this was when Mongrel Mob fired shots into the house of a Black Power member, killing his young daughter. This saw a decrease in activity on the part of Mongrel Mob and increased activity amongst the Black Power.
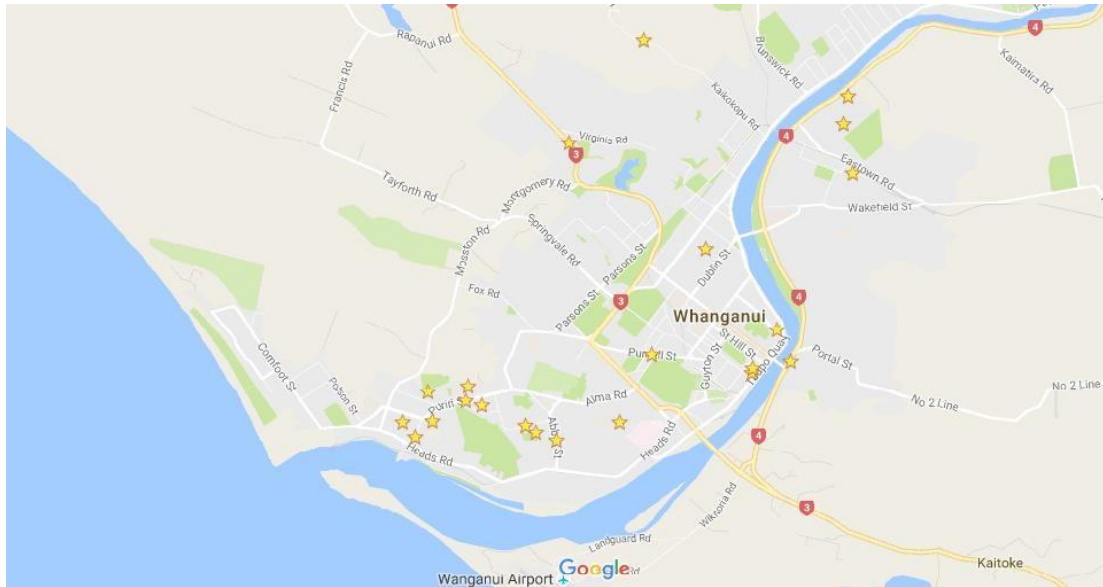
Figure 1.10 gang conflict during 2004-2007 according to area. The stars represent areas where gang conflicts occurred.

When mapping the areas (see Figure 1.10) where the violence occurred, these tend to correspond to the high deprivation areas (Gonville and Castlecliff). They also show a pattern of conflict being confined to particular areas rather than being 'district wide'. Yet the impression obtained through media reports portrayed a city in turmoil. For example, a heading from the Herald (7/5/2007) declared 'Terrified city braces for gang revenge' (Vass & Dye, 2007). Residents dismissed such claims but for those outside of the area the impression could remain ('Your Views: Earlier thoughts on the gang issue', 2007). This exaggeration at to the extent of a Whanganui issue also occurred during the Moutoa Gardens protest of 1995.

1.8 Fear of gangs

An indication of the legacy of public fear associated with gangs is the Whanganui Community Views Survey which the Whanganui District Council conducts annually. The survey contains questions relating to feelings of safety in the central business

district and at home. From 2009, the survey began asking why residents feel unsafe.

Intimidation is strongly linked to fear, so sources of fear may also be potential sources

of intimidation. In the 2009 survey, out of the 161 residents (from a total of 409

surveyed) who said they felt unsafe in the city, 27% (n=43) said the reason for this

was youth /street kids, 27% (n=43) said it was undesirable people, and only 16%

(n=26) said gangs were the reason. The higher-ranking groups (ranking is according

to how many people attributed the group as a reason for feeling unsafe) do not wear

forms of identification (particularly with the 'undesirable people' group), so this

could suggest that it is the actual conduct of the people rather than images of

association with a particular group (or gang) that is the main cause of public

intimidation (see Table 1.1).

Table 1.1

Rankings of responses for reasons for feeling unsafe in the Wanganui Community Views Survey 2009-2011*

Year	Aggressive youth	Undesirable people loitering	Intimidation/ don't know what might happen	Drunk people	Potential for violence	Gangs
2009	$1^{st} =$	$1^{st} =$	3rd	8th	7th	4th
2010	1st	2nd	6th	3rd	4th	5th
2011	2nd	1st	3rd	$5^{th} =$	4th	$5^{th} =$

*other categories in the survey included; less people around, poorly lit, boy racers, some experience of attack/media reports of attack, I don't go out at night anyway, other, don't know. The categories were developed from responses to the question 'You mentioned that you feel less safe in some places than others, what is it about these places that make you feel unsafe?'

Even if the survey did reveal that the unsafe feeling was due to the 'message' sent by

the gang insignia that the person is a member of a lawless group (as per the reasoning

in the Attorney-General report), this may not be sufficient to justify the prohibition

on the gang insignia unless there were other valid reasons to support the fears held by the public. This is because to allow laws that limit liberty based on the concerns of a minority that mere membership to a group poses a threat, without the need to further justify a reason for the concern, could lead to discriminatory practices. To illustrate, Māori males are statistically more likely to be convicted of a crime (Department of Corrections, 2007), so it could be said that being a Māori male sends a message that the person is a member of a (ethnic) group that is prone to criminal activity. This could lead some members of the public to feel fearful or intimidated by the presence of Māori males – regardless of whether those actual Māori men are exhibiting any aggressive behaviour. If the view of the Attorney-General was accepted, then this unsupported fear held by members of the public due to the 'message' sent could justify limiting the liberties of Māori men. It is suggested that when considering whether there is a rational connection, the infringing conduct should only be 'connected' to legitimate instances of the harm which are the object of the legislation.

1.9 Summary

Whanganui is no stranger to having its conflict and internal problems becoming the focus of national attention. In the situation of the 'gang' problem this led to a law change, and not just a local bylaw but an act of parliament. This represented a legislative sanction that the 'problem' was sufficiently serious to limit rights of freedom of expression.

The controversy over the Wanganui Gang Insignia ban from a legal perspective arose since the legislation was unable to be given an interpretation which would adequately

provide for legitimate forms of freedom of expression. The legislation was not capable of separating displays that have harmful effects and those which do not. The ability to restrict freedom of expression in such a blanket fashion is usually reserved for compelling circumstances – where there is a clear and present danger. The harm posed by gangs did not seem to represent such a danger that would justify an extreme limitation on freedom of expression.

A review of the situation of the time (as presented in this chapter) does not appear to reveal a problem so serious that it required the type of intervention that occurred. There was gang offending, but it was small in comparison to the total offending. There were reports of people feeling unsafe, but gangs were ranked as a less important source than other factors in these surveys. Whilst these results were from 2009 onwards, the first results (2009) were taken prior to the ban being in force. Also, previous community surveys had a comments section and the mention of gangs as a problem was not a prominent feature.

Violence in the community was present. However, as with the gang offending, violent offences in a public area were a small percentage of overall violent offences. This does not seem to indicate a problem greater than other communities within Aotearoa / New Zealand. Also, there did not appear to be clear evidence that mere presence of visible signs of gang membership has a clear link to the harm of intimidation and confrontation – it seems that any resulting harm occurs due to a number of factors.

Despite an apparent lack of support for the concept that gang insignia (on its own)

creates intimidation or conflict the legislation was enacted. This chain of events which began with the targeting of a group identity and progressed through to law changes prohibiting the display of this identity strongly resembles – or so it will be argued in this thesis - the processes involved in a moral panic. The target was not a new threat, it was one that existed previously. However, the way in which gangs were identified and styled as a threat altered – they were separated as a group identity, but then elevated as a threat on the basis of identity alone rather than behaviour.

CHAPTER TWO

GANGS, FEAR OF GANGS, AND GANG VIOLENCE: A REVIEW
OF THE LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

As discussed in the previous chapter, the gang insignia legislation was enacted due to beliefs that insignia acts as a provocation for inter-gang conflict and that representations of gang identity rather than actual behaviour causes intimidation and fear among members of the public. My research was designed to discover how these views were formed and came to be accepted as a 'truth'. This chapter looks at some of the key concepts related to enacting the legislation.

First, the legislation targets gang identity rather than gang behaviour so a literature review was conducted on the nature of identity formation and how this applies to gang identity. Identity formation is not just a matter of saying 'this is who I am'. The construct of an identity also involves other powerful groups with the ability to cement definitions as to what a group such as gangs may mean. I therefore also looked as the ways in which certain groups have been defined as being 'gangs' by researchers and public figures such as politicians and the media. The aim of this was to discover some of the characteristics that have been associated with the gang identity and the methods used to create the definitions.

Second, there are the theories that have been generated to explain the key

justifications for the legislation - gang conflict and fear of gangs. This discussion looks at research as to why gang violence may occur, in order to ascertain appropriate ways to combat it. It also looks at why feelings of fear may occur, and how this relates to the Whanganui situation.

2.2 Identity

One concept that is highly relevant to my research is identity. This concept has been explored in a number of different ways. These explorations have developed different interpretations as to the definition, creation, and purposes of identity. The diversity of views have caused some to question whether the concept of identity has become so diverse in modern usage that it would be better to disregard it in favour of more specific terms (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000), and has led others to attempts to consolidate the diverse views into 'simple' definitions (Abdelal, Herrera, Johnston & McDermott, 2006; Fearon, 1999).

Whilst some definitions of identity have held it to comprise characteristics that remain unchanged over time, there appears to be some consensus within the social sciences that the nature of identity is a flexible state which is constantly being reformulated depending on the particular time and space (Hall, 2000; Kebede, 2010) and that social context can alter even supposedly 'fixed' characteristics.

Gang research that has sought to obtain clear definitions of what is meant by the term 'gang' or has used existing definitions appear to be endorsing a concept of identity as being fixed – that 'gangs' will have the same characteristics/meanings in all times and places (Aldridge et al., 2012; Curry, 2015; Gilbert, 2010). Media and political/

police depictions of gang identity also appear to adopt a static view of this concept. Viewing gang identity as fixed can create the risk of predetermining the outcome of gang research though the blind acceptance of elite/powerful interpretations of gang identity and narrowing the research focus by neglecting to address the purpose that such identity serves (Fujii, 2010). Also, some research (Horowitz, 1982; Garot, 2007) has shown that gangs and their members may show 'true gang' characteristics at certain times but not at others – context is highly important. It therefore seems that it is better to approach gang identity using the 'soft' concept of identity.

Identity is what marks I/we as unique, as separate from other/s. Our 'sense of self', either as an individual or as a group, is obtained through reference to similarity (what I/we are) and difference (what I/we are not). Identity can be classified into two areas – personal identity and social identity. The former focuses on the individual sense of self, how 'I' am defined in reference to 'you'. The later concentrates on how the self is defined in terms of group membership – how 'I' as a part of 'we' are defined in reference to 'them'.

Personal identity can be viewed as being a result of a unique mix of social identities that co-exist within a particular person. However, Fearon (1999) comments that just having reference to multiple social identities may be insufficient to define personal identity since such a definition does not help to account for aspects of an individual's identity that are not group related (such as personal style which may be 'anti-group'). It is also not sufficient to define personal identity as being the adoption of attributes that create the greatest self-esteem as there may be situations where a person has attributes that they are unable to disconnect from, even though these attributes cause

the person to feel shame. To acknowledge these different situations, Fearon (1999) provides a definition of personal identity as being:

> a set of attributes, beliefs, desires, or principles of action that a person thinks distinguish her in socially relevant ways and that (a) the person takes a special pride in; (b) the person takes no special pride in, but which so orient her behavior that she would be at a loss about how to act and what to do without them; or (c) the person feels she could not change even if she wanted to. (p.25)

This definition captures many of the elements that comprise personal identity. It describes the individual's unique *reaction* to attributes such as voluntary and involuntary group associations (social identities), physique, and belief systems. The inclusion of involuntary groups means that personal identity (who I am) is not just a matter of 'who I choose to be' (e.g. attributes that I select to define me because they give me pride); it is also involves acknowledging how others define me. 'Who I am' can involve the categories or groups that have been previously defined by others and who I belong to through no choice of my own. However, mere membership to particular groups or merely having certain physical characteristics does not create who 'I' am. My reaction to these associations is what defines 'me' as being different to 'you' – I may react to being female by performing actions that are considered 'anti-female' while you may react by embracing this association. My reaction to being a large build may be to have a personal style that is colourful; your reaction may be to wear clothes that 'hide' your frame. This definition can account for many of the different variations in what qualities we associate with personal identity.

Social identities are categories that are constructed to assign meaning to groups of

individuals who share particular characteristics. These categories and the associated meanings are either claimed by those within the group or assigned by those with the power to define or construct the group. As social constructions, these identities are viewed as products of specific historical, political and cultural contexts which are constantly in a process of being reformulated through interaction with others (Hall, 2000). Due to this constant negotiation between actors as to meaning, identity can be considered in terms of process rather than possession - that is, identity is not something that we 'have, it is something that we 'do' (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000; Buckingham, 2008; Fujii, 2010). Hence, 'identity' can be described as an outcome of 'identification' which is a process of managing multiple socially constructed groups (social identities) that the individual has access to, which co-exist together, and are brought forward or performed according to a particular context (Ben-ner, McCall, Stephane, & Wang, 2006; Brubaker & Cooper, 2000).

Individuals claim or are called to a particular social identity. If they accept rather than reject this identity, they assimilate the customs and values of the social identity. They demonstrate this acceptance and claim to the identity by projecting outward methods that show themselves and others that they have this identity – this may be a style of dress, way of talking, words used. Essentially, acceptance of the identity results in performance of the identity.

The concept of identity as 'performance' has been explored by Goffman (1959) who described the process of identity involving a separation between public performance of the 'social identity' and the 'real' inner self. Butler (1990) did not distinguish between 'private' and 'public' performance but also viewed identities such as gender

as being solely dependent on the performance of gestures and dress, rather than relating to any inherent natural factors, a concept that she demonstrated through the example of 'doing gender' in drag.

The idea that it is context driven performance which creates the 'reality' of identity has been explored in gang research conducted by Garot (2007) on the process of being 'hit up'. Being 'hit up' is where one person asks another 'where you from?' The question is not intended to elicit a response in terms of geographical location; instead, the real meaning of the question is to find out whether the person belongs to a gang and what gang they belong to. The instigator is performing gang identity – the person would not ask the question unless they are a gang member, but it is through the 'performance' of asking the question that this identity becomes 'real'. The respondent has two performance options: denying a gang identity or claiming the gang identity. Even if the person is a gang member it will be the context that drives the performance not the inherent status of being a gang member (for example, if it is not likely that fellow gang members would get knowledge of denying gang membership then the gang member may deny membership). Prior to the ritual being performed, neither actor 'knows' of the existence of gang membership, so it is through performance that the 'gang identity' becomes real. This process of 'where you from' also requires both actors (the instigator and respondent) to realise the ritual/culture involved – they must know the 'script' so as to know if it is appropriate to claim gang identity or not to. As commented by Fujii, 2010:

> Like gender, gang identity is also dependant on its performance for reality.
> This is not to argue that gangs do not really 'exist' or that gang identities are

a mirage. It is to argue instead that gang identity, like gender, ethnicity, and race, are 'performed realities', they exist by virtue of being performed. It is these performances that determine whether a fight ensures and not some hidden authentic identity that lies within these young men and women. (p. 15)

The concept of gang identity being performance is discussed by Sato (1992) who conducted a study of Japanese motorcycle gangs. Sato comments that the gang identity enables the individual to construct an alternative reality through performance in which their character can acquire traits and status that may be denied to them in conventional life such as being a 'daredevil'. Whilst the gang identity may consist of symbols and codes that emphasise group solidarity, there is still room for the individual to 'generate their own street corner myth' (p. 326) as the 'dramaturgical system is flexible enough to allow each of the youngsters a considerable degree of improvisational performances' (p. 327). Sato contends that some of the plots created by the gangs and their members may be influenced by media but are adapted to fit to their 'needs, situation and available resources' (p.327). An example of this given by Sato is where Japanese mass media represented motorcycle gangs as being devils. As a result, young men started to wear clothes and ride in a manner that was consistent with the media image but rejected some aspects of the media plot by insisting that it was all just a bluff.

One of the purposes behind the 'Gang Insignia' legislation appears to be that removing visible signs of gang identity will reduce the overall performance of gang identity – that the members will be less 'staunch' and project less 'gangness'. Essentially the idea is that the inability to demonstrate their identity as gang members

will reduce intimidation and confrontations. Even if it is accepted that identity is dependent on performance, there is one potential difficulty with the concept behind the legislation – since identity is fluid and capable of alteration, then the ways in which it is performed can also change. This problem is noted by Garot (2010) who comments that school programmes which prohibit the display of gang symbols 'merely multiply the ways in which gang identity can be performed and the occasions for performing it' (p.15). If legislation is based on a fixed form of identity which is reliant on gang regalia to perform the identity, then legislation may not resolve the problem of gang intimidation/conflict.

The process of performing identity is 'guided by the pursuit of evaluatively positive social identity, through positive intergroup distinctiveness, which, in turn, is motivated by the need for positive self-esteem' (Hogg, p. 124). Essentially, this means that social identity constantly works towards creating and maintaining a positive group value. Interactions with others are designed to obtain favourable impressions and to place the self in a position of value. Gang identity can represent an opportunity to obtain status as well as a sense of community in environments where there is poverty, a lack of resources and isolation from other groups (Howell, 2004; Thrasher, 1927; Shaw & McKay, 1931). Young people who, in the pursuit of obtaining a favourable self-identity, are unable to access the ideals that are favoured within a particular society can be enticed into groups that offer the same feelings of self-worth (Alleyne & Wood 2010; Woo, Giles, Hogg & Goldman, 2015).

The favourable view need not be one that is considered to be socially desirable in terms of mainstream values. Gilbert (2010) refers to how the Mongrel Mob sought to

define their group identity. The actions of the group in asserting who 'they' were created an identity focused on being 'mongrel' – of taking pride in behaving in the most anti-social means possible.

This process of elevating the self may involve relegating the value of other out-groups through a process known as 'othering', which Jensen (2011) describes as:

> … discursive processes by which powerful groups, who may or may not make up a numerical majority, define subordinate groups into existence in a reductionist way which ascribe problematic and/or inferior characteristics to these subordinate groups. Such discursive processes affirm the legitimacy and superiority of the powerful and condition identity formation among the subordinate. (p. 65)

The subject positions that 'others' are relegated to may alter over time as power balances and group activism work to redefine group value. Where the group as a whole has not achieved 'redefinition', individuals may look to challenging the position of being the 'other', by either resisting devaluation or by refusing to accept the position of other. In relation to resisting devaluation, Jensen (2011) gives the example of a young black singer who plays on the 'Western imaginaries of black men as sexually dangerous' by promoting himself as a 'sex icon'.

In the New Zealand environment, the emergence of gangs with a strong association to Māori, Polynesian and immigrant populations has been linked to social, economic and political factors that contributed to a separation from social structures and

environments that had previously been a source of pride (Taonui & Newbold, 2016). The urban migration that occurred in the 1960s resulted in young Māori being situated in areas that were unknown. The economic conditions of the time contributed to their inability to communicate and refer back to their hapu and whanau so they and their rural counterparts were left without mutual support (Taonui & Newbold,2016). Māori were subject to housing and income restrictions, parents did not have the family support they previously had and so had to work longer hours. Youth were often left without family support (Belich, 2001; Gilbert, 2010).

A combination of these factors led Māori to seek support from other Māori and join together in groups (gangs) that allowed them to create a sense of belonging and to rebel against the European community that was alienating them (Taonui & Newbold, 2016). As such, for many gang members, demonstrations and regalia that enhance their image could also be viewed as resisting devaluation – it is an attempt to create an image that is powerful.

The effects of 'othering' on individual identity construction can be seen in the in the study on Brixton by Howarth (2002) who conducted focus groups with youth in the area. Brixton is an area of South London that is represented in the media as being an area with serious social and economic problems. Howarth found that these representations by media and by those outside of the area impacted on the self-esteem of those within the area and often meant that:

> People in Brixton develop an understanding of the area where they live and of their relationship to it through the eyes of others. (p. 7)

Youth in Brixton who were part of the study reacted to the negative associations of 'being from Brixton' in a number of different ways. Some accepted the negative classification of 'being-from-Brixton' but distinguished themselves from belonging to that category by saying they were 'not like them', or by claiming that they only lived near the area rather than in it. Others rejected the outsider view and instead focused on the positive aspects of the community such as its political activism. The ability to maintain a positive self-esteem about being from Brixton appeared to be due to access to other sources of knowledge about alternative representations of Brixton, such as family and school rather than just the media or outsider version. According to Howarth, understanding the relationship between the outsider representations and the construction of identity is vital as it helps to 'explain the restrictions on identity construction' particularly when the identity is one that is imposed rather than chosen (p. 18).

The legislation was aimed at reducing the presence of gang identity, which in effect is devaluing this identity. Police commented that the legislation would play an important role in making gangs less appealing and reducing the number of gang members by 'curtailing the overt displays of power that impress and attract young people to gangs' (Police Association, 2008, p. 3). However, the ability of a devaluing process to reduce group commitment can depend on a number of factors. In the situation of a threat to group identity, such as group devaluation, if individuals have a low group commitment then it appears that threats to the value of the group may result in exit strategies – attempts to separate themselves from the group. This can be seen in the Howarth (2002) study on the youth of Brixton, where some youth sought

to distance themselves either physically or psychologically from the label of being-from-Brixton.

In the situation where there is a strong commitment to the group, the reaction to a threat can include rejection of the devaluation (as mentioned above) as well as stronger displays of affiliation to the group, increased group cohesiveness, and increased denigration of out-groups. This is reflected in the study by Quinn & Forsyth (2011) which found that a threat such as a gang war increased camaraderie amongst gang members.

Commitment to a particular group may depend on the identity options available to a person to enhance their feelings of self-esteem. If a person has had no access to opportunities that will lead to positions of power or wealth (assuming that these are considered positive qualities in that society), they exhibit a higher commitment to other identities to which they have an existing membership (such as ethnicity) as a source of pride (Fearon, 1999). Hence, if members of the Whanganui community who are part of the gang identity have a limited ability to access other favourable identities, they will be less likely to leave the gang identity. Instead, they may exhibit an increase in gang pride, brought about by a rejection of the devalued label or perhaps through redefining what characteristics of the group create its value.

The construction of the gang identity and the 'gang problem' in Whanganui has impacted on more than just gang members and associates. Acceptance of the media and outsider view of Whanganui has heightened awareness of gang membership and impacted on interactions within the community, with consequences such as non-gang

members being banned from stores for wearing red ('Forced out over 'gang' T-shirt', 11/11/11). Members of the Whanganui community have faced the label of 'being from Whanganui', and have blamed it as a source of decreased economic activity in the area. As such, my research looks towards understanding the overall impact of this identity construction on all members of the community, not just the gang members and associates. This review of how the concept of identify has been conceptualized and its relationship to gang identity raises the important – and highly contested – issue of just what a 'gang' is.

2.3 Defining gangs

It should first be noted that there is a view that use of the term 'gang' should be abandoned due to the emotive and (at times) unrealistic associations that media has created for the term (Sharp, 2006, p. 1). It has been commented that use of the term may 'erroneously criminalise' individuals and may also increase social problems by giving it a status it does not deserve (Bullock & Tilley, 2008; Esbensen, 2001; Smithson, 2012). In line with this thinking is the view that any interventions should target behaviours rather than groups as it is the behaviours that are the problems in society (Braga & Piehl, 2001; Bullock & Tilley, 2008). Marshall, Webb, Tilley & Dando (2005) state that:

> Further, by focusing on the groups and not the behaviour, there is a risk of aggravating the problem, concentrating on the wrong problems altogether and potentially persecuting individuals on the basis of their associations rather than their actions. (p. 29)

Whilst these concerns are valid, for the purpose of my research it is considered necessary to use the term 'gang' for the group that I am researching. My research, in part, explores the characteristics attributed to gang identity and to discover if differences exist between key stakeholder groups as to definitions of gang identity. Hence, it is necessary to address this group identity rather than the specific behaviours of individuals. This does not mean that my research discounts these views and some of these ideas may be incorporated when looking at the effects of labelling specific groups in a negative way. I have considered some of the reasons for gang formation and some attributes under 'identity', so this section focuses on the definitions provided by different stakeholder groups such as researchers and law enforcement.

When it comes to defining gangs and gang membership there is one consensus – that there are few universal definitions available (Ball & Curry, 1995 ; Esbensen et al., 2001; Decker & Kempf-Leonard, 1991; Petersen, 2000). This has presented problems in terms of comparing studies, obtaining reliable statistics, and inaccurate labelling of groups and individuals (Esbensen et al., 2001; Klein & Maxson, 2006; Wood & Alleyne, 2010). Some researchers have sought to provide an agreed definition that better allows for comparative work. Other researchers maintain that a universal definition is undesirable as it would be incapable of fully describing the range of characteristics and properties that are present in the various 'gangs' and 'gang members'. Also, it would not capture the differences that occur over time and place, and could set limits on the phenomenon being studied (Ball & Curry, 1995; Goldstein 1991; Horowitz, 1990; Petersen, 2000). Those who adhere to this open definition maintain that it is better for each study to have its own definitional terms which take account of the particular context. As a result, there are a number of variations between

what is considered a 'gang' within the relevant literature. As was commented by Johnstone (1981):

> One person's gang may be another's peer group, street-corner group, crowd, clique, hanging group, club or simply youth group. (p. 355)

Some of the most commonly cited definitions of gangs appearing within gang research include factors that attract membership to the 'gang' as well as the activities of these groups that separate them from other youth groups. A summary of these definitions could conclude that a gang is a group of youths who come together due to social, economic, territorial factors (e.g. same location) and form units for the purpose of mutual support and activities (Eggleston, 1997) and who engage in anti-social, violent or criminal behaviour. Their ethnicity often reflects the ethnic composition of the areas that they reside in (Smithson, 2012).

These broad definitions have been refined in various studies so as to more precisely identify the group that is the subject of the study. The refinements demonstrate how particular terms can differ depending on the particular location or study. For example, Spergel (1984) identified gangs as being better organised, larger and having more variety in age groups compared to other groups of deviant youths, and stated that gangs had the following characteristics:

> The gang usually has a name, an insignia, or colours; a tradition, sometimes extending over decades; and a turf or territory, or many turfs, to which it establishes special claims or exclusive rights. (p. 201)

Whilst the requirement of 'turf' has also been present in other definitions, it is not common to all. Decker & Van Winkle (1996) sort to separate gangs from other groups by referring to them as an 'age-graded peer group that exhibits some permanence, engage in criminal activity and has some symbolic representation of membership' (p. 31). Their definition deliberately excluded 'turf' as an element. Horowitz (1982) also did not include turf as an essential element when she distinguished gangs from other social groups due to a 'willingness of members to engage in violent or other illegal activities in the name of the group and to have those actions defined as collective actions' (p. 4).

The exclusion of turf as an element can overlook the importance of space or territory to young people coming from deprived backgrounds (Kintrea, Bannister, & Pickering, 2010; Kintrea & Suzuki, 2008). For young Māori who have come from a background of poverty and disadvantage, coupled with the effects of land deprivation during colonisation, the ability to obtain and protect space is important (Taonui & Newbold, 2016). As such, I consider the element of 'turf' to be an essential element in defining New Zealand gangs.

Definitional difference can also occur over time, even when the same researcher is involved. Notable gang researcher Malcolm Klein has refined his original 1971 definition of a gang several times and now adopts the 'Eurogang' definition for his work. Klein (2005) states that this definition contains the minimum elements to recognise a street gang and that any other characteristics are merely descriptors not definers. This definition arose as a result of consultation amongst a number of

researchers from Europe and the US. The aim of providing the definition (as with the Eurogang project as a whole) is to allow for greater enhancement of comparability with various gang studies.

The 'Eurogang' definition defines a gang as being:

> A street gang is any durable, street-oriented youth group whose own identity includes involvement in illegal activity. (Weerman et al., 2009, p. 20)

The main features of this definition have been further elaborated on so that 'durable' requires that the gang has existed for three months or more. 'Street orientated' means the group spends a lot of time in public places. 'Youth' means the members are teens or early 20's (the project acknowledges that gangs may have older members, but to be part of the project the groups need to comply with this age grouping). 'Illegal behaviour as part of the group identity' means delinquent or criminal behaviour is part of the identity and culture of the group; it is normal and accepted behaviour in the group (Weerman et al., 2009).

The Eurogang definition also has an alternative where the term 'street gang' may be replaced with 'troublesome youth group' so as to allow for studies that do not wish to use the term gang due to the stigma attached to the term. Use of the definition can be seen in Sharp (2006) where the term 'gang' was replaced by 'delinquent youth groups'.

Whilst the Eurogang definition had the aim of providing a universal definition, its 'one size fits all' approach has been criticised as local conditions can create a great variance as to how gangs operate (Curry, 2015). As noted by Aldridge, Medina-Ariz, and Ralphs (2012), there are a number of British gangs who actively avoid spending time in public places so as to reduce police attention and potential conflicts with other gangs, so the criteria of 'street orientated' is not applicable. In New Zealand, there are 'gangsta' style youth gangs that strongly resemble the criteria of the Eurogang definition (Eggleston, 2000; Gilbert, 2010; Taonui & Newbold, 2016). However, some of the more established gangs, such as Mongrel Mob, Black Power and those identified as being Outlaw Motorcycle Gangs (OMGs) vary in their degrees of street presence. For example, Gilbert (2010) notes that from the late 1980s, some gangs retreated from the public sphere and established club houses so as to avoid police attention and public gang clashes.

Other researchers have approached the definitional issue by having a sample group self-define what a gang is, who gang members are, and whether they are in a gang. The use of this method has highlighted the differences between different groups as how they define what a 'gang' is. For example, Petersen (2000) interviewed incarcerated females to elicit their views on what is meant by a gang, and this differs from a peer group. The research was motivated by Petersen's view that prevention programmes and interventions are more effective when the 'problem' is defined by those closest to it. Petersen found that those within a gang or associated with a gang spoke of a gang in terms of being family, supportive, and offering power, protection and excitement. Those who were not associated with gangs categorised them in more negative tones as being 'wimps' who needed group support to fight their battles. Both

gang and non-gang participants felt that the difference between a gang and a group of people getting into trouble was that gangs participated in more serious 'trouble' such as crime.

The association that gangs are family and are groups offering support to a person is reflected amongst gang members in New Zealand and Australia (Gilbert, 2010; Haslett, 2007; Roguski, 2019; Veno, 2003). Haslett (2007) describes his experiences of how OMGs rely on the concept of brotherhood and how this idea creates strong emotional ties to their fellow members (brothers) and their brothers' family. His account of how the 'family' ties also meant the need for respect to other family members is one that I can associate with on a personal level. Due to a family member being a patched member of an OMG, our house was often visited by other members of the OMG. On one occasion my family member had asked my mother if she could provide food. The other OMG member with him slapped him on the back of the head stating, 'you did not say please'.

Other studies have also highlighted group differences in the way that a gang is defined. Ebensen's (2001) study first asked a sample group to say whether they were in a gang, then they were asked about characteristics of their gang – were they organized? did they commit crime? As the criteria became more restrictive and more in line with law enforcement definitions of gangs, there were fewer 'members' despite their claims to gang membership. Differences between definitions of 'gang' can also been seen in Decker (1995) where it was shown that there were differences in perceptions over gang membership and gang behaviours depending on whether it was law enforcement, policy makers, or youths who were defining what was meant by

'gang'.

The locality can also impact on what type of group is commonly considered a gang due to the particular cultural and media influences present (Sharp, 2006). In the US, the term 'gang' without further elaboration (such as 'terrorist gang', 'outlaw motorcycle gang') appears to have been accepted by researchers, some authority groups, and popular media as meaning a 'street gang' which has the type of characteristics common to the Eurogang definition and relates mostly to youth gangs.

In New Zealand, it appears to be almost the reverse. Whilst some research on gangs (Ministry of Social Development, 2008) has used similar US styled definitions for the subject of their research, the use of the term 'gang' in media and by authorities such as law enforcement has most often been used to refer to adult groups, including outlaw motorcycle gangs, and is often associated with being an 'organised criminal group'. For example, in 2013 Police and Corrections Minister Anne Tolley linked gangs to serious criminal activities such as drugs, prostitution and violent crime. She was quoted as stating: 'a ban on gang patches in government buildings and a methamphetamine crackdown have gone a way to stymie *organised crime'* (emphasis added) ('Minister to get gang-busting tips from US', 2013). The types of groups that could be labelled as US styled 'street gangs' are often qualified as being 'youth gangs' so as to separate them from the 'real gangs'. This view is commented on by Eggleston (2000) who stated that many youth workers did not consider the youth 'gangs' to be 'real' gangs (unless they had a patch).

The public perception and 'definition' of gangs within New Zealand is largely

obtained through the media. Often the media accounts relate to episodes of harm or law enforcement issues where it is the views of law enforcement and political leaders and their definitions of gangs that are relayed (Curry, 2015; Gilbert, 2010; Roguski, 2019). Both of these groups have engaged in 'penal populism' (which is discussed in the next chapter) where gangs have been used as a means to focus on law and order issues so as to gain attention and boost popularity (Pratt & Clark 2005). These definitions, particularly since the 1990s, have had a strong focus on the criminal element to gangs, and as a result provide a definition more akin to criminal groups or organised crime (Gilbert, 2010; Roguski, 2019). The extent to which the gangs have been portrayed in media as criminals (and the extent of criminality) has altered over time, depending on how and why the gangs have become worthy of political and media attention.

The political stance and actions towards gangs has altered over the years in New Zealand. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, gangs were considered to have criminal aspects (Kelsey & Young, 1982) but were also perceived as being groups that had been impacted upon by social and economic conditions and were considered by the public to be 'troublesome but legitimate communities' (Gilbert, 2010, p. 199). The initiatives put forward were aimed towards reducing criminal, particularly violent, activity through the introduction of schemes such as the Group Employment Liaison Scheme (GELS) which sought to encourage job opportunities that would make members self-sufficient (Gilbert, 2010; Gilbert & Newbold; 2006; Lim, 2017).

Heading into the 1990s, this stance changed to one where gangs were seen as the

leaders of criminal activity rather than groups that had members who might engage in criminal activity (Gilbert, 2010; Gilbert & Newbold; 2006; Roguski, 2019). The dialogue from politicians and law enforcement from this time on cemented a close association of gangs as organised crime groups.

As with the definition of 'gangs', the definition of 'organised crime' and 'organised crime groups' is also subject to debate. Whilst some of the narrower definitions emphasise that organised crime must be serious crime that is profit driven, other broader definitions mostly just focus on the level of organisation to separate these groups from other groups such as street gangs (Alach, 2012; Decker, Bynum & Weisel, 1998). Groups that are long term organisations which are involved in the following activities may be considered to be organised crime groups:

> Engaging in organized criminal activities, establishing relationships with traditional organized crime groups, and using legitimate activities and relationships to expand influence and control for criminal, gang-related purposes. (Decker, Bynum & Weisel, 1998, p. 399)

The suppression of organised crime group activity is a global concern. This concern has allowed for numerous laws to be created around the world. Whilst the laws are broad enough to encompass any type of group, they have often been created or used to suppression gang activity. For example, the *Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act* (RICO) (Title 18, United State Code, section 1961-1968) laws that allow for penalties to be placed on people who have engaged in racketeering on behalf of an 'enterprise'(which is broadly defined as being any group of individuals

associated together), have been used in the United States of America to enforce sanctions against gangs (Barker, 2007).

In 2008, the state of South Australia passed the *Serious and Organised Crime (Control) Act 2008* (SA Act). This legislation was later adopted in other parts of Australia in the form of the *Crimes (Criminal Organisations Control) Act 2009* (NSW Act), the *Serious Crime Control Act 2009* (NT Act) and *Criminal Organisation Act 2009 (*Qld Act). This legislation allows for a designated decision maker to make a declaration in relation to a group if he/she is satisfied that members of the group associate for the purpose of organizing, planning, facilitating, supporting or engaging in serious criminal activity. If a declaration order is made then any member or person who associates with the group can be subject to control orders – there is no need to show that the person intends any criminal activity; the 'criminal connection' is deemed to exist once the group has had the declaration order imposed (Ayling, 2011).

The criminal elements of the gang definition can be seen in New Zealand legislation. Offences within New Zealand that are 'gang related' (with the exception of the *Gang Insignia Act 2009* and the *Prohibition of Gang Insignia in Government Premises Act 2013*), have been directed towards organised crime, criminal groups and the suppression of criminal activity. Criminal activity is crucial to many of these offences, as there is a requirement that the ultimate offence or penalty is related to a criminal activity (whether it is participation in an organised crime group under s98A *Crimes Act 1963* or seizure rights under the *Criminal Proceeds (Recovery) Act 2009*). For example, in the late 1990s a crackdown on gang activity saw the introduction of several new laws. One of these was participation in a criminal gang (s98A *Crimes*

Act 1961). In its original form a 'criminal gang' was a group where at least three of its members had been convicted of a serious offence. The amended version (enacted in 2002) altered this by providing that an 'organised criminal group' is one where there are three or more members and has committing offences as its objective (as opposed to the members having convictions). However, both versions required a link to offending so liability extended 'beyond bare membership of a gang' (Mullins, 1998, p. 832).

The *Gang Insignia Act* 2009 marked a departure from this line of enforcement. Whilst there is a provision that allows for a group to be declared a gang and this provision does require evidence of criminal behaviour, the legislation also names certain groups as gangs. With naming groups as gangs in the legislation, parliament had essentially found these groups 'guilty' of criminal behaviour without any legal process. This was a major step in gang suppression (which was later followed in the *Prohibition of Gang Insignia in Government Premises Act* 2013) and has had consequences for any person who is a member of such a group. For example, in *Innes v New Zealand Police* [2016] NZDC 4538, a firearms licence was revoked on the basis of gang membership (that the person was not a fit and proper person). The judge took the view that by listing this particular group (gang) in the *Prohibition of Gang Insignia in Government Premises Act* 2013, parliament recognised the undesirability of the group and its members were not the type of people who should hold firearms licences (Lim, 2017).

Other repercussions of gangs being labelled as organised crime groups by police is that they will rate higher on law enforcement tools which prioritise organised criminal groups, such as the CGRAM model used by New Zealand police. The tool is designed

to be used by any police officer involved in organised crime and works through a series of marks being given to different attributes. If a particular group or groups score highly, it is an indication that they pose a higher risk of harm and should therefore be targeted. The use of such tools may account for the public attribution of gangs and their association with organised crime, as well as the perceived need to have a 'war' on gangs.

The 'gang as a crime group' definition devalues and overlooks the other functions and pro-social aspects that gang membership can provide (Gilbert, 2010; Roguski, 2019). Gilbert (2010) comments on the number of different endeavours that gangs have undertaken to benefit members and the wider community such as the provision of social facilities (clubhouses), creating sporting groups, providing housing assistance, community events, and charitable contributions. In the international context, gangs have been shown to be a protective force within some communities by enforcing social controls (Pattillo, 1998). The gang as criminal definition has led to a favoured resolution of the 'gang problem' as being suppressive means (Gilbert, 2010; Roguski, 2019) while ignoring the factors contributing to gang membership such as poverty and lack of resources to enable upward progression (Tamatea, 2017; Roguski, 2019). The criminal association that has been put forward in the media can contribute to public fears of gangs, and in some cases may increase gang participation in violence and crime so as to 'live up to the expectations'.

The review of literature on defining gangs has made one thing clear – the definition of what constitutes a gang is context driven. The nature of the study, the location, the timing, the use of the term by media and authorities, whether people are inside or

outside of the 'gang', all contribute to the understanding of what is meant by the term 'gang'. The characteristics associated with gangs' changes over time and will depend on who is defining the group. In the event of a moral panic, often it will be politicians, media and law enforcement who have dominance over the current definition. As such an existing folk devil can be re-invented due to the external conditions and the voices of key stakeholders. For my research, I considered the overseas and New Zealand literature. I also looked at the groups operating within Whanganui and the groups identified as gangs within the legislation in order to develop a working definition of gangs.

The basic definition adopted for this research is: any durable group with a group identity that is associated with involvement in illegal activity. The elements of this definition are further defined as being:

- Durable – this pertains to the number of months/years that the group has been operating as a group identity.
- Group – this means there are more than two members and there is a level of organisation present that allows the individuals to identify as a group. Many of the gangs present in Whanganui (as described in the prior chapter) have established structures as to group membership and roles within the group that allow them to operate and identify as a group (Gilbert, 2010, p.182).
- Group Identity – this is a group identity that is distinctive. This may be due to the use of particular signals, signs, insignia, and ritual. The group identity is one that is capable of claiming rights associated with that identity – similar to the concept of 'turf' but without limiting it to a geographical location. There

needs to be recognition by either the public or authorities as to this group identity. This is because at the time of creating the by law and legislation, there were other groups who were operating in Whanganui who created unsafe feelings for residents (such as aggressive youth). These groups did not receive recognition as a 'gang' most likely because they did not have a sufficiently distinctive group identity.

- Illegal activity – this would involve criminal offending, whether it be petty or substantial offending, in particular, offending that is violent. Whilst definitions that include illegal activity often have it as an activity or purpose for the group, I have opted to have criminal offending as something that is *associated* with the group. The reason for this is that some of the gangs in Whanganui did, and still do, debate that their members actually engage in criminal offending or that their group is organised for the purpose of offending. Despite these protests, these groups have been identified by authorities as being groups who engage in criminal offending; as such they are viewed as having an association with offending.

2.4 Gang violence

One of the concerns that led to the implementation of a ban on insignia was the occurrence of inter-gang violence. As with other forms of gang activity, the incidence of gang violence can be overestimated depending on what definition of gang violence is used (Decker & Curry, 2002; Klein and Maxson, 2006; McCorkle & Miethe, 1998). 'Gang motivated' violence, which involves acts that are directly related to gang operations, such as disputes over territory, is a narrower field compared to 'gang

related' violence that is any violence committed by a gang member or associate, so may include acts such as domestic violence (Valasik & Reid, 2019). It has been suggested that in order to understand gang violence, each form of violence needs to be considered so as to better evaluate how gang identity contributes to violent acts (Pyrooz, 2012). However, in terms of public attention and allocation of law enforcement resources, the use of 'gang related' violence to identify a 'gang problem' may exaggerate the need for action and increase public fears (Esbensen et al., 2001; Valasik & Reid, 2019).

The idea that gangs foster and develop and evolve through violence is a common theme in some studies (Decker, 1996; Nakamuraa, Tita & Krackhardt, 2019; Spergel, 1984). Gang culture has been considered to be one where violence is seen as the mechanism for dealing with and controlling threats from outside and within the gang (Decker, 1996; Howowitz & Schwartz, 1974). It is therefore not surprising that one of the main societal concerns is gang violence, particularly when it spreads to other sectors outside of gang society (Melde & Esbensen, 2012). According to the New Zealand police, the cause of this concern (the gang confrontations) are battles over 'turf', which are linked to a desire to maintain control over criminal activities such as the drugs trade (NZPA, 2007). However, some research indicates that battles over turf may not necessarily be linked to instrumental causes such as the drugs trade. For example, violence may be used by some gangs in initiation rites or to enforce the groups rules (Decker 1996; Gilbert, 2010; Klein & Maxson 2006; Papachristos, 2009).

The level of commitment to the gang can influence the degree to which a member is

willing to engage in violence. Core members with a strong commitment are more likely to be prepared to resort to violence (Klein & Maxson, 2006; Valasik & Reid, 2019). Gang loyalty and commitment is increased when the gangs have been long established and have clear identities as to who 'we' are compared to who 'they' (rival gangs) are (Nakamuraa, Tita & Krackhardt, 2019). The longer-term gangs or multi-generational gangs will also have a higher level of committed core members. The gang becomes a unit by which the individual comes to know their identity and values, and, as with any other social group, will seek to protect their identity. The need to protect the gang identity in gangs that utilise violence, can result in violence even where the 'insult' has been mild (Decker, 1996; Papachristos, 2009).

In New Zealand, gangs such as the Mongrel Mob and Black Power are long term groups who may have a grandparent, parent and (adult) child who are all patched members (Gilbert, 2010; Taonui & Newbold, 2016). To become a patched member, a person must first be accepted as a 'prospect' by undergoing tests that demonstrate their commitment and loyalty to the group (Callahan, 2007; Gilbert, 2010; Isaac & Haami, 2007; Taonui & Newbold, 2016). The 'prospect' is only accepted as a patched member once they have shown a continued loyalty to the gang. This process of acceptance means that these gang members often have the characteristics that Klein and Maxson (2006) attribute to core members so may be more likely to resort to violence.

Gang identity as a social identity can be very strong, so that when an individual is attacked, or attacks, this can be taken as a violation or action to the group as a whole (Densley, 2013). This increases the concept of contagion – there can be very separate

incidents, but with identity and network factors acting, the isolated act of violence becomes a group problem. Gang violence, particularly with gang-motivated violence that is inter-gang violence, is often reciprocal where one gang member will be attacked which leads to a group reaction from the rest of the gang (Decker, 1996; Papachristos, 2009; Valasik & Reid, 2019).

Loftin (1984) maintains that violence spreads into sectors of a community through a process of contagion which can be seen when three main factors are present. The first factor is that assaultive violence is spatially clustered. According to Loftin 'serious assaultive violence is usually distributed spatially in clusters'. The second factor is that assaultive violence is reciprocal. Loftin noted that many of the violent offenders had themselves previously been victims. The third factor is that the violence will escalate. In this regard, Loftin referred to the increase in violence that occurred from 1964 to 1974 in Detroit. As victimisation and violence increased, so did the fear of attack. As a result, even 'law abiding' citizens were arming themselves against the potential threat. This increase in arms meant an even greater increase in violent incidents where the offender may have previously been non-violent. For example, in store robberies in 1974, there were more shop keepers who killed robbers than there were robbers who killed shop keepers (Loftin, 1984).

One of the reasons given for why this spread can occur so rapidly comes from Loftin (1984) who claims that:

> … personal violence spreads because offenders and victims are part of social and moral networks. When violence occurs it draws multiple people into the

conflict and spreads either the desire to retaliate or the need for pre-emptive violence throughout the network, potentially involving ever increasing numbers of individuals in the fight.

This concept of contagion has been applied to the gang situation by researchers such as Decker (1996) and Papachristos (2009). Papachristos (2009) maintains that the spread of the violence depends on the social and moral networks operating within the community and that the cause of the contagion is the need to assert dominance. Gangs engage in a show of force through attacks on other gangs. If a gang is unable to show dominance against their direct attackers, they may be viewed as targets for future attacks from both the first attacker and others within the network, so will seek to assert themselves by attacking another (weaker) gang within the network in order to maintain some standing within the network system. Since the violence is not contained between the original attacker and victim, the violence spreads.

The reciprocal effects can be seen in the data from Chapter one, where the graphs (number) show the pattern of aggression and victimisation. The initial stages of gang violence were between Hells Angels and the Mongrel Mob which then became an interaction between the Mongrel Mob and Black Power. The change between the Mongrel Mob engaging in violence with Hells Angels to them engaging in violence with Black Power occurred at a time when Black Power was undergoing a transformation in terms of its identity. It was a time when a new chapter was trying to be established. This division of the Black Power could have meant a decreased sense of stability and power and the perceived need to reassert their power base through violence and domination in certain areas. Their best available target was the

Mongrel Mob who had recently suffered losses at the hand of Hells Angles.

Papachristos (2009) found that most violence had emotional motivations rather than motivations due to economic necessity, such as the protection of drug trades. Horowitz (1982, 1974) also supports the concept that gang culture is emotive or 'honour based'. She maintains that gang violence comes from threats to the honour of its members and from the conflict between the desire for a conservative existence and the excitement/status offered by the streets. Gangs are maintained due to a continued adherence to gang ideals and morals by its members. When members grow older there may be an increased conflict between street and conventional life – members may feel that they 'should' be more conventional. But if members are continually isolated from the rest of society, this may influence a desire to have a conventional life. Isolation may increase feelings that such a life is not attainable and so increase the need to have a street life that fulfils feelings of esteem.

It has been suggested (Crosby, 1999) that inter-gang violence amongst Māori gangs is an extension of warrior culture dating back to pre-European times. However, Taonui & Newbold (2016) dispute this suggestion by referring to the fact that all gangs (not just Māori) engage in violence and that often the inter-gang violence will involve rival gangs that are tribally related. Instead, they share the view of Taonui (2007), that Māori gang violence may be attributed to the same factors that led to gang formation – that the deprivation caused through colonisation has caused feelings of anger that are expressed against other similarly oppressed groups (other Māori gangs) and symbols of colonisation (white motorcycle gangs).

Honour style violence can also be attributed to purist outlaw motorcycle gangs, who seek to preserve the image and values of the 'tough rebel'. In comparison, entrepreneurial outlaw motorcycle gangs may value old traditions but profit-making activities may influence the perceived need for violent measures. Quinn & Forsyth (2011) conducted research that drew from 30 years of discussions and interviews with motorcycle gangs, law enforcement as well as reviews of other academic work into the factors associated with outlaw motorcycle gang violence. They compare the interclub violence to war and comment that it creates a greater internal strength and solidarity amongst members. Quinn & Forsyth (2011) explain that:

> The social psychological changes in individual thought and action that accompany involvement in a war explain much of warfare's attractiveness to bikers via their effects on group dynamics and the suspension of concern with competing norms and goals. Being at war simplifies the world by eliminating concern with, and even recognition of, the shades of gray that color ordinary moral perceptions. A mere society of sociopaths could not survive and prosper as have 1%ers, but a cult of warriors whose only ethic is victory would almost certainly succeed under such conditions. Modern motorcycle clubs are a bit of each with entrepreneurial sentiments roughly correlating with sociopathy and purist ones with impulsivity and tribal loyalty. The perpetual state of war that pervades club life underlies the bestial actions of these men as it coexists with the depth of their camaraderie and even tenderness for one another and their families. (p. 220)

Understanding and being able to predict interclub fighting between outlaw

motorcycle gangs can be difficult as alliances can be formed and dissolved rapidly according to the needs of the clubs. Two clubs may join together on a temporary basis in order to deal with another opposing club or to enact drug deals (Quinn & Forsyth, 2011). Conflict may be managed through coordination and discussion with other chapters and the national body so as to ensure that isolated hostility between one club and its other local clubs does not jeopardise wider interests. If a war is declared by a chapter, it may be supported by other chapters in the form of weapons and manpower. According to Quinn & Forsyth (2011):

> Most interclub violence occurs in remote or private settings, or in bars, tattoo shops, etc. that are clearly part of saloon society and thus rarely endangers non-bikers. (p. 220)

This view that gang violence is not normally conducted in public or involves members of the public was also expressed by Annette King in a magazine article ('Tribal Trouble', 2007). She was reported as saying:

> The killing of innocent people by gangs is very rare," she says. "Looking back over time, the only other [such case involving] an innocent bystander was in Christchurch in the 1990s. But having said that, violence between gang members probably does go on every day, and it's unreported. (p. 30)

Gilbert (2010) also comments that gang violence often occurs out of the public eye as gang members are hesitant to attract the attention of the police.

2.5 Fear of crime and gangs

The Gang Insignia bill was designed to reduce intimidation by gangs. Intimidation is a process in which real or perceived threats create a sense of fear (Jones & Pittman, 1982; Darby, 1986). In this situation the perceived threat was gang membership which was conveyed through the display of insignia. The resulting fear was due to what this membership (identity) signified - violence and unlawfulness (New Zealand Government, Attorney-General Office, 2008, p. 4). The relationship between fear and gang identity has been explored in studies that have extended research into fear of crime to investigate specific fears such as fear of gangs and gang crime.

Fear of crime has been defined in a number of ways (Lane, 2015). Hensen & Reyns (2015) suggest combining the different definitions to produce a definition which states that fear of crime is an emotional response to a danger or threat of an actual or potential criminal incident. One problem in studying fear of crime is that this emotional response can differ depending on the nature of the criminal incident. Crimes that have a greater risk of personal harm produce greater emotional responses for some groups compared to other less personal risk crimes. Hence, a study that does not differentiate between crime types may produce results that differ from one that has focused on particular crimes, such as gang crime. As such, studies that have focused on specific fears such as gang crime are the most helpful for my study to identify fear within Whanganui.

Research as to fear of specific forms of criminal activity such as gangs has a relatively recent history, with studies emerging around the 1990s. The lack of research has been troubling given the apparent importance that public fear of gangs have had on policy and legal developments (Lane & Meeker, 2000, 2003; Katz, 2003). Katz (2003)

states it is important for research to address fear of gangs, specifically to help understand whether 'fear of gangs has an independent impact on neighbourhood ecological conditions, or whether it is simply a subset of more general fears of crime'.

Some studies that have looked at fear of gangs have a grounding in the social disorganisation theory framework. This theory was generated to explain reasons for crime that focus on environmental factors (the places) rather than the kinds of people within them (Kurbrin & Weitzer, 2003). According to Sampson & Groves (1989), this theory 'refers to the inability of a community structure to realise the common values of its residents and maintain effective social controls' (p. 777). Gangs are seen as one of the characteristics of social disorganisation as their presence indicates an inability of the community to control their youth. The theory assumes that good community structure is centred on the goal of reducing crime and criminal elements. However, a community that exhibits high crime rates and the presence of gangs is not necessarily disorganised. There may be strong structures in place, but these are ones that have a common value or goal that is not directed to the absence of crime (Sampson, 2018).

Culture may influence whether the community has the degree of shared values that are directed towards taking action against crime. For example, if there are several subcultures that have competing moral values, this may reduce network structures and consistency as to conventional values (Shaw & McKay 1969; Kurbrin & Weitzer, 2003). Also, subcultures that exist within disadvantaged communities may be likely to have deviant values that adhere to non-conventional means of obtaining status and financial rewards due to an inability to access conventional resources (Anderson,

1994; Matsuda, Melde,, Taylor, Freng,, & Esbensen,, 2013). Other factors that can influence whether desirable networks and control structures are in place include low economic status, ethnic heterogenicity, and residential mobility (Sampson, Shaw & McKay, 1992. Fear also contributes to lowered community structure. In communities where there are high levels of crime and disorder, this may cause fearful residents to withdraw from the community (either by leaving or limiting interaction), therefore weakening network structures that would combat crime (Sampson, Raudenbush, & Earls, 1997).

Social disorganisation theory focuses on community level processes that can contribute to crime and disorder. Research into fear of crime that is grounded in social disorganisation theory extends this by looking at individual level processes (Lane & Meeker, 2010). In particular, it seeks to examine how factors such as disorder and diversity can influence the thought processes of individuals so as to create levels of fear. Three social disorganisation perspectives adopted in studies relating to fear of gangs are, disorder, community concern, and sub-cultural diversity.

Social disorder includes incidents of social disorder (petty crime, drunkenness) and/or physical disorder (abandoned buildings, graffiti). When there are signs of disorder (either actual or perceived), this makes residents more fearful that these signs send a message that the community no longer cares and that it no longer can control these things from happening. It appears the 'actual' disorder is not as strongly linked to fear as 'perceived' disorder, although the studies on this have produced mixed results. The impact of disorder on fear appears to be more strongly linked when there is 'community concern' (Kelling & Wilson, 1982; Gau, Corsaro, & Brunson, 2014).

Community concern is where the individuals see signs of disorder, which creates concern that 'things are not like they used to be' and that the community can no longer be relied upon to control bad events or assist when a person is in trouble. Although concern may be sparked by disorder, it is a separate concept as concern about declines in the community may also be attributed to factors such as increased migration. Essentially, the fear is produced 'by situations that engender concern about what others have done, are doing, and may do in the future' (Lewis & Salam, 1986, cited in Katz, 2003). Whilst there are mixed results as to the strength of this as a factor in fear of crime, it can be stated as being at least one of the factors, and it does appear that a perception that one is living in a 'close knit' community which would intervene if trouble occurred reduces fear (Lane & Meeker, 2003). Perceived changes in the community which cause concern may arise when sub-cultural diversity is present (Gibson, Zhao, Lovrich, & Gaffney, 2002).

Sub-cultural diversity maintains that crime (and fear of crime) occurs when individuals are living close to people of other cultures whose behaviour and customs are difficult to understand. This lack of understanding as to the other culture can cause the individual to fear the people of that culture. Although similar to conflict theory, which holds that an increased visibility of minority groups can make majority groups fearful, the difference is that sub-cultural diversity relies on the idea that it is the difficulty in interpreting the behaviour of the 'other' which causes the fear rather than the perception of what the 'other' represents (which is at the heart of conflict theory).

A fourth model which has also been used to explain fear is the victimisation model.

This focuses on fear being related to perceived vulnerability, personal victimization, vicarious experiences with victimization, and the media. Some studies which have looked at perceived vulnerability have shown women and elderly as well as those in low income areas consider themselves more likely to be attacked and less likely to be able to defend themselves, so they exhibit higher levels of fear The role that direct experience of previous victimisation has on fear has provided varying results, possibility due to coping strategies that have been adopted. However, stronger links have been shown in relation to indirect victimisation where the person has 'heard about' the event. Hale (1996) states this may be due to an individual who hears about an event, allowing their imagination 'full scope', but since they have not been directly affected they do not engage the same coping mechanisms as a direct victim. Related to this idea of indirect victimisation, is fear that is created through the media. There is mixed evidence as to the role that the media plays in constructing crime and fear, but it does appear to have some influence as it is seen in the concept of 'moral panic'. This will be discussed later.

Research looking at fear of gangs

Lane & Meeker (2003) and Katz (2003) both conducted studies that sought to examine the influence of these different models on fear of gangs. The Katz study also looked at a comparison between fear of gangs and fear of crime in general to ascertain if there were differences in the factors contributing to each type of fear. In both studies, the majority of the sample were white and came from communities where the largest minority population were Hispanic/Latinos (Lane & Meeker looked at Orange County in California, whilst Katz looked at Mesa in Arizona). These minority groups also comprised the majority of the gang memberships. Both studies collected information

via telephone surveys. Fear of gangs was a dependant variable in both studies (but Katz also included a general fear of crime). Independent variables included diversity, disorder and concern and were measured in both studies.

In the study by Katz, fear of crime was ascertained by asking questions about how worried people were about being a victim of non-gang crime, having their house broken into, and walking alone. Fear of gangs was ascertained by asking questions about how worried people were about being a victim of gang crime, gangs entering their house, and gangs taking over the neighbourhood. To gauge diversity, Katz adopted the approach of Lane & Meeker (2000) by asking questions relating to worry about racial relationships, increased immigration and decline in moral standards. Disorder had questions about social disorder (worry about things such drug dealing, fighting, drunks), and physical disorder (worry about things such as abandoned cars, rubbish, graffiti). Community concern measures were residential stability (home ownership), perceptions of neighbourhood interaction, and awareness of neighbourhood deterioration (whether they felt things were the same, better or worse). Victimization was assessed with question asking about whether they had been a victim (direct victimization) or if someone they knew had been a victim (indirect victimization).

It was found that diversity and disorder increased both a fear of crime and a fear of gangs (Katz, 2003). Gender and diversity were strongly associated with a general fear of crime, while disorder and being non-white strongly increased fear of gangs. Community concern had a similar influence on both types of fear. Women were less fearful of gangs compared to general crimes, possibly because they perceive gang

offending is more often contained to young men (Katz, 2003). The finding that non-whites were more fearful of gangs may be attributed to the fact that more gang problems occur in minority communities and that these communities have higher signs of disorder. The most interesting finding was that living in a gang area, on its own, did not influence fear of gangs. Katz (2003) suggests that this may be due to the fact that:

> … residents of high-gang areas understand the nature of local gang problems and of who is most likely to be involved in those problems (offenders and victims) than do the police, mass media, or residents of other areas. Residents of high-gang areas may recognize that gang members are more likely to victimize other gang members or, at least, other young people in the neighborhood, rather than themselves (i.e., adult, nongang members). Therefore, residents of high-gang areas may not identify with the victims of gang-related harms and thus may not fear gangs any differently from those who live in low-gang areas. (p. 122)

This finding is of interest as the Whanganui community views survey results (as presented in Chapter 1) also showed that fear of gangs was not always related to living in a gang area. The suburb of Marybank showed high levels of fear of gangs consistently over the 2009-2013 period. This suburb was not associated with gang violence or the presence of gang activity and the suburb also showed some of the highest levels of feeling safe at home. Marybank did show some high levels of fear associated with being in the Central Business District, so the fear of gangs appears to be related to their presence there. In comparison, Castlecliff showed a much lower

fear of gangs during the 2009-2013 period. This suburb had been associated with a high gang presence and a record of gang violence and showed higher levels of fear at home.

The study by Lane & Meeker (2003) found that there was a direct relationship between diversity, disorder, community concern, and fear of gangs. Out of the different models, it was found that community concern had the greater influence on fear. Consistent with the research by Katz (2003), being a minority was significantly related to fear of gangs, but it was also found that being female was just as significant (which differed from one of their previous studies). The finding that minorities had greater levels of fear was attributed to being due to high levels of disorder in their communities. Lane & Meeker (2003) also commented that in relation to community concern this appeared to be greater amongst whites, possibly because they see 'change' in their neighbourhoods, whilst minorities that have been present in high disorder areas for a longer period of time do not see a 'change' or decline in standards. It was also found that younger people had higher levels of fear, possibly because they are more likely to have direct dealings with gangs. Both studies found that level of education was not a significant factor.

The relationship between community concern and fear of gangs, found in the studies by Katz (2003) and Lane and Meeker (2003), is not directly comparable to the findings of the Whanganui community survey. The Katz study and the Lane & Meeker study did have a general question as to whether people thought things had gotten better, worse, still the same. This type of question was asked in the community surveys. Katz also measured concern on the basis on residential stability. Information

from Statistics New Zealand (as presented in Chapter one) can provide a similar type of information. But in both studies, there were additional factors/questions that were asked. In Katz, there were questions relating to neighbourhood cohesion – how people felt that the neighbours interacted with each other. The surveys from 2011 did start to ask questions relating to this, but since they were not the 2009 or 2010 surveys, a comparison for some of the key years cannot be made. In Lane & Meeker (2003) there were additional questions as to:

… whether they felt more or less safe or about the same in the community; and whether they believed gang violence had increased, remained the same, or decreased. (p. 438)

Whilst the survey results do provide information about safety in the Whanganui area, this question was not asked in the same context as Lane & Meeker. Instead, it was asked in the context of being in the CBD and at home rather than whether people in general feel less, more, or still the same about safety in general, making comparisons difficult.

I compared the results of the general question relating to concern (which was common for both studies) and the levels of residential stability during the 2009-2013 period. Springvale featured most often as showing concern, followed by Aramoho and then Castlecliff. In terms of residential stability, Aramoho was in the mid-range whilst Springvale was in the higher end of being stable – based on the number of people reporting home ownership compared to renting. The less stable areas were Central, Castlecliff, Wanganui East, and Gonville. Whilst these areas did show concern

(Wanganui East being the most to show concern out of these suburbs), they did not compare to the levels of concern shown in Springvale and Aramoho. The results of Whanganui are perhaps more comparable with the Lane & Meeker study.

This is because the Katz study (as far as community concern was based) was interested in looking at whether people who live in areas with a lower stability and less cohesion are more likely to show concern, so that is what was measured. The Lane & Meeker study showed that people who were a part of the 'disorder' (which includes residential instability) were less likely to see change and therefore less likely to show concern. Castlecliff did not fit this model as it did record higher levels of concern and it was one of the lower residential stability areas. The other areas showing concern do seem to fit within the Lane & Meeker study. The Whanganui surveys did also ask a question relating to physical disorder (graffiti), but it is unclear as to whether this was for their area or for Whanganui as a whole, so it is difficult to use this as a compatible measure of disorder.

2.6 Summary

The gang identity created by academics and the New Zealand legal system (through police and politicians) portrays groups that are focused towards deviant behaviour. It has continued to portray gangs and gang members as the 'other' which can be excluded from mainstream society. Making gangs the perfect target for being folk devils. Previously, the legal enforcement towards gangs has been aimed at the behaviour of gang members, with added sentencing implications if the person is considered to be part of an organised crime group. The idea that legal intervention

should be directed at representations of this identity is new. This demonstrates an evolution in how gangs and their status as folk devils has occurred in a New Zealand context.

In terms of what may create fear of gangs, there are many different factors that can contribute. The physical presence of gang identity, by itself, would seem to have a limited impact on fear of gangs.

Gang violence, from a review of the literature, stems from causes such as dominance and honour. The display of gang insignia may contribute to inciting a need to dominate, for example, if one gang showed their 'colours' in the area normally associated with another gang. This may prompt retaliation to show that the residing gang is strong and does not appreciate another gang's presence. The violence also tends to be directed towards known targets as opposed to public areas – except for rare occurrences. From the prior chapter, this would appear to be something that would happen regardless of the use of insignia – gang members 'know' who is in a gang by a number of other means.

The legislation to remove gang insignia was also aimed at gang identity as a fixed identity – remove the patch, you remove the gang member. It took no account of how this identity may be performed in a number of different ways. The process of enabling the legislation also focused on gang identity as being something that was simply constructed as a deviant threat which could be reduced or eliminated by removing the signs of it. There is a threat that must be removed.

The construction of the gang identity and the 'gang problem' in Whanganui has impacted on more than just gang members and associates. Acceptance of the media and outsider view of Whanganui has heightened awareness of gang membership and impacted on interactions within the community, with consequences such as non-gang members being banned from stores for wearing red. Members of the Whanganui community face the label of 'being from Whanganui', which is being blamed as a source of decreased economic activity in the area.

The process leading to the enactment of the legislation, and the lasting effects of it strongly resemble a moral panic. A panic that was created from existing representations of the devil and then further enhanced.

This page is intentionally blank.

CHAPTER THREE:

MORAL PANICS AND THE MEDIA

The previous chapter discussed how gangs have been defined by academics and law enforcement, as well as providing a discussion on how identity may be constructed and identified. The idea of identity construction is implicated in many theories and concepts, one of which is the idea of moral panic (Ben-Yehuda, 2019; Cohen, 1972). The concept of moral panic looks at how a group (or other 'threats') are identified and given a recognisable identity which is then often conveyed in the media in a way that increases a sense of concern and hostility towards the group (or threat). This process of 'othering' then can often lead to calls for change from authorities that will either result in change or will simply die away (Cohen, 2002; Critcher, 2008).

My research focuses on how the media conveyed gang identity at a particular time in which the identity of gangs as a deviant group was intensified and where change (in the form of legislation) came as a result. The process that occurred during that time strongly relates to moral panic. In this chapter, I outline some of the aspects relating to moral panic and news production. This outline is further developed during my discussion of findings in Chapter six. Although there is now an extensive empirical and theoretical literature on both moral panics (e.g. Cohen, 1972, 2002; Critcher, 2008, 2017; Goode, 2008; Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2009; Hier, 2011, 2003, 2008, 2016, 2019; Krinsky, 2013; Monod, 2017; Rohloff & Wright, 2010), and media coverage of crime (e.g. Altheide, 2002; Chibnall 1977; Cohen 1972, Garland: 2001; Greer, 2013; Hall et al. 1978, Jewkes, 2015; Lugo-Ocando & Brandao, 2015;

Rowbotham, Stevenson, & Pegg, 2013), the main aim in this chapter will be to review the key theoretical ideas and concepts relevant for understanding my area of research as to how gang identity was constructed and whether the process resembled a moral panic.

3.1 Moral panic

The theory of moral panic maintains that it will occur when a 'condition, episode, person or groups of persons' (Cohen, 1972, p. 9) is identified as being a threat; the level of threat posed by the group is elevated through dissemination and exaggeration of the threat, resulting in a reaction to the group that is disproportionate to the actual threat posed. The identified group becomes demonised (they become, in Cohen's (1972) words 'Folk devils'), and any subsequent actions by the group are viewed negatively – even actions which are positive (for example, helping another person) are viewed with suspicion. This process of demonization and panic can increase levels of community fear about these groups and may lead to feelings of intimidation when in the presence of these folk devils. Social problems may be elevated to a level where it is perceived that legal intervention (criminalisation) is required, or criminal behaviour may be more stringently repressed through the process of moral panic (Cohen, 2002; Hall et al., 1978; Critcher, 2008).

The idea of moral panic derives from labelling theory which seeks to focus not so much on the 'deviants' and their reasons for their actions, but instead on who is defining these people or groups as deviants (Critcher, 2008). The shift towards the definers as opposed to the defined allows for a recognition as to why some people or

groups are considered a problem in a particular space and time compared to other contexts where they may not be considered to be a problem, or at least a problem with the same degree of stigma (Critcher, 2008; Young, 2013).

A moral panic may be defined in terms of particular stages or as to its attributes (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2009; Cohen, 2002). The stages, or processual model of moral panic was developed by Cohen (1972). It involves five main stages and several main actors that engage in overlapping ways (Critcher, 2008). During the defining stage, an event is reported but it is also reported in ways that start to shape the nature of the threat (the focus of the panic). There are reports of the actual threat that is then spoken of in terms that suggest an exaggeration of the actual threat. The reporting is not just about the actual events – it suggests this is part of a wider problem.

This leads into the second stage which sees the ability of the media to shape the folk devil with continued reporting that emphasises the ways to recognise it. Reinforcement can come through repeated use of particular terminology and negative referencing. The image of the folk devil that is shaped may evolve from input or information that comes from a number of different sources. For example, Rothe & Muzzatti (2004) in an analysis of the media's coverage of terrorism in the wake of September 11, showed that repetition of the terrorist image which helped to shape the 'folk devil' largely came about due to a media compliance with state-issued information.

The third stage is public concern which is generated through media depictions of the symbolic threat to moral order (Cohen, 2002; Critcher, 2008; Goode & BenYada,

2012). The fourth stage, where there is a response from authority and policy makers, is not independent of the prior stages and does not indicate that this is the first time there has been interaction from these figures. Control agents (authority and policy makers) may have been involved in these other stages, as in the study by Rothe & Muzzatti (2004), where it was the continued use of state dialogue that shaped the folk devil and raised public concern. The prior stages of shaping the folk devil and raising public concern can set the seeds for actions beyond the existing laws and recognised legal sanctions. Where there has been a high level of fear generated during these stages, it can give leaders:

> … greater freedom of action to advance and justify exceptional legislation, encroach on civil liberty rights, and accomplish their geo-political agendas.
> (Rothe & Muzzatti,2004, p 336)

The fifth stage is a result of how 'successful' the panic has been - did changes occur? There may have been changes to the law, but it may also be changes in the way the community regards the group that had been identified as the folk devil.

The processual model can be compared to the attributional model. This model provides a means by which to measure the hallmarks of a panic. Goode & Ben-Yehuda (2009) have produced a model of the key elements that comprise a moral panic, they also provide guidance as to how each element can be measured so that researchers can assess whether a particular situation corresponds to a 'moral panic'. The first element is concern as to the behaviour of individuals/groups. This should be able to be measured through things such as opinion polls, public comments in the

media, and proposed legislation (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2009). Looking at the number of arrests and social movement activity associated with the problem can also assist (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2009).

The second element is hostility, which is where a particular group or segment of society is separated out as being responsible for the threat. Is the group stereotyped in ways that produce an image of evil – of a 'folk devil'? The third element is consensus. This is where there is agreement that 'something must be done' about the 'problem'. The consensus needs not be held by a majority, but it must be widespread so that it is not just the 'emotions and beliefs of scattered individuals' (Burns & Crawford, 1999; Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2009). Hostility and consensus can also be observed though similar sources as those listed for concern. In particular, media portrayals and public opinion measures can be valuable.

The fourth element is the one that is the most contested aspect of moral panic – disproportion. In order to have a panic, it is not sufficient that there is concern or hostility that is widespread. The essence of the panic is that this concern and the resulting actions are a disproportionate response to the actual condition or episode. This means the assessment of whether a moral panic exists must include measuring the actual threat against the perceived threat. Critics of moral panic theory maintain that the extent of the actual or objective threat can never be fully known so it is impossible to gauge whether a reaction is disproportionate (Waddington, 1986). To counter this view, Goode & Ben-Yehuda (2009) proposed that whilst some 'future-oriented' threats may be 'impossible to calculate' it is possible to measure behaviour based threats that are familiar and on-going.

The different views on the issue of proportionality can be understood by looking at the different theoretical positions adopted in the sociology of social problems. One of the positions is the realist position which holds that social problems can be defined and measured. In contrast, there is the constructionist position that focuses on the definition process to understand why a situation may be viewed as a problem (Critcher, 2008; Hoffner, 2018). The concept of moral panic is connected to the constructionist position as it seeks to look at the actions of claims makers and how this contributes to the packaging and framing of the threat (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2012).

However, the constructionist position has two divisions. There are the strict constructionists that maintain all that can be assessed is the claims making processes where all assertions are considered equally. Accordingly, this means the researcher cannot make assessments or assumptions about the competing claims (Ibarra & Kitsuse, 1993; Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2012; Hoffner, 2018). As such, moral panic theorists adopting the strict constructionist view find 'themselves unable to differentiate a balanced and reasonable response to a real or putative condition from a disproportionate and exaggerated one' (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2012, p. 24).

Contextual constructionists do allow for the possibility of assessing disproportion. The contextual constructionist does not just look at the claims and the claims process; they also look at the reality of the problem that is being constructed (Critcher, 2008). This places them in a position where they are required to evaluate the truthfulness of claims using resources available to all observers (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2012; Best,

1993). Moral panic researchers adopting the contextual approach consider it possible to assess whether the reaction is proportionate to the threat. However, it is also acknowledged that there are some conditions that may be difficult to measure (Cohen, 2002).

According to Goode & Ben-Yehuda (2009), indicators that disproportion may exist include: figures about the problem are exaggerated and/or fabricated, rumours are generated about non-existent harm, the attention paid to the threat is much greater than that paid to other threats with an equal or greater level of actual damage, and finally the attention paid to the threat is greater compared to other times without there being any increase in the objective seriousness of the threat.

Even where there may be indicators such as those mentioned by Goode & Ben-Yehuda that can allow for some evaluation, there is still criticism. First, empirical data that uses statistics can be subject to selection and interpretation of this data by the researcher (Maneri, 2013). Added to this is the dilemma where (in the context of crime) there may be reported incidents but they do not cover the extent of the actual problem (Garland, 2008). This therefore makes the true nature of the threat potentially incapable of a true objective assessment. However, Cohen (2002) states that there are some cases where proportion can be evaluated. For example, where there are very clear signs that the terminology being used to describe the event are not in proportion to the actual incident. As Cohen (2002) argues:

Assume we know that, over the last three years, (i) X% of asylum seekers made false claims about their risk of being persecuted; (ii) only a small proportion

(say 20 per cent) of this subgroup had their claims recognized; and (iii) the resultant number of fake asylum seekers is about 200 each year. Surely then the claim about 'the country being flooded with bogus asylum seekers' is out of proportion. (Cohen, 2002, p. xxxv)

The final element of a moral panic is volatility. This element is seen in the definition of moral panic given by Cohen (1972, p. 9):

> Sometimes the subject of the panic is quite novel and at other times it is something which has been in existence long enough, but suddenly appears in the limelight. Sometimes the panic passes over and is forgotten, except in folklore and collective memory; at other times it has more serious and long lasting repercussions and might produce such changes as those in legal and social policy or even in the way the society conceives itself.

The idea that a panic is a temporary and short-term episode has been a source criticism of the concept of moral panic in current times. It has been argued that in today's society where there is a constant state of anxiety and multiple media outlets to disperse information, moral threats have become commonplace rather than episodic. As Young (2007, p. 63) states:

> Here, in the fibrillating heartlands of the first world, images of the excluded, the immigrant, the drug user and the terrorist visit us daily, the intensity dropping and peaking like tremors, but never vanishing nor presenting temporary relief.

This idea that that there is no actual stopping point to a panic is supported by Garland (2008), who contends that panics may be part of a continuing series, where each 'new' panic is building on the prior dialogue to create new areas of significance to the areas of concern.

Cohen (2002) defends the concept of volatility by stating that the attention given to the issue/problem will only have an intensified 'panic level' for a short duration. This does not mean that the problem has not previously existed or that it ceases to exist once the moral panic has subsided. The 'panic' is about the attention given to the problem – it is in this aspect that is volatile in nature. If there is an event that creates an intensified attention to the 'gang problem', for example, which is then reacted to in a way that is disproportionate to the actual threat this may still come within the classic criteria of a moral panic. The notion of volatility can be measured by the increased intensity and a subsequent fall off of the coverage that elevates the issue to being a problem that is one that requires immediate attention.

The dialogue surrounding gangs can be viewed as a continuing panic (Gilbert, 2010; Monod, 2017; Young, 2013). Within New Zealand and other countries, the 'threat' of the gang has been present for a long time (Gilbert, 2010; Katz, 2011; Morgan, Dagistlanli & Martin, 2010). This has in part been due to penal populism (discussed below) but also due to the ability of the media to combine this threat to other known threats such as drug use, crime, and threats to youth (Hall et al., 1978; Monod, 2017). However, the fact that gangs have featured constantly as a threat to moral values does not mean that a gang centred episode cannot be viewed as a moral panic. The results of my research demonstrate how an existing threat such as gangs can become a moral

panic when combined with an event and a subsequent evolution in the nature of the devil.

There are three main theories as to how a moral panic is set in motion. The first is the Grassroots theory that contends that the panic starts as a result of a real fear held by the public that is articulated and exaggerated by media sources which prompts agents of authority to act (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2009). The second is the Elite Engineered theory in which the panic is generated by the controlling groups within a community (e.g. legislators) in order to divert attention from more serious concerns or as a means to broaden powers of control (Hall et al., 1978). The media acts as the means by which information about the 'threat' is communicated to the public who then seek action. The third theory is the interest group theory where the panic is generated by members in the 'middle-rung' of society – law enforcement, professionals, or the media itself. These groups communicate the concern through the media and it is picked up on by the public and policy makers who demand or implement measures to deal with the 'problem' (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2009).

No matter which theory is adopted, in each situation there must be a concern (either real or perceived) held by the public, the concern is one that elites/interest groups decide to act on, and the media is the means by which the panic is conceptualised and spread. If one of these factors is missing the panic does not occur. It is important to note that actual public concern is not necessary – what is required is the perception that public concern exists (Critcher, 2003; Wright Monod, 2017). This perception can be achieved when the media purports to act as the voice of the public and elites respond to these messages. If there is no public concern or pre-existing fear, then the

actions of interest groups/elites will not engage and there will be no widespread panic. However, as Goode & Ben-Yehuda (2009, p. 69) comment:

> While widespread stress or latent public fears almost necessarily exist in advance of moral panics, they do not explain how and why they find expression at a particular time. These fears must be articulated; they must be focused, brought to public attention, given a specific outlet. And this almost always entails some form of organisation and leadership.

As such the creation of the moral panic needs to also involve elites or interest groups to give the 'threat' focus. Essentially, the public fears and concerns contribute the moral substance of the panic, whilst the interest groups/elites provide the timing of the panic.

Cohen (2002) stated that a moral panic needs essential groups to be involved. The groups consist of the folk devil, moral entrepreneurs (the primary definers who can range from interest group members to members of law enforcement), control agents (the law enforcers, politicians), the media, and the public (Critcher, 2008; Rothe & Muzzatti, 2004). Unless all of these actors are involved, the panic cannot fully emerge. The role that these different actors have can influence how the panic is set in motion. For the purpose of my research, it is the role of the media that is of most interest.

The media is seen as playing an important role within a moral panic – it may be the actual instigator of the panic, or the tool of the public, elite, or other interest groups in

disseminating a stereotypical view of the 'folk devil'. The 'dominant ideology' or 'elite-engineered' perspective of media (which ties into the elite-engineered moral panic theory) maintains that the media is no more than a tool used by the ruling classes to spread their worldview and that the public passively accepts this view (Hall, Critcher, Jefferson, Clarke, & Roberts, 1978). The other models of selection include a 'commercial model' and a 'professional- subcultural model' (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2009). In the commercial model, items are selected by the public and their demands, so that media articles are merely a reflection of public opinion (which ties to the grassroots theory of moral panic). In the professional-subcultural model items are selected according to journalistic norms such as accuracy, verification, human interest, and audience requirements (which ties to the interest group theory of moral panic, with the media being an interest group). The ability of the media to influence issues and the selection processes used are discussed in the next section.

The changing environment of society and the nature of media in current times has led to criticism of the moral panic theory and whether it can still assist with explanations as to what is happening today (Ferrell, 2014; Garland, 2008; Heir, 2008; McRobbie & Thornton, 1995; Ungar, 2001). One aspect is the nature of the folk devil. Currently there is greater access to media sites for the individual. Either through online comments section on news media sites, or through social media. The social media movement has generated the ability of an individual or a group to produce and distribute messages to a much wider audience than was previously available in the times of when Cohen first generated the concept of a moral panic (Ferrell, 2014; Jewkes, 2015; Monod, 2017; Yar, 2012). This ease of distribution can spread panic messages further but can also increase opportunities for the 'folk devil' and the

'devil's' supporters to fight back and present their side of the story (de Young, 2004; Griffiths, 2010; McRobbie & Thornton, 1995).

The media has always been a main factor in the shaping and enactment of a moral panic, and for news media the qualities that Cohen and other moral panic theorists speak about are still there. However, the nature and scope of the media has changed; in particular, recent years have seen the rise and importance of social media. Social media can act to spread traditional news media, but it can also act to distribute the views of the folk devil. McRobbie & Thornton (1995) argue that the new media allows greater opportunities for the folk devil to defend themselves and seek support for their views. At times they may even embrace the panic to elevate their status (Johansson, 2000).

St. Cyr (2003) maintains that a moral panic can affect the way in which gang members see/understand gang behaviour; in particular, it can lead to gang members/associates over-estimating the existence or strength of other local gangs. Hence, it is possible a panic may intensify a need to assert dominance. It should be noted however, that the gang members in St. Cyr's study were youths who came from gang neighbourhoods so their overestimation as to gang strength could have been a reflection of their live reality rather than a result of any moral panic representations.

The stigma of the folk devil label can induce other reactions from the 'folk devil' (Lumsden, 2009; Griffiths, 2010). One example of this is the research conducted by Griffiths (2010). He assessed how the goth community reacted to being labelling a folk devil after the 1999 Columbine High School shooting. The shooters were

members of a 'goth group' who called themselves the 'Trench Coat Mafia'. The shooting caused a media explosion as to the evils of the goth culture. Griffiths found that the goth community reacted in both a 'private' (communication amongst and directed to other goths) and a 'public' (communication directed to those outside of the goth culture) way. In both situations the goths sought to distance themselves from the shooters and actively promote a more accurate and positive representation of goth culture. This was achieved through activities such as community events and also communication via mainstream media (for public reactions) and niche or micro-media level media (for private reactions). The labelling of the goths as folk devils created a more vocal community within the goth culture, and in some ways solidified the culture.

The use of mainstream media by the 'folk devil' to counter existing views and challenge a 'panic' has been conducted by a number of marginalised groups. One example in the gang context is the research of Veno & Van Den Eynde (2007). The researchers had been asked by the particular Outlaw Motorcycle Club (OMC) to assist after some incidents arising from their annual 'run' (when an OMC will go on a road trip as a group), resulted in increased police, political, and media attention that demonised them. The OMC was concerned as to how the increased attention and hostility had impacted on the OMC and its extended family (family of members and other associates) with the law enforcement and political stance of wanting to 'get rid of us' (Veno & Van Den Eynde, 2007, p. 494). The intervention by the researchers had the goals of reducing tensions between the police and OMCs, and to 'neutralise the government's moral panic of OMCs' (Veno & Van Den Eynde, 2007, p. 494). It is the approach taken to neutralise the moral panic that is of most interest. This had a

two-pronged approach. First, there was the media operation which sought to establish strong links with mainstream media so as to create a positive media image. This approach goes to the heart of moral panic – the role of the media in constructing a panic and fear (Baer & Chambliss, 1997). The second was political activism which had the objective of obtaining support from political 'outsiders' such as civil libertarian groups and other marginalized sectors. The second approach is aligned to how a moral panic can also involve other interest groups that work to support the 'folk devil' (for example, see de Young, 2004, and the community support given to the 'folk devils'). This research involved an organised approach towards interaction with mainstream media that dispelled myths by portraying the OMC spokesperson as a family man, inviting reporters to accompany the OMC on their next annual run, and direct interviews. The results saw a marked change in media coverage relating to the OMC and reduced action on the part of politicians and law enforcement towards the OMC.

Many of the 'panics' that have been identified have occurred at times when a community is undergoing periods of uncertainty or change, so the moral panic can act as a means to reassert social controls or 'moral boundaries' (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2009; Hall et al., 1978; Hunt, 1997; Johansson, 2000). The targets of the panic are visible groups or behaviours that challenge existing standards held by the influential majority of society, and so become representative of the unease created by the period of uncertainty/change. As such, both Cohen (1972) and Goode & Ben-Yehuda (2009) maintain that a moral panic is not about the tangible 'threat' that is the target of the panic so researchers need to look at what the 'threat' symbolises in terms of the community's cultural and moral standards. For example, in the study by Cohen on the

reactions of the public and authorities to youth subcultures (mods and rockers), the panic was not necessarily about the real damage that was done by these youths. Instead, the actions of the young people symbolised a perception held by the older generation that young people were spoilt and were rejecting the values of an older generation. Hence, the 'real panic' was about protecting the moral standards held by the older generation.

A panic can help to alleviate concerns over declines in moral standards by creating a sense of community and restoring a sense of stability. The sense of community is created by defining the 'devil', who is the 'other' in comparison to the 'us'. People who are not within the definition and profile of the devil are part of 'us' so become a community united against the dangerous other (Rothe & Muzzatti, 2004; St. Cyr, 2003). The responses of the legislators to the threat demonstrate to the public that they will be protected, so act to restore the idea of stability.

A desire to have a sense of security and protection against threats to moral standards has increased in modern times which has seen a decline in close social bonds and structures such as family or church groups (Bottoms, 1995; Putnam, 2000). These feelings of insecurity can also be described in term of Elias's (2000) civilising and decivilizing processes. Elias describes the civilising process as one where the state gains authority over certain functions such as the legitimate use of violence. This is combined with an increased specialisation and division of labour within society that creates complex networks where people become reliant on each other. This leads to a society where there is increased mutual identification and reduced cruelty to each other (Elias, 2000; Rohloff, 2008; Rohloff & Wright, 2010).

The process of civilisation can also include episodes of decivilization (Elias, 2000). Indications that this is occurring include a perception that the state has a reduced ability to protect its people, as well as an actual or perceived increase in the level and incalculability of danger that is present (Mennell, 1990; Rohloff, 2008). During this time the public will have a heightened sense of anxiety that drives them to seek solutions using any means possible. When the threat can be attributed to a recognisable group that is seen as 'uncivilised', there is a decreased mutual identification towards them which then justifies using cruel measures to remove the threat (the 'other') (Mennell, 1990). Rohloff (2008) uses the example of public reactions to sex offenders where vigilante groups are formed to drive out the offender. To counter these perceptions and to regain control, the state will become more proactive in demonstrating its ability to control danger (Rohloff, 2008).

In terms of moral panics and the exaggeration of the threat, the civilizing process and its structure of specialisation can lead to a dependence on experts and their claims as to what problems exist. This makes it easier for the claims, even when they are exaggerations, to be accepted as a 'truth' (Cohen, 2002; Rohloff, 2008; Rohloff & Wright, 2010). If these claims state or suggest that there is a serious threat that is not being dealt with, this can lead into the decivilizing trend where the public perceive there is an increased level of danger and that action is needed which feeds a state of panic. When this threat is shaped as a folk devil, there is reduced mutual identification towards them and can lead to calls for harsh measures to remove the devil (Rohloff, 2008). To gain control politicians will seek to reassure the public with the promise, or action, of bringing in new laws or increased powers to deal with the threat.

The perceived need to respond to public anxiety by creating laws or policies that provide protection is at the heart of the concept of penal populism. Roberts et al. (2003) define this as being the process where policies and law reform are put forward in order to obtain votes as opposed to a real desire to reduce crime rates. As Morgan et al. (2010, p. 593) note, this process is 'typically seen in the law and order auctions' that take place in government, particularly at election times. In New Zealand, this process has been at work during elections which parties competing against each other as to who can be the toughest on crime (Pratt & Clark, 2005).

Penal populism is also associated with the concept of popular punitiveness which is a trend towards increasing prison numbers through harsher sentencing and broader laws that allow for more incarceration (Morgan, Dagistlanli & Martin, 2010; Monod, 2017; Pratt et al., 2005; Pratt & Anderson, 2016). The two concepts create an environment where it is possible to suggest and enact legal measures that are disproportionate to any actual threat – they are designed to act against perceived dangers that are elevated by political forces seeking to gain favour with the voting public. Meehan (2000) refers to an example of this in a Mid-Western town in America where a police unit that dealt with youth activities was labelled a 'gang unit' during election years and would increase their activities in controlling youth. After the election, the label and the increased activity would disappear.

Gangs are a favoured target for penal populism. As Katz (2011, p. 238) states:

Gangs have become a regular, omni-present scapegoat for politicians, law

enforcement spokespersons, and political lobbyists to demonize when attempting to rationalize worrisome crime trends, to press for draconian legislation to address the perceived threat, to bid for additional government funds and resources, and/or to gain media and therefore public attention during election years.

New Zealand politics have also incorporated the 'gang threat' as a political tool to gain resources and attention, particularly during election times (Gilbert, 2010; Monod, 2017). The way in which this has been done since the 1990s and the changes to what the gang threat means is elaborated upon in the discussion chapter, in light of my analysis of how the Whanganui episode has continued and extended the perception of gangs in New Zealand.

The timing of a moral panic may also be influenced by other social and political factors operating at the time. For example, Hall et al. (1978) maintained that the panic over mugging during the 1970s was created to divert attention away from the potential economic crisis of the time. Within New Zealand, economic factors, and the need to divert attention from them, has also been attributed to the singling out of gangs for a moral panic (Gilbert, 2010; Kelsey & Young, 1982). Two of the most active campaigns (1997 and 2007) were in years where the economy was facing potential threats. Morgan, Dagistlanli & Martin (2010) also concluded that legislation imposed in New South Wales after a panic about 'Bikie gangs' was timed to have the effect of diverting the public away from issues such as urban planning, public transport and health. It also provided the state government with a temporary boost in public opinion polls. As well as diversion, competing interests can drive the moral panic dialogue.

For example, Roguski and Tauri (2012) noted that the gang panic that occurred in South Auckland could be attributed to the police and politicians seeking increased resources and a favourable public image.

As well as these factors, other conditions existing within the social climate and social structures can underlie motivations for a panic. In the study conducted by Kelsey & Young (1982), the attention given to gangs during the late 1970s and early 1980s was examined. They concluded that a moral panic had occurred. There had been a gradual build-up of media attention being devoted to gangs from 1978 until the middle of 1979 but then there was a trigger event, which was the Moerewa violence. In this incident, several police were injured by Stormtroopers (a gang that was prominent in upper New Zealand at the time) in the town of Moerewa. Gilbert (2010) suggests that the likely pre-cursor to the violence was an exchange between Black Power and the Stormtroopers that led to the Stormtroopers wanting to seek revenge. The Stormtroopers were unable to find their targets so vented their rage against police (Gilbert, 2010). When this event occurred, there was an increased level of attention that took the form of 'saturation of media coverage, emotional demand for instant action, and official overaction in response to them' (Kelsey & Young, 1982, p. 34). Whilst the violence that triggered the panic was real, there appeared to be no evidence to support an overall increase in gang violence that warranted the media depictions and the responses during the panic. The panic, according to Kelsey & Young (1982), caused officials (politicians and law enforcement) to look for ways to ease public anxiety through messages of suppression actions being taken. Once the panic subsided, media attention reduced.

Kelsey & Young (1982) looked at the context operating at the time. They found that economic conditions such as unemployment may have contributed, but of more interest is the connection of the gangs to Māori activism and the feelings of racial discontent at the time. This is summed up best by Kelsey & Young (1982, p. 141 - note spelling is that of the original report):

> The comforting traditional image of a raceless classless society was becoming more and more difficult to justify. The Te Matakite land march, the Bastion Point, Raglan, He Taua and Waitangi protests and the formation of the Mana Motuhake party, among many others, were calls for the recognition of the cultural, economic and political rights of Maori people……Just as gangs were in a way a symbol of a challenge to the image of economic security, so was their existence as highly visible large groups of young Maoris and Pacific Islander youth who were directly confronting and rejecting the basis of Pakeha society an unwelcome symbol of racial disharmony.

The idea of how racism and racial tension is dealt with and discussed by elites is explored by Van Dijk (1992). This exploration shows how direct racism is avoided, instead it is a dialogue that uses indirect means to pinpoint and discredit ethnic groupings. This process is both a social and cognitive one. People are taught to think in a certain way, this comes about due to social interaction between groups and within groups which create the models for ways of thinking about ethnicity. In the words of Van Dijk (1993, pg 14)

> Text and talk are produced and interpreted on the basis of mental models of ethnic events, and such models are in turn shaped by shared social

representations in memory (knowledge, attitudes, ideologies) about one's own group, about minority groups, and about ethnic relations. The same social representations control other, nonverbal actions of group members, for instance, acts of discrimination.

The acts of discrimination can include denial that racism exists. They may be express or done in subtle ways (for example demonstrating doubt as to racist activity). A denial can act as a form of defence – that any accusation of racism is unwarranted as the speaker did not intend to convey that meaning. The denial may also be in the form where the statement is downplayed – the negative aspects are relegated through dialogue that trivialises or mitigates the negative comments. Van Dijk refers to the phrase 'telling the truth' as being a catch phrase which allows for racist statements but denies the racist impact that such statements.

Denials can also take the passage of 'counter-attack', where the elites attempt to put the racist label onto the anti-racists. The move occurs when the elites convey the message that the anti-racists are the problem as they demonstrate a threat to 'our' way of life. It is essentially a form of victim blaming. One example of this occurring within Whanganui was with the 'h' debate. When the geographical board declared that the 'h' should be included within the name in 2009 there was a news report that Michael Laws declared the decision to be racist as it went against the wishes of Whanganui people who had voted in the referendum to not have the 'h' (Whanganui decision racist, 24 Sept 2009, Otago Daily times).

As well as denials such discourse may also be made acceptable through the use of

justifications. This is where the racism is 'allowed' because the targeted group somehow represents a broader social threat. Van Dijk uses the example of immigration restrictions being justified on the basis on the threat to employment for existing residents. In the situation of the gangs, there has been a climate of racial tension. The gangs are predominately Māori. The dialogue surrounding gangs could be seen as a means to express racism, the fear of the Māori 'other' without being seen or identified as being racist .

As discussed in Chapter one, Whanganui had been subject to many episodes of racial disharmony and Māori activism. Māori at that time (and through to today) comprise a large portion of gang members. Aa such, if a panic occurred within Whanganui then the core moral value that was at the heart of the panic could have been racial.

The idea that a moral panic analysis cannot be separated from the social and political context is highlighted by a number of scholars (de Young, 2004; Hall et al., 1978; Garland, 2008; Monod, 2017; Rohloff & Wright, 2010; Defelm, 2019), and is central to my evaluation of the creation of the gang identity which led to the enactment of the legislation. As such, whilst my research looks at how the media has contributed to the construction of gang identity, it also looks at the historical and contextual factors that enabled the media to adopt such constructions.

The media has played a central role in theoretical ideas about the concept of moral panics and there is an extensive body of research, more generally, that has explored media coverage of crime. In the next section, I discuss aspects of news production such as news values, agenda setting and framing which can assist with the media

contribution in a moral panic.

3.2 The news media

The media has been a tool for communicating ever since the ability to disseminate information on a widespread basis became possible through the invention of the printing press (O'Shaughnessy & Stadler, 2012). Even with the technology that exists today, the media is not capable of conveying all information that exists. Hence, the content of media communications is subject to a selection process. The way in which this selection is determined has changed over time as the media and its controlling forces have evolved.

Looking at selection practices from a historical perspective, initially information distributed by print media (the press) was limited by the state in the form of pre-publication constraints intended to ensure that the only publishers able to publish would be ones that were favourable to the state and the views of the state (O'Malley & Soley, 1990). The licensing laws which restricted who could publish were attacked by the press and their supporters who claimed that the masses should be provided with a diversity of views, not just those of the state. The press was successful in this endeavour to the extent that most pre-publication censorship of this kind ended in 1694 with the decline of licensing (O'Malley & Soley, 1990).

However, this did not result in a 'free press' as other financial burdens were placed on publishers, which again limited those who were able to publish. Most publishers were only able to continue with the assistance of the state or other political sources providing financial backing. The result was a press controlled by their backers, rather

than a truly independent voice of the people. As Lange (1975) notes, the concept of a 'partisan press' being a check on the government was only true to the extent that the press was "directly in the service of opposing power factions" (p. 90), meaning that while the press did provide criticism of the government, it was not due to a complete political independence.

The economic limits on who could publish were gradually changed due to pressure during the mid to late 1800s from the middle classes, who, like their predecessors, saw the press as a means of educating the masses. As these controls over the press were being lifted, the style of journalism also gradually changed. The cheaper cost in producing papers gave rise to the weekly popular press, which was aimed at the working class and focused on crime and murder rather than political or business concerns. This style of journalism along with the increase in literacy levels resulted in high levels of readership. This reaped economic benefits through increased sales which also attracted investors and advertisers which reduced the necessity for political backing. Hence, the selection and presentation of content became largely motivated by economics. This direction of news being aimed at the working class and becoming part of popular culture did bring in other forms of control via moral panic on the part of the higher classes, who considered such publications to be a threat to social order (Johansson, 2000).

In today's media, economic concerns are still present as a factor. Mass media organisations not only have to compete for their audiences but may also have to do so in a fashion that is compatible with the 'various funders, advertisers and special interest groups that keep media conglomerates in business' (Cissel, 2012, p. 68).

Increased competition and the need to attract readers are considered to be factors contributing to the increase in 'soft news' (which is designed to entertain) compared to 'hard news' (which is designed to inform) amongst online media sites, as consumer preferences for these sites are for items that are 'soft' (Boczkowski & Peer, 2011). In comparison, alternative media that does not have the same profit motive may have a greater freedom to present items 'free of corporate control' (ibid). However, alternative media which represents the smaller voices of the people is usually unable to survive for long, and has a limited reach (McGregor, 1992).

There are a number of other factors that will also contribute to the selection and presentation of news. For example, most news media operate under similar conditions, using similar processes to assess newsworthiness (Golding & Elliot, 1979; Jaworskia, Fitzgerald & Morris, 2003). This standardisation creates pressure on the different news media to be 'first' in presenting the information that will sell. According to Maneri & Ter Wal (2005), this need for immediacy coupled with editorial policies, journalistic norms and the resources available can lead to 'the reproduction of readily-available official figures and accounts' and can also mean that 'investigative journalism, background reports, and explanatory accounts are rare' (para 17). The racial composition of the news organisation can also influence the attention given to particular issues (Greer, 2007). As a result of these factors, the news received by the public may only be a minute selection of what has actually occurred, and it will presented in a way that is intended to grab attention, often with little concern as to the overall balance of the piece (Miller, 1996).

What is considered important may adhere to an idealised concept of how society

should function, rather than an accurate picture of reality. It has been suggested that the techniques employed in crime news are not merely for entertainment but also serve to reinforce ideals and boundaries that should exist in a moral society (Erikson, 1966; Cohen, 2002). For example, 'victims' should be pure, while the 'accused' should have no redeeming features. If there is information that contradicts this ideal, it is often discarded by the media by either not including it at all, or giving it less prominence (Christie, 1986; Greer, 2007; Kinsella, 2012). This is demonstrated in the extent of national coverage that was given to the murder of toddler Jhia in 2007, where the little girl and her vulnerability were highlighted. When compared to events such as the attack on gang member Peter Randal Nahona in 2006, there was comparatively little national interest and the emphasis was on how the attack impacted on members of the public due to the possibility of gang retaliation for the attack.

The reporting of crime is highly selective, with attention given to more serious crime such as violent offending. One criticism of this selection process is that it creates an unbalanced account of criminal activity. For example, property offences are generally more common in communities yet they are given little (if any) media attention. Even coverage of violent offences are unrepresentative as they focus on 'stranger attacks' rather than more common events such as domestic violence (Greer, 2007).

The opportunity to treat news in this manner gives the media considerable power, as Erickson, Baranek, & Chan (1991) comment: this power comes in the form of allowing journalists to act as 'as selectors of which people can speak in public conversations as formulators of how these people are presented, and as authors of

knowledge' (p.16).

When journalists are in these different roles, they have the ability to construct the news in a way that conforms to their own institutional ideals. By selecting which people can speak, the media has the ability to control the commentary toward views that are favourable to their own agenda. In formulating the way these people are presented, the media can enhance the desirability or creditability of favourable views, or it can use this tool to create distrust or repulsion for opposing views. Journalists undertaking these tasks act as authors of an event, rather than recorders of it. In this role, journalists can become creators of 'veritable scripts to morality plays, with the moral forces of traditional authority waging war against the evil forces of deviance' (Thompson, Young & Burns, 2000, p. 428). As authors, the media highlight what is important and what should be discarded. The result is the public gains the illusion of knowing about matters of public concern, rather than actual knowledge.

The social constructivism approach to media acknowledges this power of the media to convey their version of reality but also recognises that communication involves decoding by the recipient, so the audience's role in attributing meaning to the information presented has equal importance (Scheufele, 1999). These two levels of processing news are central to agenda setting and framing theories.

Agenda setting is the concept that the media will direct the readers towards the issues that the media sees as being the most important (McCombs, Shaw, & Weaver, 2014; McCombs, 1997; Moy, Tewksbury, & Rinke, 2016). Directing readers towards 'key issues' is partly achieved through the presentation of the articles (the prominence of

the article). The more important issues are towards the front of the paper, while the use of headings and the length of the article also provide cues to the reader that 'this is something that should be read'. Readers of traditional print media tend to read the paper 'cover to cover' rather than seek out particular items of interest and are hence guided towards articles they may not have necessarily sought out but are attracted to due to the articles' placement.

This process is altered with the use of online news media. Whilst the initial page of a news media site may have certain articles highlighted by putting these articles towards the top of the web page, the ability of the reader to quickly get to items of interest (for example, business news) through the click of a button means the reader is not subjected to the same process of scanning and viewing articles that are not of interest. Althaus & Tewksbury (2002, p. 183) also comment that:

> … most of the conventional story importance cues used in printed newspapers are not suitable for use in Web-based newspapers. For instance, the small size of computer monitors relative to printed newspaper pages puts a premium on condensing as much information as possible into a viewing area the size of a single screen, which leaves little room for large headlines or visual cues about story length.

Althaus & Tewksbury conducted research to ascertain whether such differences between print and online news media resulted in different perceptions from readers as to what were 'important public issues' (p.183). Their study tested for differences in perceived importance of particular stories and the broad topics that the stories related

to. These perceptions were examined in relation to three different agendas – the reader's own agenda of important concerns, the reader's perception of how important the topic was in the news (the news agenda), and the perceived importance to other readers.

The participants were divided into three groups, control, print and online. The print and online groups (exposure groups) were limited to accessing news for one hour per day for five days in either the print version or the online version of 'The Times'. The post-test questionnaire checked for recall and recognition of stories, their perceived importance, and the participant's perception of the Most Important Problem (MIP). Both exposure groups had a higher recall and recognition of stories compared to the control group. Amongst the exposure groups, recall and recognition was higher for the print group compared to the online group. However, the exposure groups were not significantly more accurate in assessing the news agenda. It was suggested that the article headings act as a cue on their own, meaning that the control group was equally able to assess the news agenda. The main difference occurred with the MIP where the print group included a greater number of international problems in comparison to the other groups. It was suggested that the print media allows for a greater exposure to a wider range of stories compared to online media. The political knowledge of participants did not differ greatly between the groups, so this was discounted as being the potential reason for the difference. Althaus & Tewksbury (2002, p. 199) concluded that:

> Our findings confirm that online news media facilitate greater individual control over news exposure and that this greater control leads online readers to focus on different kinds of information and to develop different perceptions

of important problems than audiences of printed newspapers.

Other researchers share the concern that online news consumption may limit the knowledge of readers as well as challenge the ability of the media to set agendas. Boczkowski & Peer (2011) found that whilst journalists may still have a preference towards hard news, online readers preferred soft news which has led to an increase in the production of soft news to close the choice gap and adhere to consumer preferences. Boczkowski & Peer comment that the ability for online readers to be more selective in their viewing of stories, combined with the trend towards soft news may endanger the role of the media as watchdog over 'the other powerful actors in society' (p. 870), as it decreases the time and resources put into public affairs news. A review of the literature by de Waal & Schoenbach (2010) also demonstrates fears that the egocentric use of online news and production of soft news reduces the ability of the media to successfully create 'public space for the discourse of democratic societies' (p. 2). The limitation on knowledge of public affairs is intensified when online news displaces other forms of information. Studies on displacement effects have found that consumers of online news show some displacement in regard to other news sources (Kitamaura, 2013; de Waal & Schoenbach, 2010), but that these effects can differ depending on whether it is an online newspaper or an online news site (such as Yahoo), or whether the internet is accessed via computer vs mobile phone.

Agenda setting theory is based on the premise that media attention to an issue will influence public opinion. However, it seems that the recognition of this media attention may alter depending on the medium. For my research, this could mean that the ability of New Zealand media to place the 'Whanganui gang problem' as an issue

for the public to think about, may depend on which medium was accessed by the public and how the stories were told. The adoption of a hard news frame which discusses political and legal aspects may not attract online readers unless they had a special interest in the topic. On the other hand, readers of print versions of the papers may have been drawn to these stories regardless of personal interest due to layout of this medium, as commented by Boczkowski & Peer (2011): 'an item displayed on a newspaper's front page has a higher probability of being noticed' (p. 861).

Framing theory is central to my research when looking at how the stories are told. Framing is defined by Entman (2007, p. 164) as being 'the process of culling a few elements of perceived reality and assembling a narrative that highlights connections among them to promote a particular interpretation'. Framing encourages the audience to think in particular ways by presenting accounts (articles) that provide: definitions of problems, the causes of these problems, ways in which the problems should be morally evaluated, and suggested remedies for their resolution. A frame influences the public by emphasising particular aspects of an issue so as to make these aspects appear more important (Nelson, Clawson & Oxley, 1997). The use of motifs (recurrent themes and phrases) may enhance this way of thinking about particular issues (Thompson, Young, & Burns, 2000). Framing theory is similar in nature to agenda setting theory which supports the concept of the media power to influence audiences by having the ability to decide on what issues are presented and how they are presented (Cissel, 2012). However, the difference between the two is that framing looks at 'the selection and salience of particular aspects of an issue rather than the issue itself' (Scheufele, 1999).

The ability to influence thinking relies on whether the frames used match existing schemata held by the readers – if the frames do not match (or can be interpreted to match), these existing ideas, beliefs and stereotypes may be discounted by the reader (Erickson & Baranek,1991; Kepplinger & Daschmann, 1997).

When the frames are narrowly constructed there may be large amounts of information left out (such as alternative views and solutions). This, in combination with the filtering process adopted by the audience can reduce knowledge and understanding. This was shown in a study by Kepplinger & Daschmann (1997) where it was found that not only do viewers of news only retain a small amount of the information, but it is interpreted in the context of past events (so as to heighten meaning). These events are generally reconstructed memories of previous media coverage. From this, it would seem that media frames can not only covey the meaning for events by providing current information but also provide the background to the information – essentially creating a monopoly over the public's knowledge of certain events. Hence, there is danger in the use of narrow frames if the audience does not have sufficient 'other' sources of information (for example, personal experience) to form beliefs, as they may be more reliant on the media frames to guide thinking (Entman, 1993).

There have been several studies which have looked at the framing and effects of framing as to various issues. Two studies conducted by Nelson, Clawson & Oxley (1997) looked at the effects of framing on tolerance towards the Klu Klux Klan (KKK). As with gangs, the KKK is perceived to have a long history of violence, intimidation and being a threat to the public order. The public displays of KKK identity, in the form of rallies, have created discussion on values such as freedom of

expression vs the protection of public order and safety. Nelson et al. proposed that when strongly embedded values such as these are bought into competition due to an event or a particular controversy, the public's preference for one value over another may be influenced by which value the media portrays as being the most important (the media frame of the event).

The first study of this nature was a laboratory experiment involving undergraduates. The participants were required to watch one of two television segments. In both segments there were 'warm up stories' followed by a report on a KKK rally. One of segments had a report which had a freedom of speech frame whilst the other had a public order frame. After watching the segment, the students were asked questions as to their tolerance of the KKK and the importance of free expression. It was found that the students who viewed the freedom of speech frame showed a greater tolerance towards the KKK. One of the limitations in the first study was that real news stories had been used, so the researchers were not able to control subtle differences in presentation that may have influenced the results.

The second study sought to overcome this by having the researchers create their own news items in an electronic newspaper format. As with the first study, one item had a free speech frame whilst the other had a public order frame. The participants were told that they were assessing the ability of this news format to convey information. Each KKK item contained the same key facts but there were differences as to the headline, pictures, and quotes which established the item's frame. As with the first study, the frame did influence the levels of tolerance. Nelson et al. (1997, p. 576) concluded that:

… alternative portrayals, or frames, can exert appreciable influence on citizens' perceptions of the issue and, ultimately, the opinions they express.

3.3 Media coverage of crime

There have been some studies that have analysed media coverage of gangs, for example, Esbensen & Tusinkski (2007) and Thompson, Young & Burns (2000). The study by Thompson, Young & Burns conducted a content analysis of media articles related to gangs and societal responses to the gangs. They drew their results from 4445 articles in the Dallas Morning News during the period 1991 to 1996. Articles were selected via a search using the words 'gang' or 'gangs'. They used a constant comparative method to identity themes. As with the study by Bates (1990), it is limited in that only one newspaper was used so different results may have occurred using a greater variety of media sources. The initial analysis found eight different themes or frames that were recurrent in the articles. These were: gang crime, gang busting, gang accounts, gang resisting, gang references, foreign gangs, gang rape, and gang research. The two most prominent themes were gang crime and gang references. Gang crime consisted of reports that focused on criminal activity. The most popular topic was inter-gang violence. The frames that surrounded these reports were that gangs are violent and that no person is safe. Gang references were reports that were single mentions of and editorial warnings about gang problems. Often these were reports used the term gang in the context of a different topic so as to suggest 'something about the identity of a person, place, or action' (p. 421).

'Foreign gangs' related to reports about gang activity outside of the USA and these

reports presented gangs as being a worldwide problem. 'Gang research' was the smallest theme and focused on reports that provided information on gangs and gang research. 'Gang rape' involved reports where gangs did perpetrate a rape, but rather than put these reports as part of gang crime it was give a separate theme as it also included the use of the term gang when describing a rape by several offenders who were not members of a gang (Thompson et al., 2000).

'Gang busting' contained reports about police activity, enforcement (including sentencing) as well as efforts to supress gangs. These reports portrayed the police and those seeking to increase legal powers to suppress as being representatives of public order, whilst some attention was given to liberal views these views were portrayed as challenging the ability to get tough on gangs. 'Gang accounts' were references to gangs that were made to support enforcement or suspension of rules not directly associated with gangs such as school dress codes. 'Gang resisting' were reports of where efforts were made to discourage gang activity and provide young people with alternatives to gangs. These themes all had a community response focus and when combined together they outnumbered the gang crime articles. Thompson, Young & Burns commented that this suggested 'talk about and responses to gang crime are clearly an important part of the gang story, perhaps a bigger part than actual gang activity' (p. 425). A prominent feature in these reports was the political discourse encompassing the events, for example gangs were often used to represent broader social issues such as control of youth. This ability to incorporate gangs into a broader context is one of the most interesting aspects of the Thompson, Young & Burns study as it demonstrated how the 'gang motif' is used by media. It was used to ascribe causes or influences as to problems such as youth deviance, crime, as well as the

erosion of family and community standards which helps to build a gang identity that is clearly devilish.

3.4 Summary

My research is about discovering why gang identity is considered so deviant that all signs of it had to be removed from public view. My review of the moral panic and media literature suggested that the moral panic model may be beneficial to understand the type of media coverage that occurred in Whanganui. To achieve this, I would need to look at the data to see in what ways it conformed to the panic model and assess the role of the media and other stakeholders. It also made me aware that understanding the context surrounding the events would be important to gaining insight as to why a panic (if one did occur) happened at a particular time and place (Hall et al., 1978; Monod, 2017).

When it comes to moral panic, one key issue in what makes a response a 'panic' is that it is often disproportionate. The problem is how to measure a response? To judge a response requires understanding the conditions that existed. These conditions can be measured by statistics, but statistics do not always tell the full story. As Erickson (1993) points out, statistics such as those gathered by police are merely their representation of the reality, their construction of the reality. When things such as statistics and opinion are conveyed through the media, their representation is also just one construction of reality. Any form of singular measure cannot help to discover if there has been a disproportionate response – fully understanding the conditions involves multiple means of ascertaining what was occurring in Whanganui.

To understand the conditions, my research will seek to discover what led to gangs becoming an unwanted but significant part of Whanganui through to being labelled as a social pariah whose identity had to be eliminated. This is undertaken, first, through an exploration of the news media. It is expected that an evaluation of the news reports should provide not just a factual account of events but also a reflection of how the situation was viewed. The public comments to these media reports (obtained through the comment sections on articles) can provide an added layer of analysis that can provide some insight into how the public view the issues presented in the media. These results will then be placed within the context and the environment that was operating at the time so as to understand how this particular result (in terms of the legislation) came about.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODS

4.1 Methodology

This study has adopted a social constructivist methodology in light of the lack of a universal consensus about what constitutes a gang and the importance of context and social environment. The social constructivist perspective contends that knowledge of our world, and the meanings within it, arise as a result of human relationships and interaction (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Social constructionists maintain that there is no single absolute reality or truth. Rather, what exist are claims made by actors within a particular (local) environment as to what meanings we should give to certain events or entities (Ibarra & Kitsuse, 1993; Loseke, 2003). The claims that are made are a result of the particular social, cultural and historical factors present in that environment (Hjelm, 2014). As such, claims may differ between different environments. Claims are given the status of reality or 'truth' when they are accepted by others within the given environment as being reality; the acceptance may be generated as a result of input from 'personal experience, other individuals, social groups and institutions, and the mass media' (Thompson, Young, & Burns, 2000, p. 411; Spector & Kitsuse, 1977). These claims can relate to all aspects of our lives – from what we understand as being 'breakfast' to what we understand as being 'social problems'.

In regard to social problems and deviance, Best (2002, p. 92) comments:

> All knowledge is socially constructed; to say that a social problem is socially
> constructed is not to imply that is does not exist, but rather that it is through
> social interaction that the problem is assigned particular meanings.

Essentially, this means what is perceived to be a social problem extends beyond the condition itself and includes the labelling of the condition as a problem. Since different environments can produce different meanings about conditions that exist, what is considered to be a social problem can differ from region to region and over time. Therefore, from a social constructionist's perspective, understanding why certain conditions are social problems requires not just assessing the condition itself but looking at why the label of 'social problem' has been given to the condition in that particular environment (Spector & Kitsuse, 1977).

This research accepts that conditions such as gangs and gang violence do exist in Whanganui. However, their status (and that of gang insignia) as a problem, arises from the meanings that have been attributed to these conditions. The legislation and bylaw accepted the construction that gang identity on its own was a problem. It went a step beyond prior legislation that required some form of (criminal) behaviour. Using a social constructionist perspective allows this research to understand how this evolution occurred by looking at the process that led to the label of 'serious social problem' being given to gang insignia in Whanganui (Moses & Knutsen, 2007).

4.2   Method

4.2.1 Overview

The research analysed media coverage of gang issues to explore the development of gang identity and the impact of this identity on the Whanganui community. This drew on three different forms of analysis. The first was a quantitative content analysis of newspaper items from five sources of Aotearoa/New Zealand print and on-line newspapers. The second was a qualitative analysis of news items from all five Aotearoa / New Zealand print newspapers. The third was a content analysis of reader interaction with the issues, drawing on letters to the newspaper and on-line comments.

It was decided that a mixed methods approach was the most appropriate way to address the research questions posed in this research. A quantitative approach was used as it could to gauge media attention and provide a clear idea of the volume and prominent of media coverage. It also aided understanding of how media coverage covered the gang issue by being able to identify the most prominent themes, frames and sources. A qualitative analysis of newspapers' portrayal of the saga was conducted as a quantitative approach can have limitations such as an inability reproduce the latent content and overall context in which it was produced. For example, the content analysis may record that there were one or two photos in a news report but cannot convey the interpretation or emotional impact of those photos (Shoemaker and Reese ,1996; Newbold et al., 2002; Hansen et al,. 1998).

The reports were analysed using content analysis, which was guided by agenda setting and framing theory. Content analysis can be seen as a quantitative method that

uses a deductive approach, where theory is used to predetermine a hypothesis that is then tested against the results of the data and the categories to be evaluated are set prior to an examination of the data. However, Berg (2001), maintains that content analysis is:

> … not a reductionistic, positivistic approach. Rather it is a passport to listening to the words of the text and understanding better the perspective(s) of the producer of these words. (p. 242)

The current study used inductive and deductive approaches so that the categories were in some ways moulded by theory and prior studies, but were also obtained through an initial exploration of the articles to discover different themes that were present. The use of framing theory for content analysis can allow for the analysis of large numbers of articles without yielding 'data that misrepresent the media messages that most audience members are actually picking up' (Entman, 1993, p. 57). It has been used in content analysis for previous research that has a social constructionist perspective (Altheide, 1997; Herda-Rapp, 2003). The use of framing theory in media analysis can have two objectives: first, to establish the existence of dominant frames; and second, to identify how readers interact with the frames.

News is about story making and not just a factual portrayal of events. Story telling involves the use of familiar myths and archetypes to create an account of what is happening, in a way that readers can understand and relate with (Bird & Dardenne, 2009). This concept is also evident in the use of frames, as both rely on a common acceptance of social norms as to how an event should unfold. In story telling, the

news may utilise elements required for the story structure – there will be the hero, the villain, the victim, the journey, the change in situation, and the resolution (Corcoran, 1986; Knight and Dean, 1982; Langer, 1998). While the content analysis helps to understand the frames used and their frequency as well as other statistical data (for example, the number of items per newspaper), a textual analysis that looks at the story telling of the situation can bring in an additional dimension as to what was said and how this evolved over a series of time. The overall purpose of the textual analysis is to see how the 'story' correlates to the other data and provides insights into the social construction of the phenomenon in question.

As well as analysing the actual news items, the research aimed to analyse comments associated with the news items. Notably, not all news items had corresponding comments. The comments provide an added dimension to the articles as they demonstrate how the audience interacts with the media item. This addresses the second objective of framing theory: identifying how readers interact with the frames. Comments like this provide a different dimension to conducting interviews – these comments have been written at the time in question (rather than on reflection) and they tend to be more candid as there is a degree of anonymity with the posting (although this may lead to distortions of truth in some postings). As such, comments represent a valuable 'snapshot' of how people reacted to media items. These comments help to add to the overall picture of whether the agenda/frames that were adopted by the media were accepted and who they were accepted by.

The key time period of interest was between 2006 and 2007. This period marks the time when the legislation was first proposed (March 2006) and put forward as a

parliamentary bill (November 2007). This was seen as the key period when gang identity, rather than gang behaviour, became targeted as being a serious social problem. A moral panic study that just focuses on the key period can miss out on potentially identifying the context that created the panic situation. Understanding the context of how this 2006 identification occurred, therefore, requires a detailed analysis of gang identity over a period of years (McCorkle & Miethe, 1998). Hence, the research extended its investigation to years prior to this time to discover how gang identity became targeted. To understand the potential impact of targeting identity, the research also covered a suitable time period after the enactment of the Bill and Bylaw.

4.2.2 Sample

Media analysis involved accessing reports in local (the Wanganui Chronicle) and national (New Zealand Herald and the Dominion Post) newspapers. Local press was accessed to explore locally derived definitions and representations of gang identity in Whanganui. In addition, local press coverage was included because it was more likely to contain 'low profile' events that, although minor, contributed to definitions.

The inclusion of the national press was intended to provide information on how the 'Whanganui problem' was being constructed on a nationwide basis. The search for news items covered the period of 1st January 2004 until 31 December 2013.

The initial searches used the keyword 'gang' and 'Wanganui' (this spelling of Whanganui was still the common form of spelling in newspapers for the periods), to obtain an initial sample.

The reports were then checked for the following further inclusion criteria.

1. **The report related to gangs which come within the definition of a gang for the purposes of this research**. This was to remove articles relating to other groups referred to as gangs, such as press gangs or work gangs. The review of literature provided many definitions as to what 'gang' means. For the purposes of the analysis, a broad definition of 'a group associated with criminal or deviant behaviour' was used. The reference to gangs could be as to gang activity, identity, or issues such as efforts to suppress gangs.

2. **The reference to gang activity or issues were connected to events in Whanganui.** This meant that the article had to refer to activity or issues occurring or those which had occurred in Whanganui itself. Hence, articles about a shooting of a gang member from Wanganui that occurred in Hawkes Bay was not included, whilst articles discussing gang problems in Hawkes Bay that referred to efforts to suppress gangs in Whanganui were included. Reports relating to persons wanted by the police were included if the disappearance or offence occurred in Whanganui but not if the person came from Whanganui but had disappeared or offended elsewhere.

3. **The report related to activity or issues that were public as opposed to prison centred.** This was needed as the reasoning for the by-law was the threat to the public.

Initially, it was proposed that there should be a further criterion that the discussion in the article relating to gangs was equal to or more than fifty words. However, this would not capture all the ways in which the gang identity has been

constructed. For example, where 'gangs' were used to reference a particular activity in a context where there may only be a few words directly discussing gangs, but the mere fact that the term was used in connection to the activity can help to build a more complete picture as to what 'gangs' mean to Whanganui.

The print articles and letters to the editor for the Dominion Post and the Herald were searched using the on-line databases Newstext and Factiva. As illustrated in Figure 4.1, the processes used to obtain the articles involved first searching Newstext, then screening for inclusion, followed by a search of Factiva before a final screening to obtain the final number.
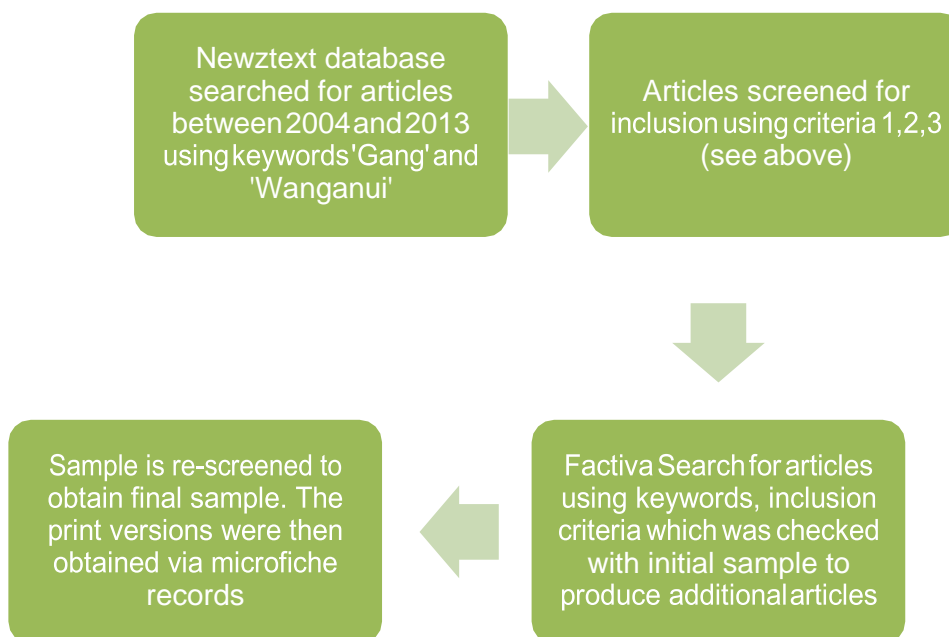
Figure 4.1 The processes used to obtain the Dominion Post and New Zealand Herald articles. The on-line articles for the New Zealand Herald and the Wanganui Chronicle were searched using a similar process on each newspaper's website.

Some of the Dominion Post articles that were retrieved via the Newztext and Factiva search were not present in the microfiche files as these were generally only the second edition articles – the searches had retrieved both first and second edition articles. First edition articles are ones that appear in the early morning edition of the publication, whilst second edition articles are the ones that appear in the afternoon edition. The second edition usually has the most content as it contains late breaking stories and also increased coverage of earlier articles. The Saturday articles retrieved from microfiche files were most likely to be first edition articles. As such, items that appeared in only one edition, which was not on microfiche file, had to be analysed from the retrieved full text items in Newztext and Factiva. This meant that the ability to judge the impact of some of the articles, from a qualitative perspective, was limited as there was not the same opportunity to gauge factors such as the pictures used, their placement and overall effect. The reason for this was that the Newztext and Factiva articles did contain some information such as the text of the article and whether a picture had been used, but they were not able to convey the overall impression of how all information may have been presented. For example, below is an example of how a media report appeared in the Newztext report and then how the print version conveyed the information. In the Newztext edition, the heading is different – it is less emotive (compare 'armed police on streets after gang shooting' to 'my baby's been shot'). In addition, the use and placement of the photo of Michael Laws and his quote is more evident in the print version. The print version also shows the latent content of the picture itself which assists in telling the story, while the Newztext version merely states a picture was present.

Text example of Newztext:

THE DOMINION POST,   7 MAY 2007,   Edition 2,   Page 1.

Armed police on streets after gang shooting

By: BROUN Britton

ARMED police are patrolling Wanganui streets amid fears of gang warfare after a two-year-old girl was killed in a drive-by shooting.

A witness told how the girl's mother, with the bleeding child in her arms, ran down the road screaming: "My baby's been shot, my baby's going to die."

The hail of bullets, which witnesses say came from a shotgun and a smaller calibre weapon, struck the house and the toddler who was on a front-room couch.

Police and Wanganui's mayor say Saturday night's attack, in which several shots were fired by Mongrel Mob members into the Black Power house, confirmed their worst fears about gang conflict in the area. Police now feared retaliation.

A Black Power member who was on the property yesterday told The Dominion Post: "It's not over." Those responsible for the shooting were cowards, he said.

Witnesses revealed that an earlier incident outside the house in Puriri St, Gonville, may have sparked the shooting.

At 9pm, nearly an hour before the attack, three Mongrel Mob cars arrived in the street. Black Power members emerged and hurled abuse. Someone drove a four-wheel-drive

on to a property, trying to run people over, witnesses said.

Police attended but later left -- and 20 minutes later, about 9.45pm, another three cars of Mongrel Mob members parked outside the house.

A neighbour, who saw the attack from her window, said five shotgun blasts from one car were pumped into the house, followed by three shots that may have come from a pistol or a rifle.

Black Power members charged from the house hurling objects as the cars sped off, the occupants shooting at power poles and street lights. Another neighbour, who ran to help as the toddler's mother ran screaming from the house, said she saw a red bloodstain on the girl's side seeping through her pyjamas. A neighbour tried to resuscitate the child, but when the ambulance arrived 30 minutes later she was dead, the woman said.

Another resident, who had lived there for more than 20 years, said the Black Power moved into the house a few months ago. Since then, police, including the armed offenders squad, had been called several times.

The drive-by shooting is not the first in Puriri St. In September 1997, a house was peppered with bullets. Police believed it was gang-related and an elderly woman and her grandchild were lucky to escape injury.

The two-year-old killed on Saturday night was an only child and her father is believed to be a Black Power member.

Inspector Duncan McLeod said both parents were home at the time.

"They are obviously devastated. It doesn't matter who they are or what their backgrounds are, they are loving parents and my heart goes out to them."

Extra officers would be brought in from outside the district and armed police would patrol Wanganui streets, including suburbs that housed out-of-town gang members, to prevent the tensions escalating, Mr McLeod said.

Wanganui Mayor Michael Laws, a former MP, said gang violence in Wanganui had tripled during the past three years, from 15 gang brawls in 2004 to 48 last year.

There was an "awful and appalling inevitability" about the two-year-old's death, he said. Parliament had to change the law and make it illegal to be in a gang.

CAPTION:

'It's not over': Black Power members in Puriri St, Wanganui, last night. The shooting took place several houses down the street.

Picture: PHIL REID

Michael Laws: 'Appalling inevitability'.

Figure 4.2 Image of the front page of the Dominon, May 2007.

The information from the Newztext and Factiva databases was sufficient to code for

all information needed in the content analysis. If print versions were not available,

then the Newztext and Factiva versions were used, so for each article only one version

of the article was coded.

There are no records of the Wanganui Chronicle in Newztext until 2013, so the print versions were obtained through searching the microfiche records for dates that matched the on-line stories, as well as searching two weeks prior to and after these dates. Some articles were also found because of scrolling to the dates, as the process of scrolling to a particular date allowed me to view other articles.

The process used to obtain the Wanganui Chronicle Print articles is outlined in Figure 4.3. This involved using the final sample from the online search as a basis for searching through the microfiche records. The articles that were found were then checked and re-checked for inclusion.
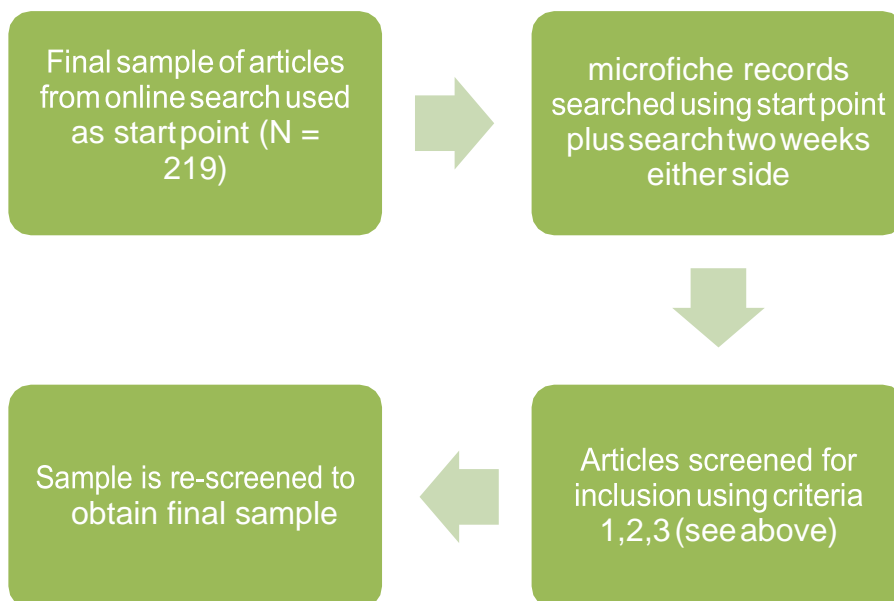
Figure 4.3 The processes used to obtain the Wanganui Print articles

A preliminary search of the Newztext database produced over 900 articles for the

Dominion Post, and 200 for the New Zealand Herald (see Table 4.1). A further search was conducted using Factiva. The Factiva articles were checked against the Newztext articles. For the Dominion Post, this produced 26 new articles and for the Herald, this produced 12 new articles. The on-line news search for the Herald and Wanganui Chronicle produced just over 1200 articles.

Table 4.1

Number of articles accessed and total for final coding

Paper	Newztext search/ on-line paper search	Reduction after screening	Factiva search	Final total after second screening
Dominion	900	161	+26	184
Herald Print	200	100	+12	97
Herald On-line	1200*	186		186
Wanganui Print	219**	205		205
Wanganui On-line	1200*	219		219
Totals	2719	Total	Total	891

*combined total as site used both sources
** the on-line articles after screening were used as a start point to retrieve the print articles via microfiche.

In total, the search strategy yielded 891 articles between 2004 and 2013. These articles represent most of the gang related articles relevant for Whanganui published in the Wanganui Chronicle, the New Zealand Herald, and the Dominion Post during this period.

The online and print versions of the New Zealand Herald and the Wanganui Chronicle

did have an overlap. Both versions were included in the analysis. The reason for doing this was the ability to compare print from online versions (if required). The inclusion of the overlap articles does not undermine the results as each different form of publication is examined. For example, the number of items for each publication is reflected, not just the overall coverage. There were some differences as to headlines/ links used and number of words used between the online and print versions.

Newspaper reader comments were taken from all five sources dating from 1 January 2004 until 31 December 2013. There were two types of comments. The first type is classed as letters to the editor. These were comments that appeared in the letters column of the print media and in articles that featured public views (for example, where a street survey was undertaken to obtain public commentary). The common link between these types of comments was that they did not always show a direct relationship to a particular news item and they were selected for inclusion by the media. The inability to link the comments to a particular article did not pose a great problem as it was still possible to assess whether the public reaction was a result of information disseminated within the media. The difficulty in assessing this comment type was that it did not necessarily show a good representation of what the public thought. Letters or comments that are selected are often only a portion of overall submissions (Thornton, 2003). They are selected to show a balanced view of what readers or the public are thinking so may not capture the proportions of, for example, negative views compared to positive views. They may also exclude comments that are not 'succinct and well-written' (Reader & Moist, 2008). As such, the comments have value but needed to be considered in light of these limitations.

The second type of comments are what I would call 'open discussion' as there was limited editorial gatekeeping as to what was included. These comments appeared in the online discussion posts that were linked to the online articles. This provided one of the richest sources of reader interaction and feelings as they included all comments (though some were removed if they were offensive – for example, attacking another reader in an offensive way). There were links to both the Herald online and the Wanganui Chronicle online, however only the latter was able to be coded. The New Zealand Herald online articles that had reader links were bookmarked, but before these could be coded the newspaper changed to a new online platform which was not capable of including the comments. This resulted in the loss of 33 articles with reader comments. This was frustrating as the comments had already been read but not formally processed. Therefore, in parts, the discussion of the results may have a bias due to the researcher having read these comments.

Some of the NZ Herald comments were transferred into separate articles that showed a selection of all the comments. These comments were analysed. Nevertheless, these articles were not the same as the original comments as they had been edited and selected for inclusion, as opposed to the original comments that showed more interaction between commentators, a greater diversity of views, as well as a particular pattern as to comments. These comments were a product of asking a particular question in several news items – e.g., 'should we ban gangs?' – so they were formulated to get a particular response. The question was posed at the beginning of the online article with a link for the reader to post their response. Due to the selection process, and the fact they were often generated from more than one article, these comments were included under the type of 'Letters to the editor'.

The process for finding the letters to the editor was the same as it was for the print articles. In terms of the online reader comments, these were discovered and recorded whilst doing the coding for the articles. The comments were initially coded as to whether they agreed or disagreed with the media item and whether they used external sources (experience, statistics) to justify their stance. As with the media items, further coding emerged from reading the comments.

4.2.3 Procedures and measures

Articles were coded for a range of variables (see Table 4.2). It was expected that some of the categories would supply information about 'what has happened' and 'should we think about it' so as to show agenda setting, whilst others were designed to help develop an idea of the framing that was used.

Table 4.2

Coding variable for content analysis

Variable	Coding description
Article ID	A unique code for each article was generated
Newspaper	Articles were coded for newspaper and type: 1 = Dominion 2 = Herald Print 3 = Herald Online 4 = Wanganui Chronicle Online 5 = New Zealand Herald Online
Article type	1 = News 2 = News Brief 3 = Editorial 4 = Opinion Piece 5 = Feature
Date	Day/month/year
Edition	1 = 1st 2 = 2nd 3 = not mentioned 4 = online
Page Number	This was recorded as either a direct page number or if the paper had sections was recorded as A3, or C4.
Prominence	A. Number of words The number of words used. B. Use of photo 1 = no photo 2 = one photo 3 = more than one photo
Valence	1 = Positive. 2 = Negative. 3 = Neutral.
Topics	1 = Gang crime 2 = Gang violence 3 = Gang reference This were either a negative reference (33) or a positive reference (34).

Variable	Coding description
	33 = Negative gang reference
	34 = Positive gang reference
	4 = Gang fear
	5 = Gang city
	6 = Gang's identity
	7 = Gang busting
	71 = Law creation/ Gang suppression
	8 = Mixed
	9 = Other
Sources	S1= Legal
	S2 = Politician
	S3 = Community leader
	S4 = Public
	S5 = Gang Member/Associate
	S6 = Academic
	S7 = Other
Responses	R1= Increased police
	R2 = Increased police/enforcement powers
	R3 = Crack down on crime
	R4 = Remove gang presence
	R5 = Improve community standards
	R6 = Pro Gang patch ban
	R7 = Anti gang patch ban
	R8 = Status quo
	R9 = Other

Each article was coded for type ('hard news', 'opinion', 'editorial' 'feature'). The types were sorted into these categories according to these criteria:

- News (this is a report that provides a factual account of a current event).

- News Brief (smaller item that has 'breaking news' in brief format).

- Editorial (this is a report that is written by the editor containing the editor's

opinion on current events).

- Opinion Piece (this is a report contains the views/opinion of a journalist who is not the editor).

Feature (this is a report that presents information about a person, group, event or situation that is 'softer news'). For example, it may be a profile piece on a person or group that gives the history or background to the person or group and how they have contributed to the community. It could also be a report that provides background or supporting information about a general issue or a recent event.

The feature article type was generally used for events or issues that were considered 'important'. The feature would act to support the news article type by providing the reader with additional information about the event or issue. The use of 'feature' developed the frame for the event or issue in terms of how people should feel about the situation by having additional information that was often emotive, designed to encourage the reader to feel emotions such as sadness, joy, anger or fear about the event or issue (Smolej, 2010). However, the use of this type of article could also convey information about an issue (as opposed to an event) that was less emotive but still provided background to an issue. These articles were assessed for emotive content by looking at whether they focused on the actors (for example, the victim/s, the victim family and other people close to the victim), as opposed to just the events and also the use of language (for example, the use of the term 'innocent' compared with just referring to the age of the person).

With these articles it was found that some items were difficult to place as they contained both 'News' and 'Feature' styles. These articles were coded according to

the dominant style. For example, an article that began with a factual account but was mostly focused on opinion and background information was coded as a feature, whilst an article that focused on the factual account but contained background information to support the factual account was coded as 'News'.

The articles were also coded for basic information such as 'date' and 'edition'. This enabled an analysis of how the reports developed over time and also whether they were possibly considered 'newsworthy'. The reason for including the edition was that reports appearing in the first edition may not appear in the second, so the exclusion from the second edition could be because is the report was not as 'newsworthy' as other later breaking stories.

Articles were coded for 'prominence' as an indication of possible agenda setting. The prominence of an article can be measured by 'an article's placement (e.g., on the front page), length, inclusion of pictures or graphics' (Andrews & Caren, 2010, p843; Entman, 1993; Roy, Faulkner, & Finlay, 2007). The initial coding included the number of sentences as the criterion for length. However, after coding had commenced it was found that, due to journalistic styles, the sentences did not provide accurate information compared to the number of words used. The coding was then altered to ascertain the number of words used.

The analysis of the Herald and the Wanganui Chronicle, both of which used on-line versions of the articles, could not be assessed in the same way as to edition and page number, however the length and use of pictures could be assessed. There was a difficulty in assessing the on-line pictures as it seems they may no longer have shown

on-line when retrieving the articles. Some articles did have caption information so it could be established that there was a picture, but in many cases it is possible that there were pictures originally that could not be seen when retrieved from 2004-2012, however, from 2013 pictures were generally visible. The print versions did have placement information, so this was included.

Ascertaining potential frames was achieved by coding for 'valence', 'topics', 'sources' and 'suggested responses.' The valence was assessed by looking at the overall tone of the article as it related to gangs and was then coded as positive, negative or neutral slant (Durrant, Wakefield, McLeod, Clegg-Smith, K., & Chapman, 2003). An explanation of how this tone (or slant) was recognised as:

- Positive. Key themes were - gangs have rights, no worse than other 'problems', Wanganui gangs no worse than rest of New Zealand, gangs as positive influence, gangs not to blame
- Negative. Key themes were - threat to family life, threat to public, threat to community, Threat to economy, deviant, members are evil/animals.
- Neutral. The discussion shows it is balanced.

The topics used were in part based on the Thompson, Young & Burns (2000) frames that had been found in their study but were also adapted to explore how the media approached the issue of the gang insignia ban. The topics related to how the news item discussed or used Whanganui gangs and Whanganui gang issues. Sometimes more than one topic may have been present, but the coding reflected the dominant topic – the one that the media had chosen to highlight. To illustrate, one of the topics was

'gang busting' which related to (amongst other things) court appearances and sentencing. If reports emphasised the procedural aspects such as pleadings, sentencing, or charges then the report was coded under 'gang busting'. If the reports were related to 'sentencing' but the report focused on the crime that led to the sentencing, then it was coded under another topic 'gang violence'. Gang busting originally contained both reports of police activity and reports about law creation and other attempt to suppress gangs. It was decided to separate the two types of reports so as to get a clearer picture of the relationship between events occurring and their aftermath is reported. Reports about the creation of the gang patch ban and reports that spoke about ways in which to supress or eliminate gang presence were coded as law creation. Reports that challenged the patch ban were coded under 'gang city'. This category included reports that considered that the patch ban/fear of gangs/label of gang city were the problem rather than the gangs themselves as well as reports that denied gang problems. The coding profiles and how to identify them were listed as being:

- Gang crime – reports of criminal activity directly linked to gangs, for example reports of theft, drugs committed by a gang as a whole or its members.

- Gang violence – attacks on public, inter-gang violence.

- Gang reference – these are reports that are not focused on Whanganui gangs but refer to (Whanganui) gangs or the term gang so as to give context to or to suggest something about the identity of a person, place, event, issue or action. This will be either a negative reference (33) or a positive reference (34).

- Negative gang reference - this means the reference to gang is used in a way that implies gangs are bad. For example, the report may focus on declining standards, some other issue and briefly includes the term gangs or a link to

gangs in the report, or a report that describes an assault and infer that gangs were involved or not involved.

- Positive gang reference – this means the reference is used in a way that implied gangs may not be bad. Reports of a positive social activity where gangs are indirectly linked, for example it may be a report about a community event and briefly mention that gangs took part or were present in a positive way.

- Gang fear – reports where residents or others describe fear of gangs.

- Gang city – reports where label of gang city seen as problem, reports denying gang problem, reports where gang fear/patch fear is seen as problem rather than the actual gangs/patches, attempts to remove the negative image of Wanganui. This includes reports that focus on challenges and protests against the ban (e.g. the ban is the problem not the gangs).

- Gang's identity – reports on types of gangs, gang characteristics, rituals and customs, history and recruitment.

- Gang busting – reports about police activity and enforcement (including sentencing). The key is the report relates to a specific gang incident and the police/law enforcement reaction.

- Law creation/ Gang suppression – These are reports about creation of laws as well as other efforts to supress gangs (for example, it may be youth programmes that are designed to deter young people from joining gangs). They might mention a specific incident but are not directed at enforcement for that incident, instead the tactic/action is more widespread.

- Mixed – the report equally discusses more than one topic, so that it is difficult to select a dominant topic.

The use of sources is valuable as these sources can influence the particular frame used, for example the use of national politicians compared to community members can shift reader perceptions of issues being a local problem to one of national concern (Li & Lui, 2010; Welch, Fenwick & Roberts, 1997). The use of particular sources can also help to project or eliminate a voice from discussion. The sources that were identified were:

- Legal (this may be an individual police officer or it may be a general reference such as 'police report', or it may be a lawyer or a judge).

- Politician (this may be a national level or local level politician. They do not have to be elected to a post, for example, on a local level if it was someone standing for an office at the local elections they would be classed as a politician).

- Community leader (this is someone who represents themselves or is being represented as being able to speak on behalf of others – for example, a businessperson speaking on behalf of other businesses, a resident speaking on behalf of other residents).

- Public (this is a member of the public who is speaking on their own behalf rather than representing themselves as speaking on behalf of others).

- Gang Member/Associate (this is someone who has identified themselves as being a current or past gang member or someone who is an associate of a gang).

- Academic (this is a person who is identified as being associated with a university or with research or as an expert).

When coding for sources during the trial for the Jhia killing, witnesses were coded as 'members of the public' unless they were clearly identified as being a 'gang member or associate' or 'police'.

Reponses as a category was intended to capture how the issue was thought about – the other coding was for the main part aimed at 'what should we think about' and the response was 'how should we think/react to this'. A response was any suggestion that was made within the news report in terms as to how to resolve the event or issue that was raised. The source of the response could be the reporter/editor or it could be any of the sources used in the report. A response between 1-4 was generally a law and order response, category 5 was a welfare approach, whilst the other categories were specially aimed at the legislation itself. The responses were identified as being:

Increased police, identified as being reports stating too few police, need for more, and resolutions coming from actual numbers increased:

- Increased police/enforcement powers identified as being reports of insufficient laws, inability to resolve 'problems' with current law, need for (e.g.) increased sentencing.

- Crack down on crime identified as being generalised reports of a need to cut down on crime which are linked to gang activity.

- Remove gang presence identified as being reports where removing gang presence is solution to problems.

- Improve community standards identified as being reports where targeting employment, neighbourhoods are suggested to assist. Includes Counselling programmes.

- Pro Gang patch ban identified as being reports on the effectiveness of the ban, the positive features of the ban, support for the ban.

- Anti-gang patch ban identified as being reports that doubt effectiveness of the ban, emphasis negative features of the ban.

- Status quo identified as being reports that refer to existing laws or other measures as being sufficient.

- Other, identified as being reports that did not fit within the other categories.

In order to assess the reliability of the coding framework, a sample of the articles were subject to a second coding. The second coder was given an initial training sample of 10 articles. The results of this coding were checked against the primary coder results. Some refinement of the categories and coding were developed from this. The second coder was then given a further 30 articles to code to ascertain inter-coder reliability using Cohen's κ index, and a measure of percentage agreement (see Table 4.3). According to the interpretation of Cohen's kappa suggested by Landis and Koch (1977), ten values were in the 'near perfect' range, five were 'substantial', six were 'moderate', and one was 'slight'. In addition, five values could not be computed because at least one of the coders did not employ more than one code for the variables. As can be seen from the percentage agreement column in Table 4.3, all variables reached 70% agreement or higher. It was concluded that an acceptable level of agreement between coders was established, with differences being resolved through discussion. For example, with the coding of R3 (response 3), it was established that the coder had perceived this to be what was happening rather than a statement of what would happen (which was the intention of the response variables). Discussion and clarification of the different variables and their coding resulted in agreement. The

results of the inter-coder reliability analyses lend confidence to the clarity and robustness of the variables that were coded for and suggests that outside researchers would code in a similar way if provided with codebook used in this study.

Table 4.3

Results of inter-coder reliability analysis

Variable	Kappa	Percentage agreement
Paper	1	100
Edition	1	100
Page	1	100
Words	1	100
Photo	1	100
Article Type	.82	94
Copied	1	100
Topic	.60	71
Source 1: Legal	.41	77
S2	.63	84
S3	.59	87
S4	.52	77
S5	.87	97
S6	Could not compute	100
S7	Could not compute	97
Response 1: Increase Police	Could not compute	97
R2	.47	94
R3	.17	81

Variable	Kappa	Percentage agreement
R5	.87	97
R6	1	100
R7	.89	97
R8	Could not compute	97
R9	Could note compute	100
Valence	.59	81
U1	.86	94
U2	.73	87
U3	.60	87
U4	.58	81
U5	.68	84
U6	.72	94

For the textual analysis, the aim was to compare the story telling within each publication and to see how it added to the quantitative analysis. Qualitative content analysis has been criticised for its lack of logical framework, as it has been seen as being more intuitive rather than the result of a particular process (Wester et al., 2004). The current analysis was guided by Wester et al.'s (2004) approach in their analysis of German/Dutch newspapers as to how the countries and the people of those countries were presented in the newspapers. First, all the articles were read to gain an overall appreciation of the events. This was done whilst conducting the quantitative

content analysis. This produced a basic summary of all the events and the main actors.

Next, the headlines of the articles were listed, along with the dates. The text (the headlines) were viewed in both in terms of their literal meaning and inferences to ascertain how different 'chapters' (articles) contributed to the development of the 'story'. Subheadings were not put into the table but were also considered. Headlines were used because they provide a strong source of reader guidance, setting the context for the associated story. The summary of these 'chapters' was produced by evaluating article headlines on a year by year basis.

The articles were then read again with attention being paid to passages and phrases considered to be character setting or reinforcing stereotype story telling. Attention was paid to how the actor was represented by themselves and how others represented the actor. These segments were copied and put into a Word document. The segments, combined with the headlines, provided a means of identifying the important actors and topics that produced an interpretative framework for the story.

The reader comments were coded for the reader identity. This is where each reader was allocated a particular number so repeats by the reader could be easily recorded. The process was to identify the reader by name or username (in the case of the online comments). Each reader was recorded onto an Excel sheet and was given a number. As each post or letter was read, the sheet was checked to see if they had already been identified and allocated a number; if they had not, they were then added to the sheet. The comments were also coded according to the article number that the comments

related to. The article numbers were the numbers used for the news articles analysis. This allowed me to also include coding information about the articles such as its topic, valence and article type. In some instances, the readers' comments, which were letters to the editor, did not specify a particular article. In this case, the 'article' coding was determined by the letter content as to the most likely topic and valence that the article may have been. The article type was coded as 'unknown'. There were only 13 letters that this applied to. The comments were coded for where they were directed to. This was either 1= Article (where the main part of the comment is directed to statements from the article), or 2 = Reader comment (the main part of the comment is directed to comments from a reader that are not directly associated with the article).

The next type of coding was the type of response. The categories for this were:

1= First comment (this is the first time the reader has commented).

2 = Reply comment (this is where the comment is a direct reply to another comment posted about their comments).

3 = Response comment (this is where the comment is responding to other posts but is not a direct reply to another comment/s aimed at their own comment).

4 = Further comment (this is where the reader is commenting for a second or third (or more) time but the comment is not related to other comments posted).

The reasoning for coding for direction and response was to be able to distinguish when readers were interacting with the news media and when they were interacting with other readers.

The reaction of the reader, as to whether they were challenging or accepting the news

article or reader comment was also coded for. The stance or position that the reader took with their comments were identified and coded in the following way:

1= Us /Them (where the reader identifies issues in terms of separate groups and separate interests)

2= Us /Them Strong (where the reader identifies issues in terms of separate groups and separate interests AND places themselves in one of these groups)

3= Community (where the reader sees issues in terms of the community as a whole, does not see it as a 'group' issue)

4= Neutral (where the reader does not indicate either a us/them positioning or a community positioning).

The final area of coding was the support used by the reader to justify their stance or comments. These sources were identified as:

1= Personal experience

2 = Media

3 = Family

4 = Friend

5 = Other

6 = None

The structure of my method was designed to address the research questions. For example, the question on discovering if differences exist between key stakeholder groups as to definitions of gang identity was partly achieved through coding for sources (the stakeholders) and the valence of the article using these sources, plus suggested courses of action. This was further

supplemented by the textual analysis that looked at specific terms and phrases used by different sources to ascertain differences. I had also wanted to explore how gang identity has been represented by authorities such as politicians, police and the media and the ways in which this has been shaped (and possibly re-shaped) the meanings attributed to gang identity. In this respect, the use of the qualitative (textual) analysis was most helpful as it allowed for a view into the progression of how gangs were discussed.

Analysis

To conduct the analysis (in terms of the quantitative analysis), I first entered all of the coding data into an Excel spreadsheet. I then uploaded this data into SPSS. I used SPSS to look at factors to ascertain volume of articles, how these were spread over time, and also used crosstabs to establish relationships between variables (such as sources and valence). I did not employ further statistical analysis using significant testing because what I had represented a census of Whanganui gang-related articles from these newspapers during this time period (compared to a sample).

The use of both quantitative and qualitative analysis provided a rich source of information. Using many different variables enabled me to let the results speak and then consider what it meant in terms of theory. The result of this analysis is discussed in the next chapter. The results produced a picture of what resembles the qualities of a moral panic in relation to an existing folk devil.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESULTS

5.1 Overview of results

The results convey news coverage during a timeframe (2004-2013) in which new legislation banning gang insignia in Whanganui was created. The coverage was focused on gang activity that was related to Whanganui, so mention of 'gangs' means Whanganui gangs unless otherwise specified. The analysis explored the role of the media in the process that led to the label of 'serious social problem' being given to gang insignia in Whanganui. The theory guiding this was agenda setting (what people should be thinking about) and framing (how they should be thinking about it). Moral panic theory was employed to make sense of these results.

The news coverage was first analysed on a holistic basis for frequencies to produce an overall appreciation of news coverage during the period. This helped establish initial patterns for potential agenda setting. For example, increases in the number of stories dedicated to Whanganui gangs could indicate that this issue had increased in importance. To explore the coverage's potential framing, the topics, sources, valence and responses were explored using a selection of variables to discover the ways in which topics, sources and responses may have been used to influence how to think about an issue or event. Valence provided a holistic measure as to how media

considered gangs should be viewed over the period.

The results are the product of analysing the different variables with the use of SPSS and the textual analysis of the news coverage and reader comments. A detailed quantitative analysis is first presented alongside a narrative overview of the findings. This is followed by a discussion of results pertaining to reader comments.

5.2 Volume and characteristics of articles

The overall coverage during the period reflects a gradual increase in number of articles, which exploded during 2007. Figure 5.1 shows the number of reports for each year of the period. The number of reports increased in 2006. This was the year in which a Whanganui gang conflict made national news and was the first time that the proposal to ban gangs or their patches was mentioned. The peak year was 2007 with 197 reports. This was the year in which Jhia was killed in a drive-by shooting. Jhia was the daughter of a Black Power member. Due to an earlier incident between the Black Power and Mongrel Mob, members of the Mongrel Mob decided to engage in a 'drive by' shooting (where a gang will drive by a rival member house or clubhouse and fire at it) at the address where Jhia's family lived. One of the shots entered the house and hit Jhia, killing her almost instantly. The number of reports tapered after 2009 and by 2012-2013 they were at similar levels to the pre-2006 reports.

The prominence of the 'gang problem' was also measured by the number of times the term gang appeared in the headlines. Headlines provide a guidance for readers as to what is the most important issue, so use of the term 'gang' in the headlines indicates

that this identity is important news. Table 5.1 shows how the use of the term 'gang'

in the headlines increased during the key period of 2007-2009.
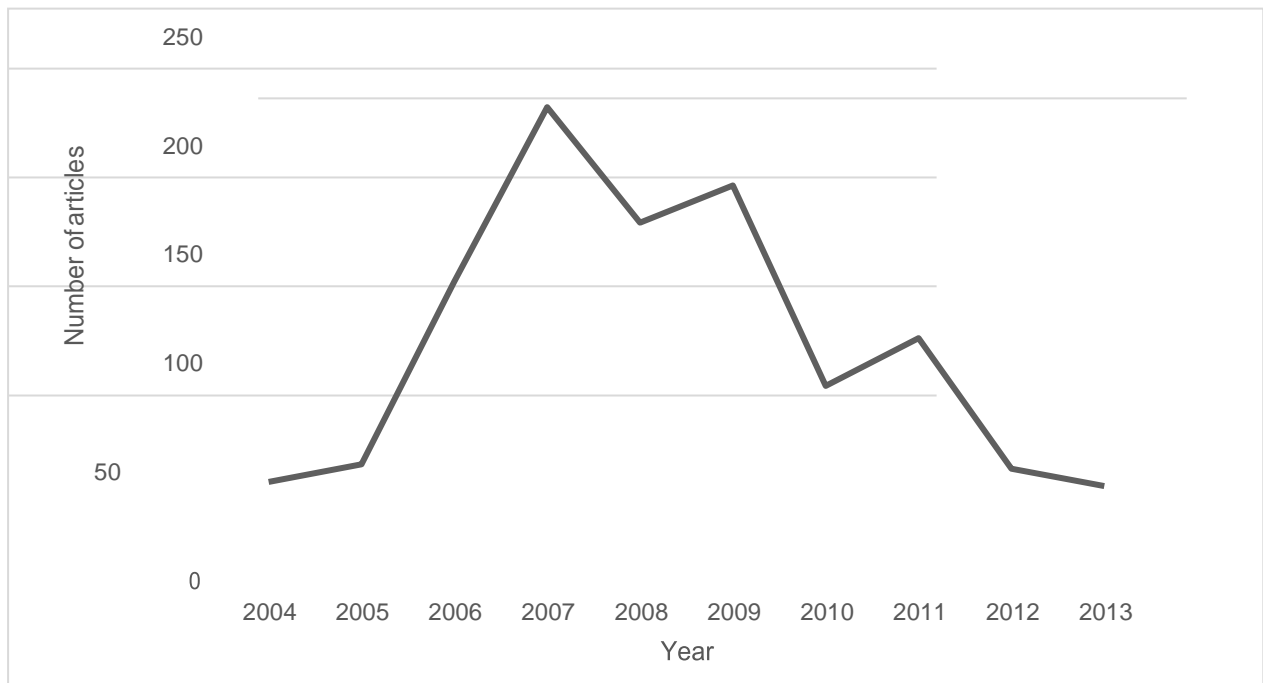
Figure 5.1 The total number of articles per year (2004-2013)

Table 5.1

Number (%) of times the term gang appeared in headlines by year[1]

Year	Headline
2004	11 (3%)
2005	14 (3%)
2006	62 (14%)
2007	115 (27%)
2008	53 (12%)
2009	81 (19%)
2010	39 (9%)
2011	37 (9%)
2012	12 (3%)
2013	8 (2%)
Total	432 (100%)

[1] Number and percentage of articles coded 'yes' for headline

The different newspapers varied in their extent of coverage. From the perspective of the local paper, the Wanganui Chronicle, gang activity was present in coverage during 2004 and 2005, becoming more prominent as an issue towards the end of 2005. In 2006, a gang conflict created many news items, including the concept of banning gang patches. Between 2007 and 2009, the events centred around gang violence (the main story being the killing of Jhia) and Michael Laws' pursuit of obtaining a gang patch ban. Other actors contributed towards either criticising or encouraging Laws. In 2010, a legal challenge to the patch ban found that the ban was illegal. After this,

the stories focused on the damage to the city for being known as a gang city and the cost of implementing and fighting for the ban. The public and the business community lost faith in the idea of Michael Laws and the gang patch ban.

National papers such as the Dominion Post produced a similar overall story, with the following exceptions. News items about gang issues had a low profile up until May 2007. Items were often small side-line briefs. The gang clash of 2006 received more attention but was still relegated to page three or four and was short-lived as an issue of importance. It was this gang clash in 2006 that first introduced the idea of banning gang insignia. Michael Laws declared: "Gangs are not welcome here. It is time to make a stand" (3/3/2006). Some articles in early 2007 even made fun of Michael Laws' vendetta against gangs (25/4/2007). The concept of banning gang identity was relegated to a political debate, which often did not have enough force to have inclusion in the paper's second edition. Essentially, it seemed that Whanganui's gang issues were not a major national concern. In 2007, Whanganui gang issues became worthy of fuller coverage. This included the killing of Jhia and the attempts to enact a ban on gang patches. The concept of gangs being a national problem was enhanced when gang activity from other areas were linked to the 'Whanganui problem'. Reports as to the activities relating to the gang ban were varied but included all the steps towards the introduction of the legislation and the additional comment on its progress. The Dominion conveyed different approaches towards Michael Laws – mostly reproducing quotes along with the facts of the event or issue. When the ban was enacted, reports focused on arrests and challenges to the ban. When the ban was successfully challenged in 2010 the reports relating to Whanganui gangs just gradually reduced to event items of gang activity.

Table 5.2 shows the degree of coverage by each newspaper. In terms of the number of articles, the Wanganui Chronicle had the highest percentage of coverage, the online version was 24% and the print version was 23% of the total coverage. The New Zealand Herald, which is the media group that the Chronicle belongs to, had 21% of the total coverage for its online version and only 10.9% for its print version. The Dominion Post had 20.7% of the total coverage. The number of words each newspaper used as a percentage of the total words closely reflects the percentages for article numbers, although there was an increased percentage of coverage in relation to words with the Wanganui Chronicle (online).

Table 5.2

The number (%) of total articles and words by newspaper

Number of articles/ words	Wanganui Chronicle (Print)	New Zealand Herald (Print)	Dominion Post	Wanganui Chronicle (Online)	New Zealand Herald (Online)	Total
Articles	206 (23%)	97 (11%)	184 (21%)	217 (24%)	187 (21%)	891 (100%)
Words	80202 (21%)	46493 (12%)	70781 (19%)	100833 (27%)	76518 (20%)	374827 (100%)

Table 5.2 shows the breakdown of articles and number of words per newspaper and year. Again, there is a distinct increase in volume from 2006 to 2009. The year 2006 was given greater coverage in the Wanganui Chronicle, as the issue of the proposed patch ban and the gang violence was discussed in greater detail.

In 2007, the national papers gave a greater percentage of their overall coverage

compared to the Wanganui Chronicle. This is not surprising as the killing of Jhia created national interest so heightened coverage as to the 'Whanganui gang problem' is expected. This increased interest is reflected in the valence of articles for the period (see Chapter 4 for a description of how valence was coded). Figure 5.2 shows that there was a marked increase in negative valence in 2007 where there were 145 articles at the peak point which had a negative valence.
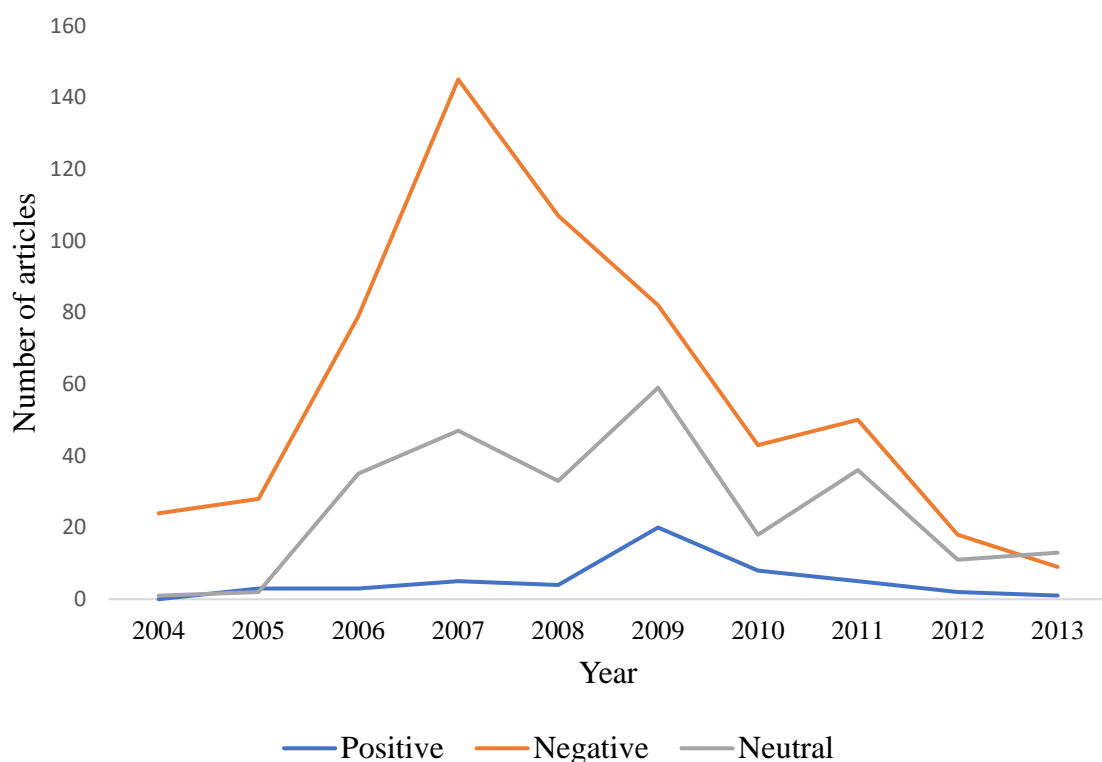
Figure 5.2 The number of news articles by valence, 2004-2013

The national papers maintained an elevated level of coverage of Whanganui in 2008 and 2009. This corresponded with the 2008 trial of Jhia's killers and, in 2009, the enactment of the Gang Insignia Bill. The valence during 2009 did alter, as there were more incidents of positive valence – this was largely due to many articles which focused on human rights and how the patch ban was infringing upon them.

In 2011, the Hells Angels were successful in a court battle to overturn the patch ban. This created little interest from the national media, however the Wanganui Chronicle online gave its greatest amount of coverage to this problem. The ban had been overturned but it was possible to make a new bylaw. There were many stories that were against the making of a new bylaw. Many of the stories centred around the ways in which the ban had impacted on the community in terms of expense and negative publicity for the town. One opinion article in 2011 told readers that:

> The council spent $1,261,209.35 on legal fees in connection with the failed by-law. In addition, the community lost a minimum of $10 million in economic activity due to its falsified reputation as a gang-plagued city.

> Ratepayers and renters, businesspeople and plain folk need to look at those figures as the council contemplates further expense. Particularly when the proposed bylaw, no matter how designed, will certainly be tested in court. And predictably fail.

> (Money wasted on councillor's ego trip, 2011)

Article types over the period were also considered as part of the coverage. Figure 5.3 shows the frequency of article type for the overall coverage. News which was factual accounts of an event featured the most (67.9%). Feature articles (18.9%) were the next most popular article type. These articles represented a softer version of news and provided background to events or issues.

One example of the use of 'feature' in combination with 'news' is with the coverage of Jhia's killing. The killing occurred in the evening of Saturday, 5th May 2007. On Monday 7th, the Wanganui Chronicle print ran four articles. Two of the articles were clearly 'news' as they conveyed the events that took place and the police investigation. The main news item covered most of the front page. With the other two items, one was a hybrid of 'news' and 'feature'. It was coded as 'news' as the item mostly centred on factual accounts of the event, but it also had 'feature' qualities when relating some of these events. In this item, a witness who lived close to the house where Jhia was shot recounted that:

> I seen, I think it was the mother, running with the baby screaming. Everyone was with her, trying to help her. It was like a war. (787)

The 'feature' coded item encouraged readers to feel sadness at the loss of an innocent life. The article was an account of what Jhia was like, provided by one of the administrators of her Kohanga Reo. At one point she stated:

> What a waste of a beautiful little girl and she's so innocent. She's been caught up in something that had nothing to do with such are darling little girl. (789)

Table 5.3

The number (%) of articles, and number of words per newspaper and year

Year	Wanganui Chronicle (Print)		New Zealand Herald (Print)		Dominion Post		Wanganui Chronicle (Online)		New Zealand Herald (Online)		Total	
	Number	Words	Number	Words	Number	Words	Number	Words	Number	Words	Number	Words
2004	12 (6%)	3793	1 (1%)	386	6 (3%)	1585	4 (2%)	1231	2 (1%)	589	25 (3%)	7584
2005	14 (7%)	6764	0 (0%)	0	4 (2%)	1363	13 (6%)	5693	2 (1%)	2647	33 (4%)	16467
2006	42 (20%)	14513	10 (10%)	4539	14 (7%)	3944	37 (17%)	13777	14 (8%)	5017	117 (13%)	41790
2007	29 (14%)	10794	30 (31%)	15809	60 (33%)	23939	23 (10%)	9659	55 (29%)	23629	197 (22%)	83830
2008	20 (10%)	9180	16 (17%)	8554	44 (24%)	16535	25 (12%)	10857	39 (20%)	15506	144 (16%)	60632
2009	41 (20%)	15956	25 (26%)	9737	31 (17%)	13066	31 (14%)	13455	33 (18%)	14063	161 (18%)	66277
2010	20 (10%)	7096	8 (8%)	3833	14 (8%)	6732	14 (7%)	5804	13 (7%)	4567	69 (7%)	28032
2011	14 (7%)	7536	6 (6%)	3114	9 (5%)	2724	42 (19%)	28332	20 (11%)	7539	91 (10%)	49245
2012	5 (2%)	1260	1 (1%)	521	1 (.5%)	637	16 (7%)	6852	8 (4%)	2373	31 (4%)	11643
2013	9 (4%)	3310	0 (0%)	4539	1 (.5%)	256	12 (6%)	5173	1 (1%)	588	23 (3%)	9327
Total	206 (100%)	80202	97 (100%)	46493	184 (100%)	70781	217 (100%)	100833	187 (100%)	76518	891 (100%)	374827

Readers were clearly directed to these articles after reading the front-page item, as the front- page item continued onto page three where the other articles were, or in the case of the online news, there were links to the other articles. Whilst the news articles set the scene of the tragedy, it was the combination of news and feature that created a frame of war-like gangs preying on the innocent. This way of viewing the events was further supported by other features that appeared in the days to follow. On the 8th, an article that featured the leader of Black Power reinforced the concept of the war-like gangs when the leader informed readers that the shooting was due to fighting between the Mongrel Mob and Black Power 'over colours, over turf' (791). On the 9th May, an article in which a mother who lived in the same street as the shooting expressed her fear as to gangs reinforced the concept of gangs preying on the innocent (792). She stated:

> These Black Power recruits have pulled knives on my kids as they've been walking to the fish and chip shop…. they're harassing other kids in the area all the time. My kids can't go to the shops on their own anymore.
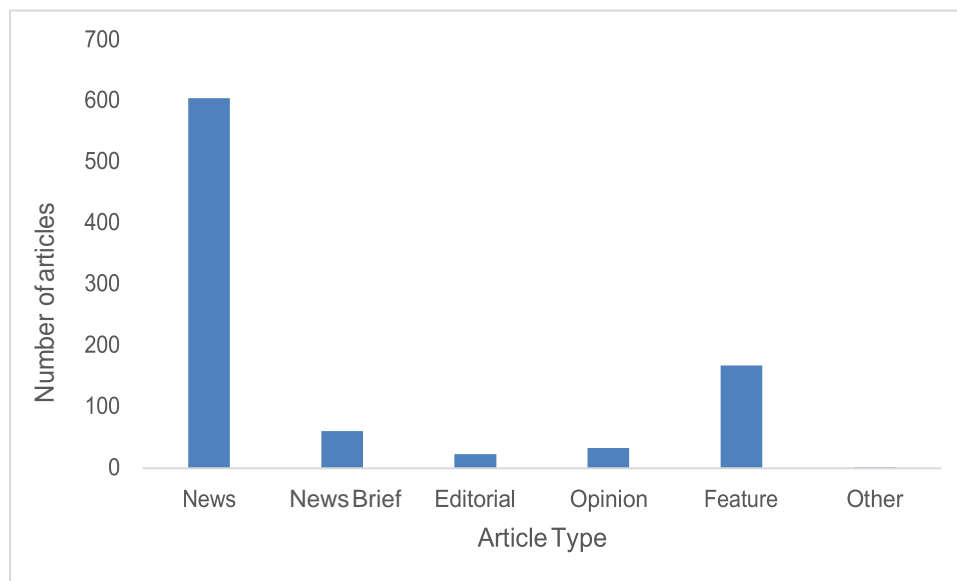
Figure 5.3 The number of articles according to article type

There were few differences as to the distribution of article type according to newspaper as shown in Table 5.4. All newspapers used 'news' as its main means of reporting followed by 'feature'. The percentage of 'news' items compared to 'feature' was generally much higher. For example, the Wanganui Chronicle 'news' items comprised 72% of the sample compared to 'feature' items at 20%. One newspaper, the New Zealand Herald Print, had a closer level of 'news' (42%) to Feature (31%) items.

Table 5.4

The number (%) of articles by type and newspaper

Article Type	Wanganui Chronicle (Print)	New Zealand Herald (Print)	Dominion Post	Wanganui Chronicle (Online)	New Zealand Herald (Online)	Total
News	148 (72%)	41 (42%)	139 (76%)	158 (72%)	119 (64%)	605(68%)
News Brief	4 (2%)	15 (15%)	7 (4%)	10 (5%)	25 (13%)	61 (6%)
Editorial	4 (2%)	5 (5%)	5 (3%)	5 (2%)	4 (2%)	23 (3%)
Opinion	8 (4%)	6 (6%)	4 (2%)	8 (4%)	7 (4%)	33 (4%)
Feature	42 (20%)	30 (31%)	29 (16%)	35 (16%)	32 (17%)	168 (19%)
Other	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)
Total	206 (100%)	97 (100%)	184 (100%)	217 (100%)	187 (100%)	891 (100%)

Overall, the volume and coverage given to the period highlights many key points. There were differences between national and local news as to what is important for their readers to know. Local press was reasonably constant with their coverage of the 'gang issue', but with the expected increases, as events made the issue more newsworthy. National attention was increased when the 'story' (both the killing of Jhia and the patch ban) had all the key features of a good drama – good guys, bad guys, the victims and the innocent public. Items about gang activity around the country were given more news time, and were often tied to or related back to the event in Whanganui. The events in Whanganui enabled the national media to portray New Zealand as having a gang crisis. Tariana Turia comments in parliament were re-printed in a 2007 Herald online article summarised the possible impact of such coverage:

All that such tactics do is to [provoke] more resentment and rage from those who already feel positioned on the outskirts of society," she said in Parliament yesterday.

Any suggestions that gangs may come up with themselves are rejected, tarred with a brush that comes from the tactics of suppression, suppressing their own initiative, creating new walls and refusing to talk about it.

Rather than creating space for a discussion about how we care for our alienated and our ostracised", the nation had been embroiled in a fierce debate over how dangerously deviant, how socially threatening and intolerable the presence of gangs were in the community.

('Time to talk to gangs, says Māori MP', 2007).

Exploring the volume and some characteristics of the articles provided information on the degree to which gangs and the gang problem were being discussed, and with some insight as to how they were discussed. To further explore the ways in which gangs were being talked about so as to understand how gang identity was being shaped required looking at the topics and sources in more detail.

5.3 Topic

Topic analysis relates to how the articles discussed or used Whanganui gangs and Whanganui gang issues. If there was more than one topic discussed, the dominant topic was coded and then other category/s were recorded in the notes. If the topics were discussed equally, so that a dominant topic could not be selected, then mixed

(#8) was selected and the topic numbers were put in the notes column.

Table 5.6 shows the number of times topics featured in the reports as well as a year by year breakdown. In 2004, negative gang references had the highest frequency (52%), followed by gang crime (20%). 2005 had gang violence (30.3%) as most prominent followed by gang references (24.2%). The position altered in 2006 when law creation became the most frequent topic (58.3%), again followed by gang references (16.2%). This trend of law creation as the most frequent topic continued from 2007 to 2010, with the highest percentage in 2009 (38%), the year that the gang patch ban was introduced as law. The exception was 2008 when violence had the highest percentage (37%). 2011 had law creation and gang city as an equal first. By this time the bylaw had been declared invalid and the news reports showed concern as to how much the bylaw had cost in terms of money and bad publicity for the area. In 2012, the highest frequency was negative gang references (41.9%), in 2013 the category of 'gang city' topped the frequency (52.2%).

The level of negative gang references in 2004 were due to a focus on youth issues – gangs were a part of the problem, but they were not centre stage. Youth called for action from the mayor to create more activities for young people. Michael Laws responded with agreement:

> It's clear there are a group of gang prospects who are proving troublesome.
> These are quite apart from a number of Wanganui teens who tend to get
> blotto every Friday and Saturday night out of sheer boredom. Violence and
> drugs also haunt those fringes. ('Youth Issues under scrutiny', 2004)

Of note, when the youth needs were discussed they were referred to as being 'issues' rather than 'problems.'

In 2005, the link between violence and gangs became more prominent. As seen in table 5.5, which shows the headlines from the Wanganui Chronicle for early 2005, articles in which gangs were mentioned tended to discuss violent activity.

Table 5.5

Date and headlines for Wanganui Chronicle articles January – June 2005

Date	Headline
19/01/05	Police probe four drive-by shootings
20/01/05	Fifth shooting incident in city
17/02/05	Turakina residents tackle service stations raiders
18//02/05	Gang link in service station burglaries
19/02/05	Police seek maximum sentence for firearms offender
24/02/05	Service station raid leaves mark on owners
03/03/05	District crime down, but we're still too violent
26/05/05	Bashed for wearing red
10/06/05	Gang fight

In early November Michael Laws made claims about the power of gangs and declared that gangs were recruiting members from local schools. He stated:

> It's happening right here in Wanganui too, not so much the loss of policing control as the gang intimidation of our youth and the recruitment of Black Power and Mongrel Mob prospects straight from school. ('Hey kid, want to join a gang', 2005)

This claim was disputed. The leader of the Black Power stated:

> I don't know where he gets his information. I know for a fact it isn't true, Black Power has no members aged under 19 and we are not recruiting at all ... We wait for people to come to us. ('Gangs don't recruit from schools, say Black Power leader', 2005)

The police were quoted as supporting the Black Power claim by saying that they had no evidence of any gang recruiting directly from schools and a representative from one of the schools also denied there was such a problem ('Gangs don't recruit from schools, say Black Power leader', 2005). Michael Laws response to these counterclaims was to say that the reporter needed to do "proper journalism" and interview young people. The Chronicle took up his suggestion and interviewed fifteen young people, many of whom had not seen or experienced what Mr Laws had suggested.

In 2006, when inter-gang violence occurred in February, the reaction was not one of fear but of defiance in relation to gangs. The articles made it clear that gangs and violent behaviour would not be tolerated and that the police, politicians, and

community leaders were on hand to assist. This was reflected in the increased number of articles with the topic of 'law creation' (from 0% in 2005 to 63.8% in 2006). Many of these articles were directed to the proposed gang patch ban, as 2006 was the first year when the concept was put forward. The proposal for the ban attracted attention from the national press, with the New Zealand Herald running an article in early March which quoted Michael Laws:

> A sphere of intimidation is what gangs have brought to our community - 'intimidation' is the byword and watchword of gangs, Wanganui Mayor Michael Laws said.

> It is time for this council to say, 'No more'. We can enact a bylaw that allows people to feel safer on the streets and removes the 'strut factor' of the gangs and their intimidation of the people of Wanganui.
>
> ('Wanganui plan anti-gang bylaw', 2006).

A closer look at particular months (October 2005 to May 2006) shows the path to law creation becoming the most featured topic. It shows a pattern of how the event (the violence between gang members, which is reflected in the topic of violence) reports are aligned with an elevated level of reports relating to law creation. This is displayed in Figure 5.4.
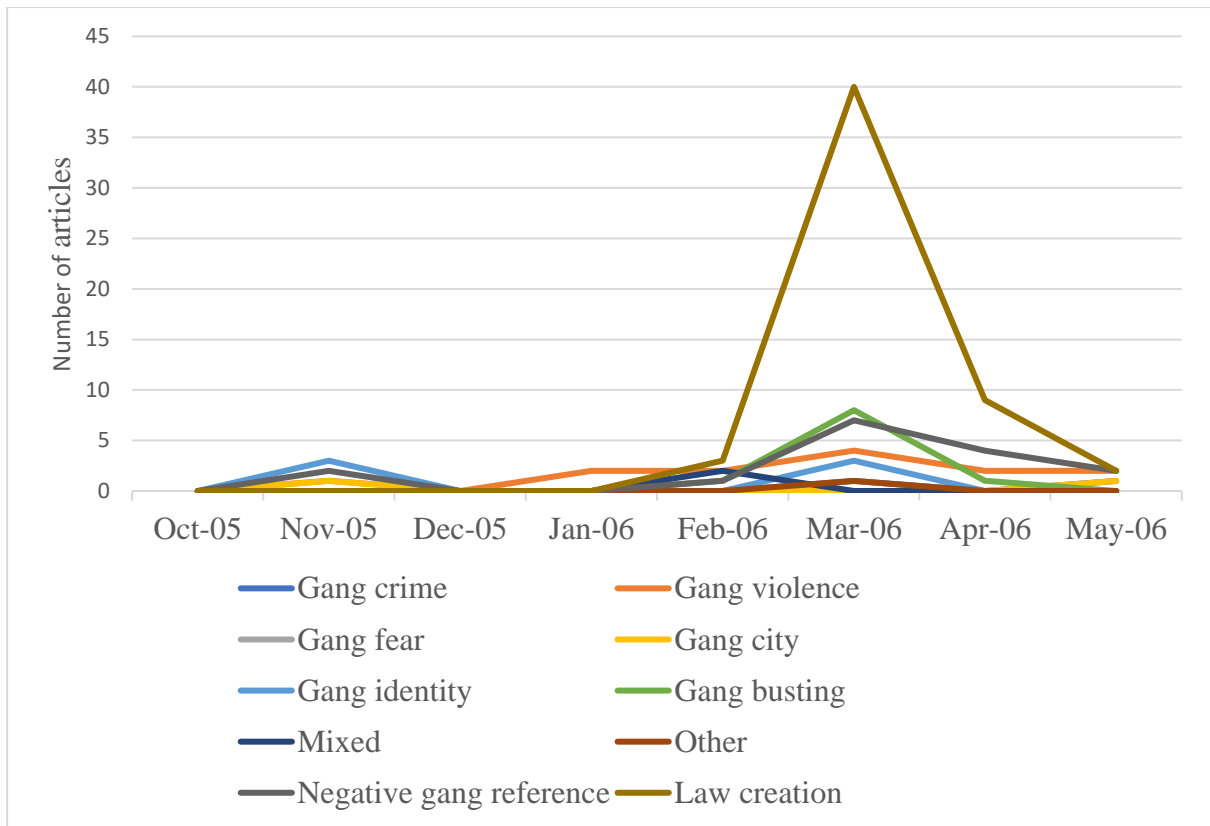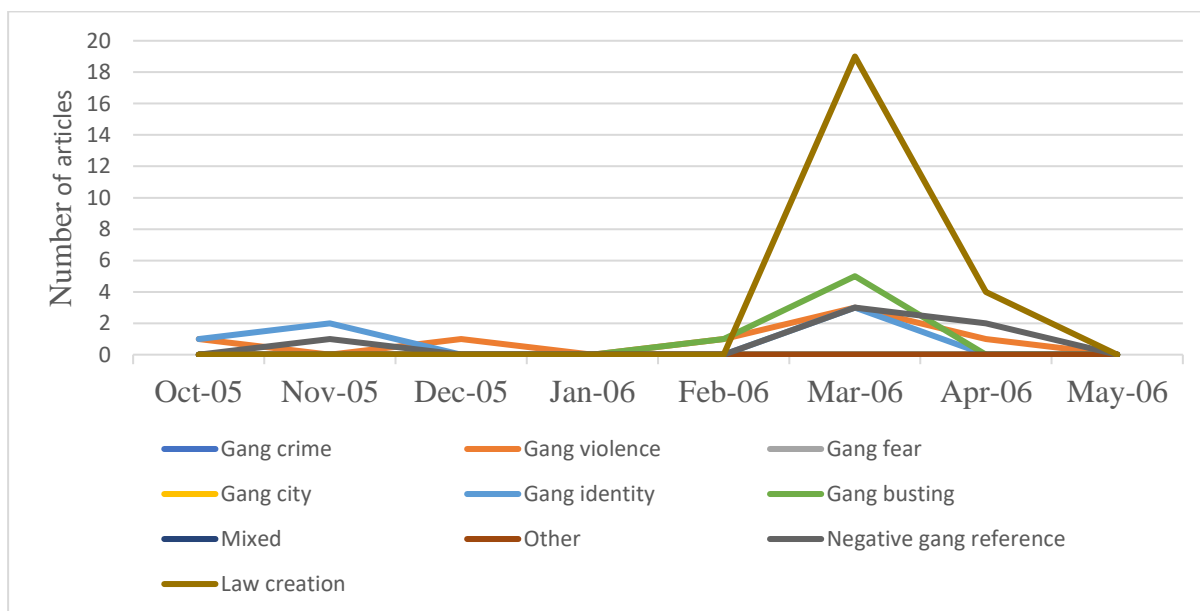
Figure 5.4 Number of articles by topic for the period October 2005 to May 2006

Table 5.6

The number (%) of articles by topic and year

Topic		Year										Total
		2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	
Gang Crime	Count	5	5	2	7	3	4	0	9	3	1	39
	% within Year	20.0%	15.2%	1.7%	3.6%	2.1%	2.5%	0.0%	9.9%	9.7%	4.3%	4.4%
Gang Violence	Count	4	10	15	47	53	14	9	5	2	0	159
	% within Year	16.0%	30.3%	12.8%	23.9%	36.8%	8.7%	13.0%	5.5%	6.5%	0.0%	17.8%
Gang Fear	Count	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	4
	% within Year	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.5%	0.0%	0.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.4%
Gang City	Count	0	1	1	12	4	34	13	24	2	12	103
	% within Year	0.0%	3.0%	0.9%	6.1%	2.8%	21.1%	18.8%	26.4%	6.5%	52.2%	11.6%
Gang Identity	Count	0	3	3	7	6	2	1	1	0	1	24
	% within Year	0.0%	9.1%	2.6%	3.6%	4.2%	1.2%	1.4%	1.1%	0.0%	4.3%	2.7%
Gang Busting	Count	1	3	11	38	29	20	4	4	3	1	114
	% within Year	4.0%	9.1%	9.4%	19.3%	20.1%	12.4%	5.8%	4.4%	9.7%	4.3%	12.8%
Mixed	Count	0	1	2	9	1	5	4	4	1	0	27
	% within Year	0.0%	3.0%	1.7%	4.6%	0.7%	3.1%	5.8%	4.4%	3.2%	0.0%	3.0%
Other	Count	0	1	1	6	2	3	1	1	2	0	17
	% within Year	0.0%	3.0%	0.9%	3.0%	1.4%	1.9%	1.4%	1.1%	6.5%	0.0%	1.9%
Negative Gang Reference	Count	13	8	19	19	13	17	9	17	13	3	131
	% within Year	52.0%	24.2%	16.2%	9.6%	9.0%	10.6%	13.0%	18.7%	41.9%	13.0%	14.7%
Positive Gang Reference	Count	0	1	0	0	1	0	3	2	1	0	8
	% within Year	0.0%	3.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	4.3%	2.2%	3.2%	0.0%	0.9%
Law Creation	Count	2	0	63	49	32	61	25	24	4	5	265
	% within Year	8.0%	0.0%	53.8%	24.9%	22.2%	37.9%	36.2%	26.4%	12.9%	21.7%	29.7%
Total	Count	25	33	117	197	144	161	69	91	31	23	891
	% within Year	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

This pattern is also seen when examining two of the newspapers separately. The two papers are the Wanganui Chronicle print and the Dominion Post. These papers were chosen to compare so as to see differences between local compared to national coverage, and also to compare coverage between different newspaper ownership. Figure 5.5 shows coverage from Wanganui Chronicle. It can be seen that there was greater coverage of other incidents occurring in Whanganui prior to the 2006 violence but that the topic of law creation gained dominance after the 2006 event. Figure 5.6 is the Dominion Post coverage which shows little activity prior to the 2006 event and the same elevated rise in law creation after the violence. Both figures also show a clearer view of how the topic of gang busting was elevated in line with the events.

Figure 5.5 Number of articles by topic for the period October 2005 to May 2006 (Wanganui Chronicle).
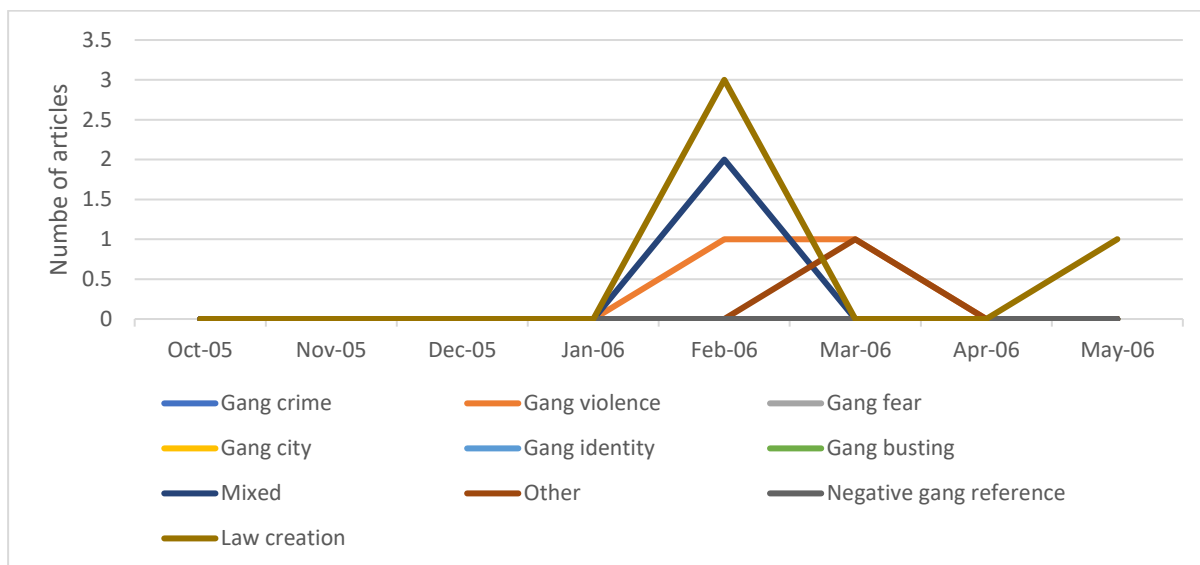
Figure 5.6 Number of articles by topic for the period October 2005 to May 2006 (Dominion Post).

Articles also started to show a clear distinction between 'us' and 'them' after the 2006 event. The use of the word 'gang' started to create a unified identity of the 'villain' so that anyone who was part of the Mongrel Mob, Black Power or Hells Angels were considered one and the same.

> It's time to take a stand and it will start in Wanganui. We will not surrender our streets. (Laws, Enough, 2006)

> Why should the 99 percent of honest, law-abiding citizens have their environment bruised by a mindless one percent whose modus operandi is generally illegal and always brutish? ('Chronicle says', Editorial, 2006)

The fact is we have been happy to carry on with these people all this time, but if they want to fight in the streets, they've ruined it for themselves. ('Retailers support ban', 2006)

Negative gang references increased in 2005 and 2006, and most of these articles related to where an event occurred and was 'gang related' or 'not gang related'- there were reports that would mention that an event occurred and added in the phrase 'this was no gang related', but there were other reports that suggested gang involvement. Hence, even though actual gang activity may not have always been in the news, readers were still reminded of their presence and potential for connection to violence and crime. The desire to link gangs to criminal activity is demonstrated in an article which had the headline 'Gang clashes fuel crime increase' (October, 2006). However, in the article the police referred to the gang activity as just one aspect of the prevailing issue and stated that this type of offending was rare. Instead the main causes of the increase were domestic violence and vehicle crime, rather than gangs offending. From a national perspective, the Whanganui gang 'problem' and the idea of the patch ban was not a high-profile news item until May 2007.

The coverage given to the topics by each newspaper is outlined in Table 5.7. The Wanganui Chronicle Print gave more coverage to law creation (42.7%) compared to the other topics such as gang violence (16.5%) and negative gang references (12.1%). Of interest is 'gang fear' – in the Wanganui Chronicle and Dominion Post this only featured 1% of the time and did not feature at all in the other publications. This is of interest as community fear and intimidation were given as the reasons for needing to ban patches. The New Zealand Herald focused on law creation (34%)

followed by negative 'gang references' and 'gang city' (both were 16.5%). The Chronicle Online and Herald Online both followed a trend of law creation appearing most often, with the Chronicle Online having negative gang references and the Herald Online having gang busting in second place. The Dominion Post was the only paper to have law creation in second place (20.7%). The most featured topic for the Dominion Post was gang violence (28.8%).

Table 5.7

The number (%) of articles by topic and newspaper (percent is by newspaper)

			Newspaper					Total
			W.C Print	NZH Print	Dominion Post	W.C online	NZH online	
Topic	Gang Crime	Count	11	3	2	14	9	39
		%	5.3%	3.1%	1.1%	6.5%	4.8%	4.4%
	Gang violence	Count	34	10	53	37	25	159
		%	16.5%	10.3%	28.8%	17.1%	13.4%	17.8%
	Gang fear	Count	2	0	2	0	0	4
		%	1.0%	0.0%	1.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.4%
	Gang City	Count	21	16	16	34	16	103
		%	10.2%	16.5%	8.7%	15.7%	8.6%	11.6%
	Gang Identity	Count	6	4	6	2	6	24
		%	2.9%	4.1%	3.3%	0.9%	3.2%	2.7%
	Gang Busting	Count	15	12	35	16	36	114
		%	7.3%	12.4%	19.0%	7.4%	19.3%	12.8%
	Mixed	Count	0	1	9	12	5	27
		%	0.0%	1.0%	4.9%	5.5%	2.7%	3.0%
	Other	Count	4	0	6	4	3	17
		%	1.9%	0.0%	3.3%	1.8%	1.6%	1.9%
	Negative gang reference	Count	25	16	16	46	28	131
		%	12.1%	16.5%	8.7%	21.2%	15.0%	14.7%
	Positive gang reference	Count	0	2	1	5	0	8
		%	0.0%	2.1%	0.5%	2.3%	0.0%	0.9%
	Law creation	Count	88	33	38	47	59	265
		%	42.7%	34.0%	20.7%	21.7%	31.6%	29.7%
Total		Count	206	97	184	217	187	891
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 5.8 shows a breakdown of what coverage each newspaper gave to topics by year. In the Dominion Post, the topic of law creation was most featured during 2006 (42.9%) but the textual analysis showed that up until early 2007 the 'gang problem' and the 'need to do something' was viewed as being a 'Whanganui problem' rather than one that was shared nationally. For example, when local councillors from the Wellington region were approached in early 2007 as to whether they would consider such a ban the responses indicated that they did not consider gangs to be a major problem:

> Wearing an Australian rugby jersey in Porirua CBD would probably incite greater public tension than someone wearing a gang patch.
>
>   ('Wanganui bill may catch on elsewhere, say backers', 2007)

Coverage was given to Michael Laws' perspective on the gang problem, but this was balanced with other articles that provided a counter view. For example, an article dated 4th April 2007 focused on crime statistics that appeared to support the need for a ban ('Figures justify gang regalia ban, says Laws', 2007). However, on the 18th April 2007 another article ran which disputed Michael Laws' claims. One resident of Whanganui stated:

> Mr Borrows talked about little old ladies feeling threatened but I've never felt threatened or intimidated. I'm 73 now and I go out on Main St every day. The fear is more in people's imaginations. It has come more from hysterical media coverage which gives Wanganui a bad name. ('Anti-gang regalia bill hysteria, say residents', 2007)

In May 2007, attention given to Whanganui changed dramatically with the shooting of Jhia. There was increased coverage in national papers as to the Whanganui 'gang problem'. The New Zealand Herald's print coverage in 2007 focused on gang violence (23.3%) and negative gang references (23.3%). The New Zealand Herald's print coverage of 'gang busting' increased from 0% (2006) to 13.3% (2007) whilst law creation decreased from 70% (2006) to 20% (2007). The Dominion Post also focused on gang violence (30%) and gang busting (18.3%). In contrast, the Wanganui Chronicle print coverage focused on law creation (44.8%) followed by gang violence (17.2%).

Table 5.8 *Breakdown of topic by newspaper for each year*

Newspaper					Year										Total
					2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	
Dominion Post	Topic		Gang crime	Count	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
				%	16.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.1%
			Gang violence	Count	1	2	3	18	22	6	0	1	0	0	53
				%	16.7%	50.0%	21.4%	30.0%	50.0%	19.4%	0.0%	11.1%	0.0%	0.0%	28.8%
			Gang fear	Count	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
				%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.1%
			Gang city	Count	0	0	0	2	0	3	6	4	0	1	16
				%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3.3%	0.0%	9.7%	42.9%	44.4%	0.0%	100.0%	8.7%
			Gang identity	Count	0	0	0	4	1	1	0	0	0	0	6
				%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	6.7%	2.3%	3.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3.3%
			Gang busting	Count	1	0	0	11	15	7	1	0	0	0	35
				%	16.7%	0.0%	0.0%	18.3%	34.1%	22.6%	7.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	19.0%
			Mixed	Count	0	0	2	6	0	1	0	0	0	0	9
				%	0.0%	0.0%	14.3%	10.0%	0.0%	3.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.9%
			Other	Count	0	0	1	0	1	3	1	0	0	0	6
				%	0.0%	0.0%	7.1%	0.0%	2.3%	9.7%	7.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3.3%
			Negative	Count	1	1	2	7	0	2	2	0	1	0	16

Table 5.8 *Breakdown of topic by newspaper for each year*

Newspaper					Year										Total
					2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	
			gang reference	%	16.7%	25.0%	14.3%	11.7%	0.0%	6.5%	14.3%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	8.7%
			Positive gang reference	Count	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
				%	0.0%	25.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.5%
			Law creation	Count	2	0	6	10	4	8	4	4	0	0	38
				%	33.3%	0.0%	42.9%	16.7%	9.1%	25.8%	28.6%	44.4%	0.0%	0.0%	20.7%
		Total		Count	6	4	14	60	44	31	14	9	1	1	184
				%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Wanganui Chronicle Print	Topic	Gang Crime		Count	1	3	0	1	0	3	0	2	0	1	11
				%	8.3%	21.4%	0.0%	3.4%	0.0%	7.3%	0.0%	14.3%	0.0%	11.1%	5.3%
		Gang violence		Count	2	4	5	5	8	3	4	1	2	0	34
				%	16.7%	28.6%	11.9%	17.2%	40.0%	7.3%	20.0%	7.1%	40.0%	0.0%	16.5%
		Gang fear		Count	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
				%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3.4%	0.0%	2.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.0%
		Gang City		Count	0	0	0	2	0	7	3	4	0	5	21
				%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	6.9%	0.0%	17.1%	15.0%	28.6%	0.0%	55.6%	10.2%
		Gang Identity		Count	0	2	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	6
				%	0.0%	14.3%	7.1%	0.0%	0.0%	2.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.9%
		Gang Busting		Count	0	2	6	2	1	4	0	0	0	0	15
				%	0.0%	14.3%	14.3%	6.9%	5.0%	9.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	7.3%
		Other		Count	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	4
				%	0.0%	7.1%	0.0%	6.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	20.0%	0.0%	1.9%

Table 5.8 *Breakdown of topic by newspaper for each year*

Newspaper					Year										Total
					2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	
			Negative gang reference	Count	9	2	5	3	2	0	3	0	0	1	25
				%	75.0%	14.3%	11.9%	10.3%	10.0%	0.0%	15.0%	0.0%	0.0%	11.1%	12.1%
			Law creation	Count	0	0	23	13	9	22	10	7	2	2	88
				%	0.0%	0.0%	54.8%	44.8%	45.0%	53.7%	50.0%	50.0%	40.0%	22.2%	42.7%
		Total		Count	12	14	42	29	20	41	20	14	5	9	206
				%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
New Zealand Herald Print	Topic		Gang Crime	Count	1		0	2	0	0	0	0	0		3
				%	100.0%		0.0%	6.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%		3.1%
			Gang violence	Count	0		0	7	2	0	1	0	0		10
				%	0.0%		0.0%	23.3%	12.5%	0.0%	12.5%	0.0%	0.0%		10.3%
			Gang City	Count	0		1	2	0	7	2	4	0		16
				%	0.0%		10.0%	6.7%	0.0%	28.0%	25.0%	66.7%	0.0%		16.5%
			Gang Identity	Count	0		0	2	2	0	0	0	0		4
				%	0.0%		0.0%	6.7%	12.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%		4.1%
			Gang Busting	Count	0		0	4	3	3	2	0	0		12
				%	0.0%		0.0%	13.3%	18.8%	12.0%	25.0%	0.0%	0.0%		12.4%
			Mixed	Count	0		0	0	1	0	0	0	0		1
				%	0.0%		0.0%	0.0%	6.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%		1.0%

Table 5.8 *Breakdown of topic by newspaper for each year*

Newspaper					Year										Total
					2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	
			Negative gang reference	Count	0		2	7	1	3	0	2	1		16
				%	0.0%		20.0%	23.3%	6.3%	12.0%	0.0%	33.3%	100.0%		16.5%
			Positive gang reference	Count	0		0	0	0	0	2	0	0		2
				%	0.0%		0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	25.0%	0.0%	0.0%		2.1%
			Law creation	Count	0		7	6	7	12	1	0	0		33
				%	0.0%		70.0%	20.0%	43.8%	48.0%	12.5%	0.0%	0.0%		34.0%
		Total		Count	1		10	30	16	25	8	6	1		97
				%	100.0%		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%		100.0%
Wanganui Chronicle online	Topic	Gang Crime		Count	0	1	2	3	1	1	0	5	1	0	14
				%	0.0%	7.7%	5.4%	13.0%	4.0%	3.2%	0.0%	11.9%	6.3%	0.0%	6.5%
		Gang violence		Count	1	3	4	9	10	5	3	2	0	0	37
				%	25.0%	23.1%	10.8%	39.1%	40.0%	16.1%	21.4%	4.8%	0.0%	0.0%	17.1%
		Gang City		Count	0	1	0	3	3	11	1	7	2	6	34
				%	0.0%	7.7%	0.0%	13.0%	12.0%	35.5%	7.1%	16.7%	12.5%	50.0%	15.7%

Table 5.8 *Breakdown of topic by newspaper for each year*

Newspaper					Year										Total
					2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	
			Gang Identity	Count	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
				%	0.0%	7.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	8.3%	0.9%
			Gang Busting	Count	0	1	4	0	0	2	1	4	3	1	16
				%	0.0%	7.7%	10.8%	0.0%	0.0%	6.5%	7.1%	9.5%	18.8%	8.3%	7.4%
			Mixed	Count	0	1	0	0	0	2	4	4	1	0	12
				%	0.0%	7.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	6.5%	28.6%	9.5%	6.3%	0.0%	5.5%
			Other	Count	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	1	0	4
				%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	8.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.4%	6.3%	0.0%	1.8%
			Negative gang reference	Count	3	5	7	2	8	1	3	9	6	2	46
				%	75.0%	38.5%	18.9%	8.7%	32.0%	3.2%	21.4%	21.4%	37.5%	16.7%	21.2%
			Positive gang reference	Count	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	1	0	5
				%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.0%	0.0%	7.1%	4.8%	6.3%	0.0%	2.3%
			Law creation	Count	0	0	20	4	2	9	1	8	1	2	47

Table 5.8 *Breakdown of topic by newspaper for each year*

Newspaper					Year										Total
					2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	
				%	0.0%	0.0%	54.1%	17.4%	8.0%	29.0%	7.1%	19.0%	6.3%	16.7%	21.7%
		Total		Count	4	13	37	23	25	31	14	42	16	12	217
				%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
New Zealand Herald online	Topic	Gang Crime		Count	2	1	0	1	1	0	0	2	2	0	9
				%	100.0%	50.0%	0.0%	1.8%	2.6%	0.0%	0.0%	10.0%	25.0%	0.0%	4.8%
		Gang violence		Count	0	1	3	8	11	0	1	1	0	0	25
				%	0.0%	50.0%	21.4%	14.5%	28.2%	0.0%	7.7%	5.0%	0.0%	0.0%	13.4%
		Gang City		Count	0	0	0	3	1	6	1	5	0	0	16
				%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	5.5%	2.6%	18.2%	7.7%	25.0%	0.0%	0.0%	8.6%
		Gang Identity		Count	0	0	0	1	3	0	1	1	0	0	6
				%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.8%	7.7%	0.0%	7.7%	5.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3.2%
		Gang Busting		Count	0	0	1	21	10	4	0	0	0	0	36
				%	0.0%	0.0%	7.1%	38.2%	25.6%	12.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	19.3%
		Mixed		Count	0	0	0	3	0	2	0	0	0	0	5

Table 5.8 *Breakdown of topic by newspaper for each year*

Newspaper					Year										Total
					2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	
				%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	5.5%	0.0%	6.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.7%
		Other	Count		0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	3
				%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3.6%	2.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.6%
		Negative gang reference	Count		0	0	3	0	2	11	1	6	5	0	28
				%	0.0%	0.0%	21.4%	0.0%	5.1%	33.3%	7.7%	30.0%	62.5%	0.0%	15.0%
		Law creation	Count		0	0	7	16	10	10	9	5	1	1	59
				%	0.0%	0.0%	50.0%	29.1%	25.6%	30.3%	69.2%	25.0%	12.5%	100.0%	31.6%
	Total	Count			2	2	14	55	39	33	13	20	8	1	187
				%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

The prominence given to each topic as indexed by page number and the presence of a photo is displayed in Table 5.9. The analysis covered all pages in which items appeared, but for the purpose of prominence only the first six pages are displayed. The zero number is the default number given to online papers, so it is excluded for this purpose. For first page coverage, law creation (43.2%) was most likely to appear followed by gang violence (23%). For pages two to six, this trend of law creation followed by 'gang violence' and gang busting continued except for page six where the topic of 'negative gang references' appeared more frequently than 'gang violence' or gang busting. 'Positive gang references' did not appear at all in the first six pages.

Items that had one photo were more likely to be on the topics of law creation (29.1%), 'negative gang references' (19.4%) and 'gang violence'/gang city (14.5%). 'Gang references' could relate to any number of story types in which gangs were referred to so the prominence given may not be gang related – it could be the main subject matter of the story (i.e. youth issues) that was given prominence. Items that had more than one photo tended to be gang violence' (32%) followed by gang busting (22%) and law creation (16%).

Overall, these figures indicate that the topic of law creation appears to be given the most prominence with 34.2% of the page one coverage, as well as 29.1% of one photo and 16% of more than one photo. 'Gang violence' was the next most prominent topic with 23% of page one cover, 14.5% with one photo and 32% with more than one photo. However, these figures need to be treated with caution. For example, whilst this topic may have appeared the most number of

times on the front page this did not necessarily mean it was the most prominent topic on page one of a particular date. To illustrate this, figure 5.7 shows the front page of the Wanganui Chronicle dated 10th May 2007. There are several articles on the page. Two of these relate to the topic of law creation and only one relates to gang busting but the gang busting article is most prominent on the page.

■ **WEATHER** Rain developing. North-westerlies freshening. 17 deg. Details P15

Wanganui Chronicle

151st year of publication | Thursday, May 10, 2007 | $1 (90c with loyalty discount)

P3 **March with us** WE LOVE Wanganui

P4 **Going grey**

INSIDE: on the **LAND**

Mob leaders lack control

MOURNERS GATHER FOR JHIA'S TANGI

PHOTO: 090507WCSMFUNNERAL1
Jhia Te Tua's whanau gather around as her coffin is taken out of the car at a funeral home in Levin yesterday, after her funeral at Tukorehe Marae.

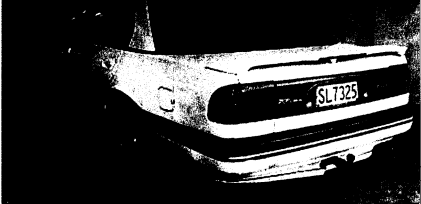## Hundreds attend funeral of shooting victim

HUNDREDS of mourners gathered in Levin yesterday for the tangi of a toddler killed in a drive-by shooting in Wanganui on Saturday.

Two-year-old Jhia Harmony Te Tua was killed as she slept in a Puriri St house that was the target of a drive-by shooting.

The shooting is alleged to be

linked to rivalries between Black Power and the Mongrel Mob.

A private family ceremony for Jhia was held yesterday at Tukorehe Marae at Kuku, south of Levin, followed by a funeral procession to Levin, where a cremation took place at a funeral home.

Jhia's tangi will be held at the

marae today and her ashes will later be taken back to Wanganui.

Despite earlier reports that gang patches would not be allowed on the marae, a large crowd of patched Black Power members was seen in the marae carpark awaiting the ceremony.

Police presence in and around Levin was low-key during the day.

No influence over young members and prospects: police

WANGANUI police yesterday pointed the finger of blame for Saturday night's fatal shooting squarely at the Mongrel Mob and said its leaders appeared to have no control over its younger members.

The officer in charge of the inquiry into the killing of Wanganui two-year-old Jhia Harmony Te Tua, Detective Senior Sergeant Chris Bensemann, said it appeared the Mongrel Mob also didn't understand how serious Saturday night's events were.

Jhia was shot about 10pm on Saturday night while she slept in her Puriri St home.

"The senior members of the gang appear to have no influence or control over the actions of the junior members, prospects and associates," Mr Bensemann said.

However, he said it was apparent that members of the public, including family members of both the Mongrel Mob and Black Power who were affected by Jhia's death, had been spurred to give police information they

HUNT FOR KILLERS CONTINUES

■ Sightings wanted of another car: a white 1994 Ford Falcon Futura saloon, registration SL7325.

■ Police helicopter circles over Wanganui.

■ Investigation continues with more witnesses being spoken to.

were privy to and wouldn't normally have passed to them.

"We are very grateful for the information and co-operation we are receiving from the citizens of Wanganui."

Police have seized another car from a Wanganui East address that they believed was linked with

the drive-by.

The vehicle is a white 1994 Ford Falcon Futura saloon, Registered Number SL7325 with black louvres on the back window and a spoiler on the boot.

They are seeking sightings of the car between midday Saturday and Tuesday night.

They are also interested in hearing from anyone who knows the history and ownership of the vehicle, or anyone who has recently used it.

The car would be forensically examined once scientists had finished with the grey Galant that was seized earlier this week.

Mr Bensemann said the inquiry team, which has been boosted by the arrival of four more detectives, continued to receive co-operation from the Black Power.

Meanwhile, the police helicopter, the Eagle, yesterday hovered over several Wanganui locations doing "aviation tasks" but police refused to elaborate exactly what it was doing.

PHOTO: SUPPLIED
Have you seen this car recently? Police want to know about the movements of this white 1994 Ford Falcon Futura saloon, registration SL7325, between midday on Saturday and Tuesday night.

Boy's mother denies gang link

By MERANIA KARAURIA
merania.karauria@wanganuichronicle.co.nz

THE MOTHER of a nine-year-old accused of being a gang "recruit" in yesterday's *Chronicle* says her family is blood-related, not gang-related.

She said she moved her family out of the Puriri St area because of the gangs.

The mother, who did not want to be named, said her son was

easily identified in the story and it reflected badly on him.

A Puriri St woman claimed the boy had threatened one of her children and had been kicked out of Tawhero School.

"Her accusations undermine all the good work I'm doing to help my son, and the help he is getting."

She said her son was not kicked out of Tawhero School and the woman should have got her facts right before she

approached the *Chronicle*.

"My son has behavioural problems, and he is getting a lot of help from Life to the Max.

"They're a great support network."

The boy's mother said the woman was using the two-year-old child killed in Saturday's drive-by shooting incident to get back at her son.

"This is not on. She is trampling on our family's mana."

Iwi, Laws to work together

WHANGANUI iwi and Wanganui Mayor Michael Laws have agreed to work together to heal the divisions resulting from recent gang activity.

In a joint release, Mr Laws, Tupoho runanga kaiwhakahaere John Maihi and Whanganui River Maori Trust Board CEO Nancy Tuaine met on Tuesday to discuss the issues and try to find a way forward.

"We condemn what has happened – all criminal activity will not be tolerated," they said in a joint statement.

"We want to express our support for the police in stamping

out all criminal activities."

However, Wanganui would appreciate additional police resources, they said.

The group discussed the challenges for the council and iwi as they worked together on a path forward to heal any divisions.

"Programmes and policies need to be developed that provide alternatives and opportunities for young people to experience, rather than joining in with gangs.

"It is an opportunity for the council and iwi to work together to develop local solutions for the local issues.

"At some stage it may

be necessary to involve the government but it would be nice to make progress locally."

In response to the discussions, a joint mayoral/iwi taskforce on social initiatives will be formed, aimed at creating opportunities for local youth.

Mayor Laws and Mr Maihi will walk together in Friday's Love This Place Rally as the first step in working together.

"We are committed to the future of Wanganui and we will be working together to ensure it remains a great place to live for all our families."

Death in park unrelated to fatal shooting

THE DISCOVERY of a man's body in Kowhai Park, Wanganui, yesterday morning is not suspicious and isn't related to the weekend's fatal shooting.

A Wanganui police spokesman said police knew who the dead man was and were trying to contact his family.

March with us

WANGANUI residents are urged to bring the poster insert in today's *Chronicle* to tomorrow's Love this Place rally.

Chronicle marketing promotions officer Fiona Sellers is also asking retailers to position the banner in their shop windows and businesses in a show of solidarity.

Miss Sellers said the rally was to say that Wanganui is a great place to bring up your children.

"We're ordinary people and we like living here and we want everyone to know it."

The rally will start at noon on the riverbank behind the *Chronicle*, led by Mayor Michael

Laws and Tupoho runanga kaiwhakahaere John Maihi.

Marchers will make their way to Majestic Square, where there will be a handful of short speeches, a prayer and members of the public will be invited to sign two large flags that will be proudly displayed in the city.

A collection will also be taken up at the rally, raising money for Victim Support.

The rally is not a political grandstand nor an anti-gang campaign.

It is simply a gathering of citizens united in their pride in the place where they live.

John Maihi.

Michael Laws.

Classifieds 349 0711, Fax 349 0721

Gangs: talk to them or ban them?

WELLINGTON.– There were sharp differences of opinion in Parliament yesterday about how gang violence should be tackled.

The Maori Party urged politicians and police to work with gang leaders, saying they were committed for the first time to ending violent rivalry.

New Zealand First demanded legislation to ban gangs, saying they were a cancer in society and talking to them legitimised their existence.

Maori Party co-leader Pita

Sharples said gang leaders representing Black Power, the Mongrel Mob, King Cobras, Highway 61, Hell's Angels, Storm Troopers and many others had met to discuss ending violence.

A spokeswoman for Dr Sharples said the meeting was held in Manurewa three weeks ago.

"This is an opportunity we cannot ignore," Dr Sharples told Parliament.

● CONTD P3

AIP● News 349 0728   Deliveries 349 0712   Email: news@wanganuichronicle.co.nz

www.wanganuichronicle.co.nz

Figure 5.7 Front page of Wanganui Chronicle 10/05/2007

Again, the shooting of Jhia contributed to the distribution of topic prominence. This

was due to the event having all the elements required for a good story. There were

the villains – the Mongrel Mob members who had fired the shots. Photo images of gang members looking defiant and sinister helped to boost gang portrayal as the evil actors. In addition, there were the victims – images of young Jhia were held in contrast to the dark foreboding gang members. Tales of her innocence and tragic death were used to support other items involving gangs to reinforce the devilish nature of gangs. There was also Jhia's mother who was used to enhance the tragedy. An example of this is figure 5. 8 from Jhia's tangi which showed the full extent of her grief.

Figure 5.8 Image of Jhia funeral showing her mother (source Dominion Post 10/05/2007, p. 1)

It should be noted that the way that the nation began to think about gangs cannot solely be measured by the articles that matched the criteria for the content analysis.

Other items, often features, highlighted gangs as either demons or misunderstood individuals. Due to these items not matching the inclusion criteria for the sample (usually because they did not refer to Wanganui) they are not part of the analysis but did help to create the image of gang identity. The 'demon' portrayal appeared to be present more often after May 2007 – the idea of gangs being a social identity that was not part of normal community life and one that should be excluded were brought home by articles such as 'city marches to regain city' (Hastings) which happened after there had been violent gang clashes in different cities in New Zealand (23/6/2008). Some articles directed readers to the conclusion that this was a nationwide problem (23/6/2008) by linking gang activities across the country into one report. The shooting of Jhia was frequently linked to any gang stories so as to remind people as to why they should be concerned. The trend towards 'us'and 'them' was becoming more pronounced in national press as well as local. The story about Jhia's death was evolving and now had a sequel – removing the monsters, the others:

> Wanganui belongs to decent people -- these feuding gangs need to get the message that their violent lawlessness will not be tolerated. (Britton, 1 March 2006 p. 3)

Table 5.9 *The prominence (page number and photo) of coverage by topic*

Topic		Page number						Photo			Total
		1	2	3	4	5	6	No Photo	One photo	More than one photo	
Gang Crime	Count	12	1	3	0	0	0	29	10	0	39
	%	7.9%	3.2%	2.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.3%	6.1%	0.0%	4.4%
Gang violence	Count	35	5	17	5	10	5	119	24	16	159
	%	23.0%	16.1%	14.8%	12.5%	20.0%	16.1%	17.6%	14.5%	32.0%	17.8%
Gang fear	Count	1	1	2	0	0	0	2	0	2	4
	%	0.7%	3.2%	1.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.3%	0.0%	4.0%	0.4%
Gang City	Count	8	2	18	4	4	5	73	24	6	103
	%	5.3%	6.5%	15.7%	10.0%	8.0%	16.1%	10.8%	14.5%	12.0%	11.6%
Gang Identity	Count	7	0	2	2	0	2	18	5	1	24
	%	4.6%	0.0%	1.7%	5.0%	0.0%	6.5%	2.7%	3.0%	2.0%	2.7%
Gang Busting	Count	16	5	11	5	10	2	85	18	11	114
	%	10.5%	16.1%	9.6%	12.5%	20.0%	6.5%	12.6%	10.9%	22.0%	12.8%
Mixed	Count	0	0	3	4	3	0	20	3	4	27
	%	0.0%	0.0%	2.6%	10.0%	6.0%	0.0%	3.0%	1.8%	8.0%	3.0%
Other	Count	3	1	1	5	0	0	16	1	0	17
	%	2.0%	3.2%	0.9%	12.5%	0.0%	0.0%	2.4%	0.6%	0.0%	1.9%
Negative gang reference	Count	18	1	12	4	9	7	98	32	1	131
	%	11.8%	3.2%	10.4%	10.0%	18.0%	22.6%	14.5%	19.4%	2.0%	14.7%
Positive gang reference	Count	0	0	0	1	1	0	7	0	1	8
	%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.5%	2.0%	0.0%	1.0%	0.0%	2.0%	0.9%

Topic		Page number						Photo			Total
		1	2	3	4	5	6	No Photo	One photo	More than one photo	
Law creation	Count	52	15	46	10	13	10	209	48	8	265
	%	34.2%	48.4%	40.0%	25.0%	26.0%	32.3%	30.9%	29.1%	16.0%	29.7%
Total	Count	152	31	115	40	50	31	676	165	50	891
	%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 5.10 *The number (%) of articles by topic and valence*

Topic		Valence			Total
		Positive	Negative	Neutral	
Gang Crime	Count	0	37	2	39
	%	0.0%	6.3%	0.8%	4.4%
Gang violence	Count	1	148	10	159
	%	2.0%	25.3%	3.9%	17.8%
Gang fear	Count	0	4	0	4
	%	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.4%
Gang City	Count	26	21	56	103
	%	51.0%	3.6%	22.0%	11.6%
Gang Identity	Count	3	15	6	24
	%	5.9%	2.6%	2.4%	2.7%
Gang Busting	Count	1	83	30	114
	%	2.0%	14.2%	11.8%	12.8%
Mixed	Count	6	16	5	27
	%	11.8%	2.7%	2.0%	3.0%
Other	Count	1	5	11	17
	%	2.0%	0.9%	4.3%	1.9%
Negative gang reference	Count	1	84	46	131
	%	2.0%	14.4%	18.0%	14.7%
Positive gang reference	Count	4	0	4	8
	%	7.8%	0.0%	1.6%	0.9%
Law creation	Count	8	172	85	265
	%	15.7%	29.4%	33.3%	29.7%
	Count	51	585	255	891
	%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The concept of the gangs as 'other' was reflected in the valence of the articles according to topic (see Table 5.10). The topics with the highest number articles containing a negative valence were law creation (29.4%) and 'gang violence' (25.3%). When these topics were discussed in the articles there were many ways in which the idea of the 'other', the 'demon' were conveyed.

Images used to represent the concept of 'gang' were often dark and sinister. They showed faceless people who were only identifiable by their gang insignia (figure 5.9). These images were in stark contrast to representations of the 'good guys', an example of this is the picture of Jhia that was frequently used (figure 5.10).

Articles about Jhia's family and the impact of the shooting contributed to the negative depiction of gangs. The portrayal of Jhia's mother was interesting as, for the most part, depictions minimised her choice to be the partner of a gang member – one article specifically states that she was opposed to gangs (6/6/2007). This way of representing her as a one of the 'good guys' was achieved by ensuring the 'storyline' focused on her as a grieving mother. Jhia's father featured less – his role was often that of a gangster. One item at the beginning of proceedings focused on how he was defiant to the Mongrel Mob by wearing Black Power colours to court (12/6/2007). Another later item told of how he had been charged with gun offences, the headline did not refer to his name, instead he was "Jhia's father" (15/7/2008). This subordination of the identities of the mother and father as being newsworthy only due to their connection to Jhia kept the story simple, it was about a young victim killed by monsters.
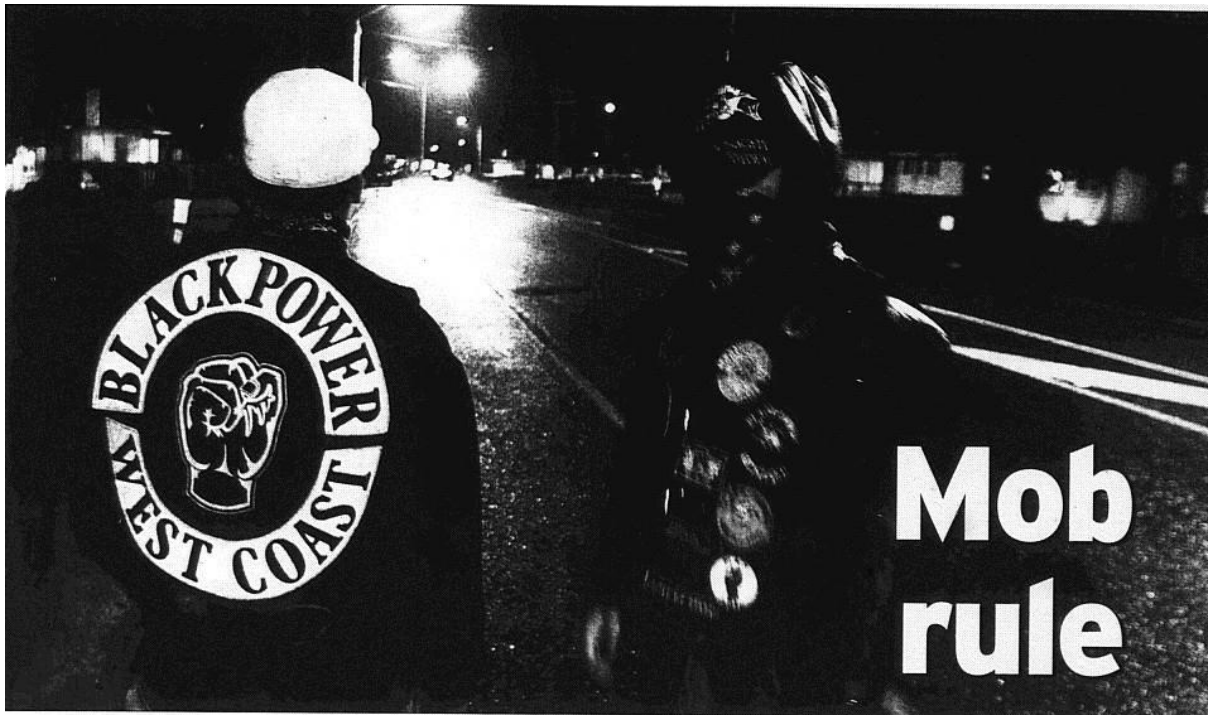
Figure 5.9 Image of gangs

Figure 5.10 Image of Jhia often used in reports

Articles started to include references to gang patches even when it was not relevant to the story (for example on 18/5/2007 offenders were described as 'patched' mob members). A shooting in Otaki discussed how there was an increased presence of 'patches' as opposed to stating an increase in gang members (26/7/2007). The stereotype of the gang image, and the need to display insignia was also presented satirically. For example, in an editorial ('A flash of gang bravado') the editor gave a stereotypic description of gangs when discussing the actions of the Labour Party. Whilst this was intended to humorous, the use of the gang identity to belittle the politicians enforces a negative image of the gangs.

The sources most used for each topic are displayed in Table 5.11. The legal source was the most frequently used source for all topics with a count of 530 articles using them as a source (60% of all articles). The topics where legal sources were most often used were 'gang violence' (24%) followed by law creation (21.3%). The legal source was generally used as a means of event confirmation (what has happened), seeking public information and reassurance that police were doing everything they could to resolve problems. There were occasions when police comments were political in nature. Police Association president Greg O'Connor was a frequent commentator in relation to the merits of banning gang patches:

> Gangs don't wear their patches to court, they don't wear them in public bars, they don't wear them where they're not allowed to because they know they'll get prosecuted. Gangs are just big bullies and you've just got to be bigger than them. (Cleave, 12 March 2006, online)

Table 5.11 *The number (%) of articles for topic and source*[1]

Topic	Legal	Politician	Community leader	Public	Gang	Academic	Other
Gang Crime	37	9	1	7	3	1	0
	7.0%	2.2%	1.3%	4.3%	3.5%	3.2%	0.0%
Gang violence	128	29	7	45	25	3	1
	24.2%	7.0%	8.8%	27.4%	29.4%	9.7%	20.0%
Gang fear	3	0	2	4	0	0	0
	0.6%	0.0%	2.5%	2.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Gang City	40	63	18	25	20	2	1
	7.5%	15.1%	22.5%	15.2%	23.5%	6.5%	20.0%
Gang Identity	11	10	1	7	9	3	0
	2.1%	2.4%	1.3%	4.3%	10.6%	9.7%	0.0%
Gang Busting	101	28	3	12	6	2	1
	19.1%	6.7%	3.8%	7.3%	7.1%	6.5%	20.0%
Mixed	13	15	4	7	4	0	0
	2.5%	3.6%	5.0%	4.3%	4.7%	0.0%	0.0%
Other	5	6	5	1	2	0	0
	0.9%	1.4%	6.3%	0.6%	2.4%	0.0%	0.0%
Negative gang reference	79	35	24	39	5	3	1
	14.9%	8.4%	30.0%	23.8%	5.9%	9.7%	20.0%
Positive gang reference	0	3	1	3	1	0	0
	0.0%	0.7%	1.3%	1.8%	1.2%	0.0%	0.0%
Law creation	113	219	14	14	10	17	1
	21.3%	52.5%	17.5%	8.5%	11.8%	54.8%	20.0%
Total	530	417	80	164	85	31	5
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

[1] Number and percentage of articles coded 'yes' for each response category

Politicians featured as the next most common source. In this regard, 417 articles were coded as using politicians as a source of evidence. The most frequent topic politicians commented on was 'law creation' (52.5%) with gang city following at 15%. The topic

of gang city included criticism of proposed measures such as the patch ban so was largely political in nature. A count was conducted as to which politicians featured most. This showed that Michael Laws was the most frequent commentator. He features either in direct comments from him or references to his previous comments at a rate of 90% for all articles that had politician as a source. This is not surprising given that the research focused on Whanganui gang activity during a time when he was (for the most part) mayor of Whanganui. However, it is not so much the frequency that he was used that is of interest; instead it is the nature of his comments and use as a source that provides the best insight into the development of gang identity. His comments often compared gangs to terrorists:

> They're becoming more pervasive, more violent and more numerous. And the police seem powerless to do anything else except mop up the damage. There is only one way to deal with these petty terrorists. That is to outlaw gangs and provide police with the resources to crush them. If that involves bringing in the Army, then so be it. (NZPA, 23 June 2008)

Using terrorists to describe gang identity was a powerful and effective way to quickly discredit the gangs. Since '9/11', the terrorist attack using airplanes to crash into the Twin Towers in New York, the media had created an image of 'terrorist' as being a ruthless outsider who practiced strange rituals and whose main objective was to destroy western communities. By using an already known symbol of a 'demon' Laws was able to quickly relate to the public the reasons why gang identity was 'evil' (Hall et al., 1978).

Table 5.12 shows the responses that were given to the different topics that were coded for the newspaper articles -these responses were ones provided by the source used, for example responses by law enforcement, public comments were also used but only in terms of how it related to the article – reader comments (as previously discussed) that were separate to the article were not included. The topic of law creation was featured as the most likely topic for all responses. This was interesting in terms of the response 'status quo' as this response meant there was no need for further reforms (legal or social). This can be explained by the way in which the coding was done. The news report was coded for topic based on the dominant topic but could contain other topics and voices. The response coding allowed for multiple responses to be recorded for a single news report. This meant a news report could have a focus on law reform (so coded as that topic) but have other parts of the article saying there was no need to change anything (hence the response of status quo). An example of this is with the reports about the Whanganui City Council wanting to enforce the (then new) legislation as to intimidating fences. A Dominion Post article (Gang fence still up despite Laws' promise, 3/09/2010) was coded as law creation as its focus was on means to suppress gangs through removing the fence around a 'gang' headquarters. However, the article also contains comments from nearby neighbours such as:

> Leslie Gill, 81, who has lived next to the Hells Angels since 1985, said residents were happy for the fence to remain.

> It spared them the sight of what was going on inside and blocked the noise of motorbikes, he said. "I've had 25 years of it and they [Hells Angels] have

never been any worry to me. Every time they make a bit of noise I go over there and tell them what I think."

He suggested no action had been taken because the fence was more an issue of Mr Laws' profile, rather than public safety. "He became quite a figure New Zealand-wide when he got rid of the gang patches".

(Gang fence still up despite Laws' promise, 3/09/2010)

This type of response to the headquarters was to leave it there – to keep the status quo so that is why that response was recorded. This report also demonstrates one of the problems in presenting the information. It (the report) contributes to the statistics of law creation, which as a topic overall had a negative valence, and also sought for solutions (responses) that were not the status quo. However, this particular article was coded for a positive valence and to keep the status quo. This indicates that the results reflect some overall trends but should not be taken as the only indicator as to what story was being told. This could be corrected through additional analysis of the content to include other factors, but the qualitative analysis (for this research) appears capable to identify how and when reports differ from the statistics presented. Oddly, gang fear did not create responses to remove gang presence or support for the ban ('pro ban'), this is odd as the bill/bylaw was intended to reduce intimidation (fear) so it would have been expected to have a stronger link to these responses.

'Negative gang reference' was the top topic for improving community standards (24.6%). 'Gang city' showed strongly as the favoured topic for the response of 'anti ban' (36.9%) and 'improving community standards' (18.5%). The topic of 'law

creation' was the most common topic for the responses of removing gang presence (36.4%) and 'pro ban' (68.4%). Many of these responses to law creation came during the period of between 2008 and 2009.

Nearing the bill being heard for the first time, articles started to emerge about how removing gang presence had reduced levels of crime. Of interest is how the reports started to use statistics. One report ('Blow to gang as boss jailed' Dominion Post 21/2/2008) stated that there was a 7% drop in crime after Mongrel Mob members were jailed, while another report on the 31/7/2008 (Patch ban 'outweighs rights', Dominion Post) stated that violent attacks by gangs doubled between 2006 and 2007. In the situation of the 7% drop in crime, the report is unclear, but it is assumed that this represented a drop in all offending. This means that the drop could also relate to non-gang offending. Police statistics for the period of mid- 2007 to mid-2008 actually state an increase of 1%, whilst the offending for the period of the calendar year of 2007 (ending December 2007) had an overall decrease of 3.9%. With the reported increase in 'gang criminal activity' and 'violence', these figures were gang 'related' offending which means that it included gang members but also people with family ties, non- gang members who were charged for the same offence, and those who had an 'identified' connection to gangs. This means if a person was related to a gang member their offending would be produced as part of the statistics. These statistics also include reported incidents where the police were certain an offence had taken place.

The first reading of the Bill occurred during the depositions hearings for the Jhia accused, so the reminder of the killing was still present. The Bill passed the first

reading but this did not take prominence over other events. The Dominion Post coverage on the 18/4/2008 had an article in the first edition on page 7 which was 393 words long. In the second edition the article was still on page 7 but had been reduced to 139 words. Of interest, the second edition content of this report focused on the negative comments about the Bill made by Tariana Turia but the headline was about the large support for the Bill. Often Dominion Post articles about the progress of the Bill did not make the second edition at all (31/7/2008) or were reduced to small side banner briefs (26/3/2009).

The passing of the Bill increased media interest. An article appearing in the Dominion Post the day after the passing of the Bill linked the Bill to the Jhia killing and focused on how it was a great move for Whanganui (7/5/2009). The Dominion Post sought to put a national issue slant on the ban with one article questioning local politicians in other areas about whether they would seek to introduce a similar ban (8/5/2009). National interest was present - gang violence in Foxton became linked to the patch ban, with a local councillor calling for a similar ban for the town (2/7/2009).

Once the bylaw was enacted the media interest (story) as to the Whanganui gang situation evolved as a fight between good and evil over civil rights. As to which side was good or evil depended upon the particular report. Some reports focused on protests and human rights issues that were curtailed by the ban (Rivalry takes back seat as gangs protest against bylaw, 2/9/2009 Dominion Post). However, these reports were also balanced with articles that maintained that the evil of gangs warranted the intrusion of taking away the patches. The importance of the patches

was summarised quite well in an opinion piece where the columnist stated:

> To capture a legion's "eagle", or a regiment's colours, or a gang member's patch, is to capture the vanquished's honour, his manhood, his very soul. ('Gang Patch Ban Just One Step' 4/9/2009, Dominion Post)

Two months after the bylaw was enacted a report appeared claiming success – the police version of success was that the gangs seemed to accept it, whilst Michael Laws version of success included 'anecdotal evidence' that gangs were leaving town (24/11/2009). Further success was claimed when the first test case resulted in a guilty verdict for a Hells Angels member. Michael Laws referred to it as "one up for the good guys" and that it showed that the bylaw could withstand a judicial test (19/3/2010). Laws maintained this stance several months later when Hells Angels decided to subject the ban to judicial review, commenting that the legal challenge had "little merit" ('Hells Angels take court action over patch bylaw'). Figures were used to support the success of the bylaw with Laws stating there had been 15% drop in gang membership since the ban came into force.

Table 5.12 *The number (%) of articles for topic and responses*[1]

Topic	policenumbers	Policeresources	crackdown	Removegang	Improvecommunity	Proban	Antiban	StatusQuo	Otherrespons
Gang Crime	2	3	8	2	1	1	2	0	1
	6.3%	3.8%	8.1%	2.6%	1.5%	0.4%	1.1%	0.0%	3.7%
Gang violence	12	6	21	10	7	6	2	1	7
	37.5%	7.7%	21.2%	13.0%	10.8%	2.7%	1.1%	4.8%	25.9%
Gang fear	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	3.1%	0.0%	1.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3.7%
Gang City	0	3	3	2	12	29	66	3	2
	0.0%	3.8%	3.0%	2.6%	18.5%	12.9%	36.9%	14.3%	7.4%
Gang Identity	0	1	1	2	6	5	7	2	0
	0.0%	1.3%	1.0%	2.6%	9.2%	2.2%	3.9%	9.5%	0.0%
Gang Busting	3	7	18	9	1	14	6	2	0
	9.4%	9.0%	18.2%	11.7%	1.5%	6.2%	3.4%	9.5%	0.0%
Mixed	0	8	6	5	4	8	8	2	2
	0.0%	10.3%	6.1%	6.5%	6.2%	3.6%	4.5%	9.5%	7.4%
Other	0	0	0	1	2	1	1	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.3%	3.1%	0.4%	0.6%	0.0%	0.0%
Negative gang reference	1	3	5	1	16	7	5	2	4
	3.1%	3.8%	5.1%	1.3%	24.6%	3.1%	2.8%	9.5%	14.8%
Positive gang reference	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Law creation	13	47	36	45	16	154	82	9	10
	40.6%	60.3%	36.4%	58.4%	24.6%	68.4%	45.8%	42.9%	37.0%
Total	32	78	99	77	65	225	179	21	27
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

[1] Number and percentage of articles coded 'yes' for each response category
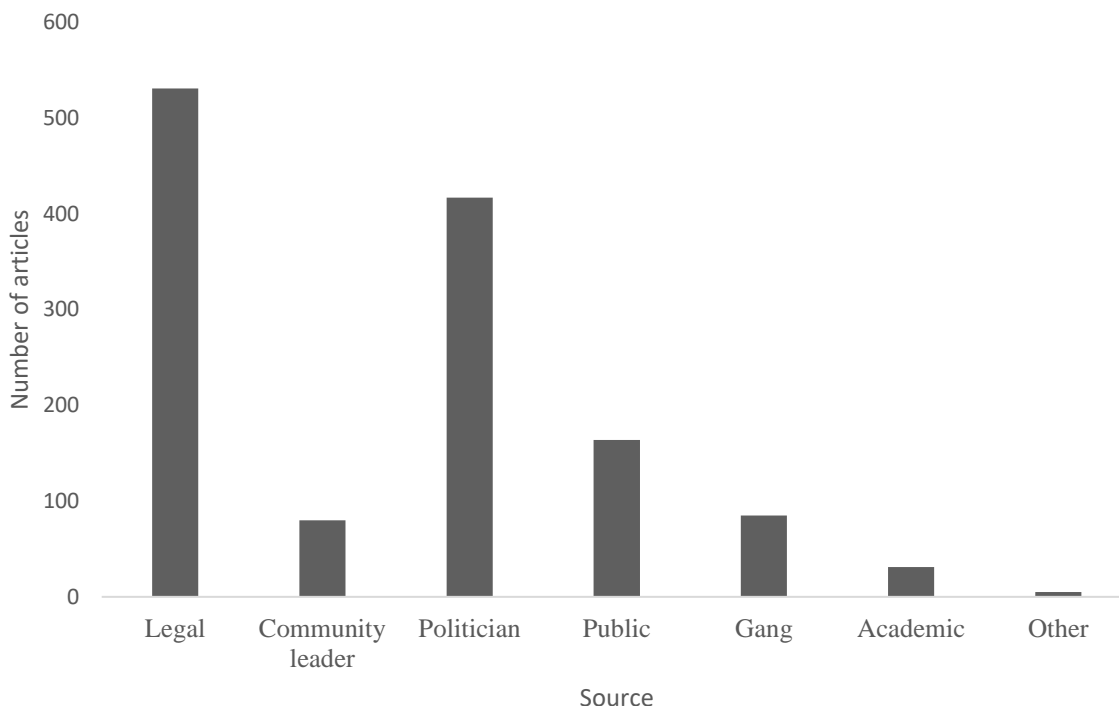
Figure 5.11 The number of articles utilising each source

While source and valence were discussed in the preceding sections, this section presents further information on these variables. Figure 5.11 shows the number of times that each source was used for the reports. 'Legal' was used as a source most frequently (59.6%), followed by 'politician' (46.8%). The least used sources (aside from 'other') were 'gang' (9.5%) and 'academic' (3.5%).

The infrequent use of gang as a source means that the voices of those most affected by the ban were often not heard. Often the gang identities that were used were somehow seen as 'reformed' as if this added to their creditability as a news source. Out of the 86 times that gangs were used as a source, 80% of the time their inclusion as a source was noted as being either a 'prior' gang member (so as to distance them from the current situation) or they were given other attributes

that elevated their status (such as being a community leader). For example, there was Dennis O'Reilly who is a life member of Black Power but is referred to in terms of his work with youth and his tough anti-P stance:

> The whole Māori gang thing, the Black Power and Mongrel Mob, came from the 1970s. It came directly from the North American gang culture. Māori were mugs following that North American model.
>
> When he talked with gang members, they told him how they wanted their children to have a good education, to have a drug-free and violence-free environment, he said.
>
> They know how counterproductive their gang life is. But trying to get politicians, national and local, to listen and to help is practically impossible.
>
> (Ferguson, 8 January 2010)

Other gang commentators included Jude Simpson, a <u>former</u> partner of a gang member:

> People don't get involved with the gangs as a criminal activity but because it gives people a place of belonging, a sense of having somewhere to be. For me when I was in the gangs it represented a place for me to belong. I didn't have a family that made me feel I belonged.

(Collins, 14 April 2008)

This sentiment of gangs being a substitute for family was common for gang sources to refer to, as commented on by another former gang member:

> It was a whanau - all came in to work in the city and we formed there. We were all different Māori from all over and we carried on as whanau ... it's what you usually did. We protected each other. (Karauria, 9 July 2013)

Public understanding of who the gang were came from other sources. Some of these sources provided a positive view of gangs, such as Pita Sharples discussing the Waitakere gangs:

> The progress we have made with the mayor's co-operation in this community with our gangs has been enormous. They used to drive by each other's pads and shoot like they did in Wanganui. Now they meet on marae and discuss problems and their differences and what they can do to defuse this new phenomenon of ad hoc street gangs based on the United States calling themselves Bloods and Crips and similar name. (Collins, 14 April 2008)

As another example, the owner of a Whanganui business described a gang member after the 2006 gang violence:

Take the patch off and he's a bloody gentle giant. I can only speak for the Mongrel Mob, but once you look past the staunchness and the patches they're nice people. I've even seen them help someone across the road. It's because of what's happened that makes it bad for everyone. It's just the word gang. (Britton, 4 March 2006, p. 5)

However, most of the sources represented gangs negatively:

Because history tells us that gangs would be putting their heads down for a little tiny while, while the spotlight is on them, but the moment the spotlight moves they reappear and continue to offend. (11 May 2006)

And like any long war - this one over nothing more than red versus blue - the soldiers that enlist get younger by the day. Almost every day in the north, south, west and east of Auckland street gangs do battle in the colours of their fathers and big brothers. (Gower, 7 May, 2007)

Patches and Harley-Davidsons are becoming something of an anachronism in a gang world that has reduced its public confrontations and focused on the lucrative business of making and distributing methamphetamines. Metaphorically, leathers are being traded in for business suits, a uniform more amenable to the middle-class consumers of the gangs' drug industry.

(Editorial, 18 March 2006)

Table 5.13 *The prominence (number of times source appeared on a page number and number of times source was used in articles where term gang was in headline) of coverage by source*[1]

	Page			Use of Gang
Source	1	2	3	Headline
Legal	94	15	60	257
Politician	67	19	68	259
Community Leader	17	4	16	33
Public	36	6	21	74
Gang	19	2	11	52
Academic	6	3	7	20
Other	0	1	1	1
Total	152	31	115	432

[1] Number of articles that were coded yes for category (page number and headline)

The prominence of articles using the sources is conveyed in Table 5.13. Legal sources were most likely to be in page one articles followed by politician, there was also a high number for public on page one – this is not surprising as often the page one articles related to events where members of the public were commonly used as sources to tell what had occurred. Articles that had the term gang in the headline used the legal and politician source a similar number of times (legal 257 times, politician 259 times). Politician was the source used more often for articles appearing on pages two and three. The number of times that they were used as sources for these articles was far greater than any of the other sources (the next most likely source was public being used 74 times). This indicates that

representations of gang activity and gang identity which had the most prominence were largely controlled by legal and political sources.

The use of sources in the different newspapers is conveyed in Table 5.14. The 'legal' source was again the most used by all newspapers with the usage ranging from 51% of all articles (Wanganui Chronicle Print) to 73.8% (New Zealand Herald Online). The next source was 'politician' which ranged from 36.9% (Wanganui Chronicle Online) to 55.7% (New Zealand Herald Print). 'Community leader' was more commonly used in the Wanganui Chronicle with a 13.6% (Print) and 12.9% (Online) compared to the other newspapers. The use of the public as a source was reasonably consistent amongst the newspapers, except for the Herald Online (10.2%). The Dominion Post (14.7%) and the Herald Online (10.2%) had the greatest usage of 'gang' while the Wanganui Chronicle Online had the least usage (5.5%). National newspapers were also more frequent in their use of 'academic' (Dominion Post 7.6%, New Zealand Herald Print 6.2%), the Wanganui Chronicle Online used this source the least (0.9%).

Table 5.14 *The number (%) of articles for newspaper and source*[1]

Newspaper	Legal	Politician	Community leader	Public	Gang	Academic	Other
Wanganui Chronicle (Print)	105 (20%)	94 (23%)	28 (35%)	41(25%)	18(21%)	4 (13%)	0 (0%)
New Zealand Herald (Print)	51(10%)	54 (13%)	6 (8%)	17(10%)	9 (11%)	6 (19%)	0 (0%)
Dominion	113(21%)	85 (20%)	13 (16%)	42(26%)	27(32%)	14 (45%)	3(60%)

Post							
Wanganui Chronicle (online)	124(23%)	80 (19%)	28 (35%)	45(27%)	12(14%)	2 (6%)	2 40%)
New Zealand Herald (online)	138(26%)	104 (25%)	5 (6%)	19(12%)	19 22%)	5 (16%)	0 (0%)
Total	531 (100%)	417 (100%)	80 (100%)	164 (100%)	85 (100%)	31 (100%)	5 (100%)

[1] Number and percentage of articles coded 'yes' for each response category

The source of community leader was used more often when the topic of gang city increased in coverage. Retailers and business representatives questioned Michael Laws role as 'the good guy' as reports started to emerge as to the cost to the city for being known as the 'gang city' due to his very public stance on gangs. The Chamber of Commerce President commented that:

> No city wants to be known as a gang city, and we're no different to any other city in New Zealand, but unfortunately, it's just the way it played out in the media. ('Small patch makes its presence felt')

When Annette Main took over as Mayor the media focused on her role in trying to salvage the reputation of Whanganui which she maintained was damaged due to Michael Laws' publicity quest. It seemed that the Whanganui saga now had a new villain – Michael Laws. Efforts were made to emphasise that Whanganui gangs were no worse than any other part of the country, as commented by Kim

Wicksteed (a marketing specialists):

> You can obsess over it or you can just get over it. Forget the bloody
> gangs. They're a bunch of no-hopers and, I'll tell you what, every city
> in the country has got a bunch of no-hopers. ('The mayor who aims
> to patch up Whanganui's reputation')

Toward the end of 2010 a judicial review was held on the legality of the bylaw. The review's decision was released in early 2011. The decision was that the bylaw was unlawful as it exceeded the powers granted under the Act. Michael Laws commented that the judge had got it wrong and the review should be appealed (4/3/2011). Ms Main was more subdued, merely stating there were a number of options ('Gang patch ban off, but convictions stay on'). Once the cost of an appeal was known the Council opted to re-draft the bylaw, promising it would have a new one in force soon. The Council drafted a bylaw but it was not enforced. The reason given was that the new nationwide legislation would supersede the need for a bylaw. This legislation bans gang insignia in government owned buildings and grounds which, with some minor exceptions, was already in force (for example Court and social welfare buildings prohibited the wearing of insignia). The Michael Laws dream of streets and complete cities without patches faded into history as the media looked for other stories. Stories about Whanganui gangs ceased to be front page, there were no more 'perfect dramas' to capture media attention in the way the Jhia killing and the outspoken politician standing against evil had previously done.

5.5 Reader Comments

There were two purposes to obtaining the readers' comments. First it was to ascertain ways in which the readers interacted with the articles. Agenda setting and framing theory recognise the role of the reader as to how they interpret meaning and whether they accept or reject the media view (McCombs, Shaw, & Weaver,2014). Whilst an article may attempt to frame an event or issue in a particular way, it will be of no effect unless the reader adopts the frame that has been put forward. To address this, the analysis looked at how readers reacted to articles and also how they interacted with other readers – whether their interaction showed an acceptance or rejection of the media coverage. The second purpose was to gain an insight into whether members of the public were showing signs of a moral panic. During a panic there is a heighten sense of concern and hostility. To see whether this was present in public comments the analysis looked at the valence of the articles and whether readers accepted or questioned these articles. A strong level of acceptance for articles that were anti-gang could demonstrate there was concern. The comments were also coded for support. The intention behind this was to assess whether people who had personal experience showed strong anti-gang feelings. This was based on the assumption that people with personal experience would have a better ability to judge the actual threat posed by gangs, so would have a more proportionate response to what threat was posed. A moral panic can also bring about a sense of community, a division between the folk devil and the general public. To gauge this the analysis included coding for whether the comments showed an 'us' and 'them' stance. The qualitative analysis looked at how the public were conveying their feelings and idea. For example, I

looked for words and terms that showed whether there was a heightened sense of hostility and concern and whether media messages were being relayed. Both online posts and letters to the editor were coded - each contribution is referred to here as being a comment. Public comments in news items such as quotes or 'on the street' polls were not coded but these comments are considered and included in the discussion of the results.

The reader comments were coded in relation to the article that the comments related to. In some instances, the readers' comments, which were letters to the editor, did not specify a particular article. In this case the 'article' coding was determined by the letter content as to the most likely topic and valence that the article may have been. The article type was coded as 'unknown'. There were only thirteen letters that this applied to. In total, 271 readers' comments were coded.

The overall results as to the type of reaction, positions taken, and the types of support given for their particular view are displayed in Table 5.15 which shows the reactions, directions and positions according to the number of responses.

Table 5.15 *Types of reactions, positions, support according to responses*

Response type		Support						Total
		Personal	Media	Friends	Other	None	Research	
		Freq	Freq	Freq	Freq	Freq	Freq	
Reaction	Question Article	28	17	0	4	66	0	115
	Accept Article	25	4	0	3	22	1	55
	Question Reader	21	5	1	0	12	6	45
	Accept Reader	9	2	0	0	10	0	21
	Other	9	3	0	0	20	3	35
Total		92	31	1	7	130	10	271
Positioning	Us/Them	24	15	0	6	45	3	93
	Strong Us/Them	12	0	0	1	12	0	25
	Community	24	6	0	0	13	0	43
	Neutral	32	10	1	0	60	7	110
Total		92	31	1	7	130	10	271

Readers were most likely to question or challenge an article (42%). This large difference to acceptance is due to two particular articles that were subject to reader comments. The two articles appeared on the New Zealand Herald online and readers were invited to comment on them by asking a particular question.

The first article was one where Tariana Turia had put forward a view that not all gang members were criminals (Police not all rapists, gang members not all criminals – Turia, 8/5/2007). The article was balanced with opposing views from Helen Clark, Ron Mark and Michael Laws who stated they were criminals and terrorists (Michel Laws used the term terrorist). At the top of the article readers were invited to submit their views by clicking on a link. When directed to the link

they were asked to comment whether gangs should be banned. They were given the following as being 'key points' for the discussion:

> In the wake of the Wanganui gang incident, debate is raging about how to deal with the gang issue - and whether gangs should be banned (and even if this could be possible).

> Or are people over-reacting in the heat of the moment? Māori Party co-leader Tariana Turia says not all gang members are criminals.

> (Your Views: Should we try to ban gangs? 14/5/07)

The key points given directed readers that the main point of the article was Tariana's views, so comments that rejected her views were coded as questioning the article. The total number of reader comments that were selected to be included in the 'your views' were 37. 20 of these rejected Tariana's views, 9 accepted her view, 3 were directed to comments by other readers rather than the article and 5 commented on the issue as a whole rather than the article itself.

The second article that readers were invited to make comments on was where Tariana Turia said people should take a community approach to the gang issue and listen to what gang members had to say in terms of what the problems were (Time to listen to gangs says Māori MP, 28/6/07). Readers were asked to give their comments on whether she was right. The 'key points' they were given to direct the discussion were:

Māori Party co-leader Tariana Turia says New Zealand has got itself into a "moral panic" over gang culture and should start listening to the gangs' own ideas for change rather than focusing on social control of them.

(Is Turia right, should we listen to gangs' ideas for change?, 7 July 2007)

Comments that opposed Tariana's views were coded as questioning the article. There were 43 comments selected for the 'your views'. 1 person accepted the article, 3 people directed their comments to the issue in general rather than the article, and 39 people rejected Tariana's views. The results of the coding for this second article in particular greatly increased the number of counts for questioning an article.

Without the two sets of reader comments from the Herald Online articles mentioned above the results still showed more readers rejecting articles (29%), but acceptance of the article was very close with 23%.

The support used by readers to question articles fell into three main categories. First there were those who did not mention their source of support. The following exert is from a letter challenging an opinion piece in which the journalist supported the right for gangs to wear patches but there is no strong indication as to why they have this view:

Surely there comes a point at which an individual's right to freedom of expression is balanced by a community's right to live without fear? Gang patches are worn only to bully and intimidate law-abiding citizens, there is no other reason. As Coddington also notes in her column, with freedom comes responsibility. The Hells Angels, and the other criminal-based gangs, are not showing responsibility and therefore they should lose their freedom (Tom Harris, Wellington,20/03/2011)

This was the largest category (57%). With these comments, at times it looked like their support was most likely to have come from media. For example, with the above comment from Tom Harris, the reader came from a town where there are no Hells Angels and this gang had featured in media items around the same time period. However, with situations like this I could not discount the possibility that the person may have had personal experience, or have had input from family or friends, so it had to be coded as 'none'.

Second, there were those who used personal experience as support to counter the media view:

> Most of the news out-of-town friends and relatives hear of our fair city is bad, they tell me, and now we are being promoted as "Gang Central". While I would agree that the criminal and anti-social behaviour of some gang members is something we could do without, I have yet to see any of it in the CB. (K A Benfell, 9 April 2007)

This was the second largest category (24%). Many of these readers came from Whanganui, but there were others who had experienced gangs in other cities.

The third largest category (14%) were those who clearly showed they obtained further information from other media articles. In some situations, they used this information to support claims in other articles, in other situations the information was used to change their perceptions and allowed them to challenge the media perspective:

> It was a relief to get some clarification about gang activity in Wangnaui via the article by Rob Vinsen and John Anderson in Saturday's Chron. I think the fact that only seven incidents occurred in the CBD between 2004 and 2006 and shop lifting was listed among them gives a somewhat different slant to the "Gang violence escalates in Wanganui" headline that appeared on the Fairfax NZstuff website. (Lorna Sutherland, 14 April 2007)

When it came to position, as a single category most readers took a neutral stance (40%). However, 'us / them' also had a high count with 34% and strong us/them had 9%. When combing the us/them and strong us/them this amounts to 43%, so there is a slightly higher count for the us/them category overall. The combined 'us / them' position were more likely to have no source (43%), the next highest was personal experience as their source (39%). Often readers would state their experience but in doing so would be clearly defining separate groups. One example of a 'us / them' comment with personal experience is (any underlining

is my addition to the text):

> I can't ever recall a gang confrontation at Virginia Lake, Kowhai Park, Aramoho Park or at any of our beaches, which involved the general public being at risk.

> Doesn't it make more sense to have these folk readily identifiable (insignia or patch) so that in the unlikely event of a confrontation the Police task is made easier?

> (John Parnell, 05/04/07)

Some examples of a strong 'us / them' position with personal experience include:

> The judge who threw out the first legislation should be locked in stocks at Majestic Square and pummeled with rotten kiwifruit. Any patch member wearing his vile insignia who enters my business is told to get out. I don't give a toss about freedom crier. (Bill_Clinton, 28 June 2012)

> I remember as a kid, hiding where we lived as a gang murdered some near us. Those who think gangs do good, I believe are deluded, and buying into the whole façade of this gang life where gangs are a major player in the criminal rings in NZ. Frankly, I don't think our police can handle this problem. I say call gangs what they are, an act of terrorism, for the terror that they hold on streets, towns, etc. Call the army in, and

have them get rid of the gang problem. (Richard, 14/5/07)

The us/them position did not mean that the reader was against gangs – it just reflected that the gangs were classed as a separate group. For example, there were comments such as this:

I have no worries or concerns over our local MC. What they do is their business and in does not have an impact on me or my family. (Andy666, 28 June 2012)

Compare these comments to this community positioned comment about Michael Laws claims that gangs are terrorists and should have the army sent to control them:

Michael Laws advocates using the sliders against our own people. (Garry Buckman, 15 March 2006)

Readers who used personal experience conveyed some interesting insights. At times they clearly highlighted differences in the understanding of rituals between the reader and the other person. One example of this was a reader who left the footpath to allow a youth to walk past him. The reader considered it to be polite, but the youth responded with the comment "I'm not going to do anything". For the youth this ritual of leaving the footpath was taken as a put-down, that the reader did not trust him. Some comments helped to demonstrate the fluid identity of gang members by showing different ways in which they had acted, and how

this dispelled the concept of gang members were just 'evil'. One example of this is from a woman who commented on the notion that people should not be intimidated by gang members, she wrote:

> On only one occasion was there anticipation of concern. Three very large young men approached the car of friends taking me to my door in Maria Pl late at night. They pointed out quite politely that there was glass on the road in front of the car and the driver might like to back away rather than drive forward. An act of Good Samaritans! Our concern was unfounded.
>
> (Delphine Turney, 12 April 2007)

Comments relating to intimidation or fear of gangs showed that many of those who feared gangs had little personal experience with the gangs. Their fear seemed to be based on secondhand information. This assumption was based on references such as 'I heard' or 'I have read'. Some readers took exception to the way in which the media was creating a feeling of fear:

> I do not support your decision to give the current "gang" activity the publicity you have. I believe it only serves to inflame the fears which some people feel. I say "some people" because many of us are not intimidated by their presence, in fact some of your correspondents speak well of the members of these gang groups. "Intimidation" exists in one's mind. No-one can intimidate me unless I give them permission. Of course, someone can actively try to threaten me, but if they are simply

walking down the street it is surely my perception if I find their dress or appearance 'intimidating'.

(Philip McConkey, 07 March 2006)

To more accurately assess position and support in terms of the reader attitude to gangs and the call to ban gangs (and gang insignia) I compared these two variables (position and support) with the Anti/Pro gang stance variable. These results are in Table 5.16. The combined us/them category was the most prominent position for the Anti-gang stance (61%). The neutral position was the most prominent for the Pro-Gang stance (51%). When it came to support, the Anti-gang stance was most likely not to provide any source (58%), whilst the Pro-Gang stance was most likely to have personal experience as their source (43%). In terms of an overall count between Anti-Gang (122) and Pro-Gang (97) stance the numbers were very close.

Table 5.16 *Positioning and support according to Gang Stance*

Reaction		Pro/Anti			Total
		Anti gang	Pro gang	Neutral	
		Freq	Freq	Freq	
Positioning	Us/Them	58	26	9	93
	Strong Us/Them	17	4	4	25
	Community	12	17	14	43
	Neutral	35	50	25	110
Total		122	97	52	271
Support	Personal	28	42	22	92
	Media	15	12	4	31
	Friends	0	1	0	1
	Other	5	2	0	7
	None	71	33	26	130
	Research	3	7	0	10
Total		122	97	52	271

These results were broken down into separate time sets. The first set ('2006')
covered the time from the first event (the gang violence) up to just prior to the
second event (the shooting of Jhia). The next time set ('2007') covered the time
from the second event up to the passing of the bylaw. The third time set ('2009')
covered the time from the passing of the bylaw up until the end of 2013. The
reason for doing this was to see whether there were differences in reader reactions
to the events and subsequent campaigns to ban gangs.

For the 2006 event (table 5.17) and the following campaign, the coding showed
that readers were mostly using personal experience as their support (69%), while
31% had no support. This was expected as a count of the numbers for people who

identified as being from Whanganui was able to be made with 100% accuracy. All but two of the comments came from Whanganui people, so there would be likely to be more personal experience.

Table 5.17 *Position, support according to gang stance for 2006*

Response		Pro/Anti			Total
		Anti-gang	Pro gang	Neutral	
		Freq	Freq	Freq	
Reaction	Question Article	0	7	1	8
	Accept Article	7	0	0	7
	Question Reader	2	1	0	3
	Accept Reader	0	1	0	1
	Other	2	0	2	4
Total		11	9	3	23
Positioning	Us/Them	3	0	0	3
	Strong Us/Them	3	0	0	3
	Community	2	3	0	5
	Neutral	3	6	3	12
		11	9	3	23
Support	Personal	9	6	1	16
	None	2	3	2	7
Total		11	9	3	23

There was a relatively even split between questioning or accepting an article. Of interest was that accepting an article was only done by readers with an Anti-Gang stance (100%). This does match the results of the coverage from the Wanganui Chronicle – the majority of articles were denouncing gangs and supporting Michael Laws campaign to ban gangs/gang insignia. Questioning an article was only done by Pro-gang and Neutral stance people.

The positioning of readers followed the same trend as the overall results. Anti-

gang stance readers were more likely to adopt a (combined) us/them position (54%). None of the Pro-gang readers adopted a us/them position, for these readers the most common position was neutral (66%).

Just because a reader had an Anti-gang stance did not mean they supported the idea of a patch ban, or that they agreed with Michael Laws campaign. As the campaign continued some Anti-gang stance readers did not feel that the patch ban was required. One classic example of this was Rob Vinsen. After the 2006 event and the initial call to 'ban gangs' he wrote:

> Mayor Laws will have the full support of Wanganui and in particular CBD business owners like myself in attempting to draft such a law. (Rob Vinsen, 8 March 2006)

His position changed and whilst he remained Anti-gang he was one of the prominent voices saying that they were not a big enough problem to warrant a patch ban. He did his own research as to actual offending and used this to counter the view that gangs were a major problem (Retailers say: What gang problem? Wanganui Chronicle, 7/4/2007). As well as commenting in news articles he also wrote letters to the editor, this is an example of one of the anti-gang patch letters:

> That Mayor Laws can try to justify this proposed ban by thrusting a

document at the camera quoting 334 gang incidents in Wanganui over the last three years is a misleading travesty of the truth and tragic national publicity for this city. (Rob Vinsen, 3 April 2007)

The reader comments from the '2007' period showed a strong anti-gang attitude. However, out of the 99 comments that were coded 89 of these were within two months of the killing of Jhia. A majority of the comments (80) were the ones made in reference to the two Herald articles and invitation to comment that was discussed above. The emotions that the killing of an innocent child evoked were a strong factor with these comments. For example, these were some of the comments made on the your views forum (14/5/07):

'This act was cowardly and murderous and every effort should be made to catch those 'individuals' responsible.'

'There is no way to paint them up and make them seem good, because the guts of it is, a baby died because of these gangs. A baby. They took the life of an innocent child. Try defending that Ms. Turia.'

'The person or persons who killed that little baby are deserving of special attention when they finally go down for it? NZ gangs are a cancer on society and for a little country the numbers are ludicrous.'

'Its time to get rid of these baby Murderers once and for all. How gutless of these guys to go out and now murder defenceless babies, oh yeah – real tough men hiding behind their patches. I noticed how they also cover their faces on TV - how coward! I guess if I was a gutless baby murderer, I too would want to cower and hide....'

'to all MPs; you have the cheek to set up rules and regulations to ban discipline when you cant even protect our streets this would not have happened if something more effective had been placed, you are to blame for the death of baby "Jhia".

(Please note the reference to discipline was a reference to the Crimes (Substituted Section 59) Amendment Act 2007, commonly referred to as the anti-smacking bill, which was passed in May 2007).

These feelings were still strong with the second article at the end of June where readers were again invited to make comments:

'So singling out the gangs has just been a ploy to distract us from "rocketing interest rates, bureaucratic bumbling or insider trading", has

it? Last I heard, interest rates, bureaucrats, and insider traders didn't finance the illicit drug trade or shoot babies.'

'We should listen to them as to how they plan home invasions and deal in drugs and stolen property. And maybe we should listen to them as they hide, not having the balls to front up when they kill little children'

'Gangs murder a little baby girl, but we should all sit down and talk about that and make sure everyone is feeling all warm and fuzzy.'

The intensity created by the event and the reporting which focused on the tragic loss of life created an atmosphere and public dialogue that supported any measure possible to stamp out gangs:

'They should be locked up and their assets seized'

'gangs should be taken to IRAQ to really know what fighting is about and leave them there, Bring back our boys who because of duty fight for their country. Send those mongrels to IRAQ, I bet they won't know what to do with a rifle when a sniper comes up behind them, they will probably piss their pants.'

'Gangs should be banned and all members thrown in jail.'

'membership of gangs should me made so difficult with targeting of prospects by law enforcement that any prospect will think twice. When arrested, confiscate their patches and destroy them, with publicity.'

'These gangs such as the Black power and mongrel mob are not wanted in society, they should be banished back to their islands and never allowed to enter the great land of Aotearoa again.'

The reader comments that could be found stopped at the end of June 2007 and did not start again until June 2008. These comments that followed up to the passing of the legislation had a more moderate tone, even from Anti-gang stance readers. For example:

Non-consorting law Banning gang patches is a start. Gangs exist only for the purpose of criminal activity, and are responsible for a methamphetamine criminal empire worth more than $1 billion in New Zealand.

A non-consorting law must also be introduced. This would state that the

ability of known criminals to congregate or communicate is at the discretion of the police. This would mean the end of gangs and the P trade. (Don Caird, New Zealand Herald Print, 8/5/2009)

It cannot be stated with certainty that all reader comments during 2008/09 had a moderate tone. As mentioned in the Methods chapter the change in platforms for the online versions of New Zealand Herald and Wanganui Chronicle did mean a loss of reader comments. One observation that was made when comparing the Herald online comments in 2007 and letters to the editor was that the letters to the editor tended to be more moderate and less emotive than the online comments. For example compare these letters to the editor in May 2007 to the comments provided above that came from the online forums:

I disagree with Wanganui Mayor Michael Laws (May 8).

I don't think that gangs should be banned -- this would just make them more difficult to track and control. It would be the same as in Britain, where they banned hand guns and now police say there are more guns on the streets than ever.

Were gangs made illegal, more people would join them.

It would be much better to make life very difficult for gangs to deal in drugs and crime. (Glen Towler, Dominion Press, 10 May 2007)

… It might be true that most, or a minority, of gang members are active in crime, but till we know the facts let's refrain from making them up. What we know is that one person, not a group of people, in Wanganui fired a shot that hit a child and not a group of children. It's to be hoped the law will deal with this appropriately.

I admire the fact, too, that Mrs Turia got in and sought to deal with the issues in Wanganui. She didn't stand back and pass judgment. (Mandy White, Dominion Press, 12 May 2007)

In the wake of the Wanganui gang shooting all we hear is the call for police, more police, we need more police (Girl, 2, shot dead, May 6). This nonsense had been going on too long. Unfortunately when the offenders are caught they are not always dealt with severely enough. A smack (perhaps the anti- smacking bill will ban that!) on the wrist for some seems a norm. The Government can rush into law many things that appear trivial but when this kind of thing goes on they seem to become even more numb between the ears. (Bruce Fuller, New Zealand Herald, 13 May 2007)

Given these differences it is possible that the online comments during the period did contain stronger feelings towards gangs.

In terms of what the position, support and reaction to articles in relation to gang stance showed there were again similarities to the overall and 2006 results (with the exception of questioning/accepting articles difference was due to the two Herald articles as explained above). The most prominent position for Anti-gang readers was the combined us/them (67%). Pro-gang readers were relatively even between us/them, community and neutral. Anti-gang readers were more likely not to provide evidence of their support for their view (73%), with Pro-gang readers once again there was a relatively even split as to the source of support.

Table 5.18 *Responses in terms of pro or anti gang stance*

Response		Pro/Anti			Total
		Anti gang	Pro gang	Neutral	
		Freq	Freq	Freq	
	Question Article	64	8	0	72
	Accept Article	2	1	10	13
	Question Reader	3	0	0	3
Reaction	Other	9	1	1	11
Total		78	10	11	99
	Us/Them	47	4	1	52
	Strong Us/Them	6	0	0	6
	Community	5	5	7	17
Positioning	Neutral	20	1	3	24
Total		78	10	11	99
	Personal	6	3	2	11
	Media	10	3	2	15
	Other	5	0	0	5
Support	None	57	4	7	68
Total		78	10	11	99

As with the 2006 results there were some readers who had showed an anti-gang stance but did not agree that the gang problem was out of control These readers tended to be people from Whanganui. For example, with the following reader, he had shown an anti-gang stance in other letters but at no time supported the need for a ban, or the need for heightened publicity:

The Herald on Sunday has denigrated our city more than any gang which may have members here (Wanganui: a city riven by gang rivalry, October 19). It is no wonder when I travel around New Zealand on business I am met with the same reactions everywhere when I say I come from Wanganui. How are the gangs?

How can you live in Wanganui? Business people, people looking for a retirement property, families with young children _ these kinds of people and more are deciding not to come to Wanganui because papers are denigrating our town.

Please, just stop. We are not a gang city. We have a lower crime rate than Palmerston North or New Plymouth, and a lower gang presence than many other towns. We are struggling to rebuild a provincial, mainly agricultural economy, badly damaged in the 1990s. And we are already feeling the chill winds of the global economic crisis. I challenge you to send a reporter back to Wanganui. We are a dynamic and talented river city, full of hope for the future. (Dave Feickert, 26/10/2008)

I fail to understand how banning badges, patches or bandannas will make any difference. Any gang member can still walk down any street he or she wants to, together and in groups, without insignia. (Dave Feickert, 09/04/2007)

The reader comments that came after the enactment of the legislation showed a quite different result in terms of Anti-gang compared to Pro-gang/Neutral compared to prior years. The 2006 results had shown each stance was very close, while the 2007 results had a large majority as Anti-gang. The 2009 results had 52% of readers with a Pro-gang stance compared to 22% with an Anti-gang stance.

There were 149 responses in total for the 2009period. Out of these, 55 of these were a string of dialogue from one article, the interaction that was created from this set of reader comments is discussed below. When it came to support overall there was a slight trend towards personal experience (43%) compared to none (36%). The readers who commented in this period were generally Wanganui people (particular towards the 2010-2013 time). The lower number of personal experience for the figures would be due to coding it as none because there was no specific mention of a support. However, given the large number of Whanganui people commenting (73% of the comments were from Wanganui people) there would have most likely have been a higher level of personal experience attached. In terms of support the Pro-gang stance had personal experience as the most likely support (42%), both Anti-gang and Neutral were very closed between personal

and none as their support.

The articles commented on had a very even spilt between a negative valence (49.5%) and a positive or neutral valence (50.5%). This was reflected in the acceptance and questioning of articles for the Anti-gang stance readers (21% questioned, 33% accepted) and the Pro-gang stance people (28% questioned, 26% accepted). During this period the number of articles that had 'gang city' as a topic increased (as discussed under topic). The topic of gang city did feature more often in the 2009 results (15%) compared to the 2007 results (4%). The impact of the stigma attached to Whanganui as a result of the gang publicity was present in reader comments:

> We do need to have positive stories about Wanganui in the newspaper as headlines as well.

> When we get the bad stuff in big bold headlines on our front page this has a negative effect.

> I have never said nor thought of Whanganui as "gang controlled" however neither I nor anyone else has any control over public perceptions of headlines they read especially when those headlines originate with community leaders.

As well as concern over the image of Whanganui as a 'gang town' there were a number of comments concerned about the financial cost of the bylaw:

> The gang patch by law is as far as I'm concerned, a total waste of my rates monies and could be put to far better use as far as I am concerned.

> Why should our precious rates be wasted on a bylaw that does nothing more than tell gang members how to dress? lets put that money into something positive for the town.

The qualitative analysis identified some interesting findings pertaining to how readers interacted with each other. The first posts would 'set the tone' for the discussion and almost seemed to create a control over the discussion. This occurred in both the online and letters comments. The readers who first posted seemed to keep an eye on the interactions and felt compelled to interject at times. The comments that followed would either be a new view or would accept or reject the initial comments. There was no reply comment unless the reader had a strong like or dislike to the prior comments. Hence if the first comments had no reply comments, it was likely that the readers did not feel strongly about the comment.

One example of reader interaction is the following (selected) debate between readers for a particular article is shown below.

Initial comments:

Can the Council (WDC) please let the public of Wanganui know the cost of this bylaw to date (2008-2012).

As with the prayer issue (2010-2012) it has been the ratepayers who bear the brunt ... from their wallets. Ironically, with both issues nothing has/or will change ... taking the insignia away (banning it) won't remove the gang ... removing the prayer from the agenda hasn't seen 1000's of "discriminated" (previously) public flocking to council meetings and, at what cost. Wake up Wanganui...!!! (Hoverer - Lower Hutt - 02:42 PM Wednesday, 1 Aug 2013)

The Hell's Angel's had their 20th anniversary on the weekend and there seemed to be be no trouble or arrests at all. A big fuss over nothing this by law except the monies that will be spent trying to pass it. (Andy666 - 02:42 PM Wednesday, 21 Aug 2013)

Further and reply comments:

The threat of gang violence by the Hell's Angels, as suggested by their lawyer, is pure blackmail. Can we afford not to stand up to the Hell's Angels? Law and order MUST rule! We will not be threatened!"

(CQuill - 02:42 PM Wednesday, 21 Aug 2013)

I was at the entire meeting and the Hells Angels lawyer definitely was not making veiled threats about violence. What he said is that there have already been a number of attacks in Wanganui by thugs attacking people for wearing the wrong color clothing. He said if certain gangs can't wear their patches and t-shirts then that will increase the gangs reliance on colors to identify each other and might result in more innocent people getting attacked by dumb thugs simply because they were wearing the wrong colors. That wasn't a threat, it was pointing out an unintended consequence of this nonsense bylaw. He also talked a lot of sense about putting the council's money into youth programs and sports instead of lawyers fees to argue over this bylaw for years to come. Amen to that! (Ernest1 - 02:42 PM Wednesday, 21 Aug 2013).

@ CQuill. Please point out in the article where it says the 81 MC have threatened violence. I can't see it anywhere. It is people like you who are dangerous, by saying things that are not really there. When have you heard of the 81 MC beating on people for wearing the wrong colours? Their lawyer was just stating what other gangs in this fine city of ours do for wearing red or blue. I don't see where you get the idea that the 81 MC have actually threatened the general public with violence. I would rather walk past a group of 81 MC members than to walk past some of the young youth that roam our streets at night wearing red or blue t shirts. (Andy666 - 02:42 PM Wednesday, 21

Aug 2013).

@ Andy666 i totally agree with your comments but you must remember that most Whanganui people have no clue about this subject they listen only to what the paper says or what certain radio people say and believe it all without doing any real research at all. Then they spout off the second-hand claptrap as if they know what they are talking about.

(RegS - 02:42 PM Wednesday, 21 Aug 2013)

Andy666 and Reg Skipworth - I am not one of the "most Whanganui people" who "have no clue"... There are some of us who come from and have lived in areas in the world where we have seen the results of allowing gangs to exist and grow in communities - bringing with them drugs, violence, intimidation, stand-off tactics, posturing and a type of "culture" that is not suited to the "family friendly" city that Wanganui is and is portrayed to be. The type of argument being used by the HA's lawyer, is one of veiled threat and intimidation - a threat of what will happen if a certain group does not get its way - but events that would NOT happen if these gangs were not here in the first place! Yes, I also hate to see my hard-earned buck going towards issues like this but every community has the right to exist with NO fear of intimidation - be that from a gang patch or from the threat of being forced to pay for endless legal battles - and for that right, I am willing to haul out that buck and to stitch up these unwanted elements! (CQuill

- 02:42 PM Wednesday, 21 Aug 2013)

This interaction was one of many for the particular article (there were 75 posts in total) and both 'Andy666' and 'Hoverer' were very active in the discussion. They agreed with each other and worked together to 'defeat' other readers when their views were challenged.

The above interaction is also of interest as CQuill reactions to the article show how the structure of the article had created a particular interpretation for the reader. The headline for the article was "Patch ban 'will spark violence'". The first sentence stated that the Hells Angels would 'fight' any patch ban by-law. The start to the article created a perception for CQuill that the Hells Angels intended to use violence to 'get its way'. This perception remained unchanged even though the article also stated:

> Mr Rollo also argued that the bylaw had little community support and that violence against innocent people would increase if it was passed.

> 'The incidents of people being attacked for wearing the 'wrong' colour clothing will increase, because the importance of the colour of clothing will become greater to the gangs' (Emmerson, 2012)

Despite other readers providing other interpretations and (in the case of Ernest 1) first-hand experience of what was said and how it should be interpreted CQuill

would not budge from the interpretation that he/she had. This demonstrates a powerful framing effect. The choice of headline, selective quotes at the start of the article, and focus on aggressive words framed the event as one that people should be fearful. CQuill could only get the view of 'violent Hells Angels' from reading the article and its message remained a strong one for that reader.

This page is intentionally blank.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION

The object of this research has been to explore how the identity of a minority group (the gangs) had been constructed to the point that representations of the identity were criminalised. The method chosen was to analyse media during the crucial period. This period was defined as being 2004 until 2013. The reason for this time selection was that I needed to understand the coverage prior to the first suggestion of the banning of gang insignia and also follow whether media and public comment still continued with support for the idea of banning identity. This method allowed me to obtain a window in time as to the thoughts of the media, politicians and the public that was not censored though hindsight, years after the events. The analysis revealed that during the crucial period gangs started as a nuisance, but the attention given to them and the portrayal of them as demons, or 'folk devils' (Cohen, 1972) gave strength to the idea that their identity was a threat and not deserving of existing within 'normal' community. This was an extension of previous gang discussion; the folk devils were given further attributes associated to the climate of the time that helped to make it a matter of identity rather than behaviour. This led to the introduction of a law that went further than previous gang orientated legislation in New Zealand.

The law that was created prevented the wearing of gang symbols without the need for any other criminal action (such as an intent to intimidate). Whilst the

legislation stipulated that a 'gang' would have to meet certain criteria similar to other gang orientated legislation (such as evidence of criminal offending) it also named certain groups as being automatically subject to the legislation. These groups who comprised the most prominent gang identities known were automatically deemed to be 'criminal' (*Gang Insignia Act 2009*). This evolution of gang identity becoming automatically subject to criminal sanctions was created due to specific historical, political and cultural contexts occurring during the period (Hall, 2000). Whilst all laws are in effect social constructions that are designed to meet the prevailing needs of a particular society, this study is focused on the reasons why this particular law was enacted. It is argued that this particular law was symbolic rather than one that was capable of addressing any real problems that existed (Critcher, 2008; Cohen, 2002). The process that was used to construct this identity has all the hallmarks of a moral panic. It was a panic that centred around an existing devil, but a panic was able to be created due to the events of 2006 and 2007 in combination with the external factors and context occurring at the time.

To evaluate this construction as a moral panic, guidance is taken from Monod's (2017) approach to assessing moral panics. Her approach argues that analyses of moral panics need to begin by first considering why it is believed a panic has occurred. During this initial stage the event is not classed as a moral panic – the idea is to see if it has the initial hallmarks that suggest moral panic models may be appropriate. I first needed to answer why I think a panic might have occurred?

Monod (2017) suggests that this answer can be found by first looking at what happened, whether a folk devil was created, and looking at whether there is evidence that the response was disproportionate. I looked at what happened. I suggest that this can be broken down into four elements. There are two main events (the 2006 event and the 2007 event) and two phases of the campaign to remove gang identity (the dialogue after the 2006 event and the dialogue after the 2007 event).

The 2006 event was the episode that created the first phase of dialogue to remove gang identity. In that event there was violence between gang members in two public places (a garage and the hospital). This type of event was not unique in Whanganui. In 2004 gangs had been referred to in relation to the death of a young man (Jeremy Frew) and there had been an earlier clash between gangs in 2005, but this did not generate the same level of discussion as to 'the gang problem'. Since the event was not unusual this required asking why did the 2006 event spark what was potentially a moral panic?

The difference seems to be due to the ability of the media to produce an easily recognisable folk devil (Cohen, 1972; Heir, 2003). The 2004 killing of Jeremy Frew was committed by youths who were not members of the any of the patched gangs in the area. The discussion of the event was directed at youths who were referred to as "gangs of young people" ('We have to stop the gangs', Wanganui Chronicle, 13/11/2004), and "hard-core young people" (Scared Wanganui kids arming themselves, says social worker, Wanganui Chronicle, 16/11/2004). However, the blame for the way these youths acted focused on the evils of drugs,

alcohol and the lack of resources for young people rather than individual responsibility of the youths themselves. In this dialogue all of the actors were victims – the youths who were causing problems and the youths who were the victims of the troublemakers. The 'devil' was an abstract combination of social conditions rather than a clear identifiable threat that could be targeted (Cohen, 2002). As a result, the discussion that followed focussed on improving community standards rather than the suppression of the devil.

In January 2005 there were a series of drive-by shootings. The Wanganui Chronicle produced two articles outlining what had happened. In each of these articles (both of which featured on page 1) there was mention of potential risk to innocent members of the public if it continued, but there was no outcry or elevated discussion about 'the gang problem'. It is suggested that for this event the risk (or threat) to the community was not seen as being imminent – it was too remote to allow for a devil to take shape. In June there was a gang confrontation in public, but this only resulted in one small article on page 2 of the Wanganui Chronicle under the 'briefs column' (a side column that contains a number of different news events). In this situation the lack of media attention to the event meant the threat and blame was not further explored.

November 2005 had two episodes of interest. First, in early November there were two articles on the threat gangs posed to young people. This type of discussion had the makings of a moral panic - our children are being harmed (Johansson, 2000; Best, 1990). However, there was one problem – there was no actual threat (Young, 2013). The first article started with Michael Laws' claims that gangs

were recruiting from schools but then went onto discredit his claims ('Hey, kid: want to join a gang?, Wanganui Chronicle, 4/11/05). The second article was also directed at confirming that the claims were false. This article included comments from the president of the Black Power that refuted Michael Laws claims and these comments were supported by others (Gangs don't recruit from school, Wanganui Chronicle, 10/11/05). Hence, in this situation there was an attempt to construct a folk devil but the 'devil' was able to resist the construction with the assistance of the media and the lack of a concrete threat (de Young, 2004; McRobbie and Thornton, 1995; Young, 2013). The research conducted by Veno & Van Den Eynde (2007) has also demonstrated how effective use of the media by the potential 'folk devil' can reduce or eliminate a panic. The researchers assisted an outlaw motorcycle club (OMC) during the early stages of a panic. They guided the gang leaders in creating a positive media profile that addressed the concerns raised during the panic. The result was decreased public support for the government campaign and an increased support for OMCs. As a result, the government led panic ceased and media reporting became more favourable to the OMC's.

The second episode was in late November. There was a gang fight in the $2 dollar shop between Mongrel Mob and Hell's Angels. This made the front page of the Chronicle. However, as with the 2004 events, the blame was not directed at individual responsibility. The focus of the article was on the failure of the 111 system and how this created a threat to the community (111 system fails again, Wanganui Chronicle, 24/11/05, pg1). This discussion as to the threat the system posed only produced one further article. In that article the police response

countered the claims made in the first article. Without further support for the initial claims of the threat, the potential devil did not evolve.

The 2006 event made the front page (Gang brawls provoke stern police response, Wanganui Chronicle, 1/3/06). The initial article covering the event shows clear distinctions to the 2005 events. Unlike the 2005 events this was described as 'gang warfare' instead of an 'incident' (19/1/05), 'a gang confrontation' (10/6/05) or 'a bashing' (24/11/05). The term war and warfare was used more than once, also terms such as blood, violence and ugly were used to describe the events. The initial article also identified a threat (public safety) and allocated blame for this threat to individuals (the gangs) (Cohen, 2002; Critcher, 2008; Monod, 2017; Morgan, Dagistlanli & Martin, 2010). Boundaries were drawn, with Michael Laws stating:

> Wanganui belongs to decent people – these feuding gangs need to get the message that their violent lawlessness will not be tolerated. (Gang brawls provoke stern police response, Wanganui Chronicle, 1/3/06, p. 1)

A moral panic will occur when a "condition, episode, person or groups of persons" (Cohen, 1972, p. 9) is identified as being a threat; the level of threat posed by the (e.g.) group is elevated through dissemination and exaggeration of the threat, resulting in a reaction to the group that is disproportionate to the actual threat posed.

During the 'inventory' stage there is a stocktake of what is believed to have happened (Thompson, 1998). This is when the media will convey its preliminary representations of the events and the actors. In doing this the media may engage in over-reporting to increase the newsworthiness of the event. As Cohen (2002, p.26) explains in relation to the initial reporting of the clash between Mods and Rockers:

Such distortion took place primarily in terms of the mode and style of presentation characteristic of most crime reporting: the sensational headlines, the melodramatic vocabulary and the deliberate heightening of those elements in the story considered as news.

The initial coverage demonstrated these qualities. As well as the examples relating to the first Wanganui Chronicle article discussed above, the first media representations of the 2006 event in other publications used headlines that declared 'Extra patrols following gang violence' (New Zealand Herald online) and 'Gangs clash in streets of Wanganui' (Dominion Post). These articles told readers that the gangs had engaged in 'vicious assaults' and that they need to be controlled by the police, who were doing everything they could to 'make the streets safe'. The use of the plural (streets) gave a sense of a threat that was widespread. These images portrayed the gangs as predatory people who were a threat to public safety (Katz, 2011; Morgan, Dagistlanli & Martin, 2010; Cohen, 2002; Monod, 2017).

The folk devil was being re-created , it was emerging as a new type of threat..

This process was assisted through techniques such as converging, where an event is linked to an acknowledged or well-known threat so as to make sense of the new threat (Hall et al, 1978). Michael Laws early statements (3/3/06) that the gangs were terrorists created a link to popular images of the terrorist threat. This was prior to the Urewera raids of 2007, so the popular image was of complete outsiders (foreigners) who did not share any of the same moral codes as the rest of the community. Rothe & Muzzatti (2004) comment that the term 'terrorism' is used politically to create 'the perception of the perpetrators' actions as unprovoked and inexplicably evil' (p.331). As such, the initial coverage of the event in 2006 created a building block for the construction of the gang identity as the folk devil. They were outsiders, terrorists, who could cause more trouble at any minute; they had become the 'other' (Heir, 2003; Jensen, 2011). The continued dialogue through the two campaigns added to the definitive shape of the devil (and are discussed below), so the second component as to why I thought there was a moral panic was answered – there was a clear folk devil. It had been there but was waiting for a new set of attributes.

It is suggested that the idea that a clear devil had been developed is supported in the results. The qualitative analysis of the news reports showed an increasing use of an 'us and them' terminology in terms of how gangs should be considered. Also, the results from the analysis of the reader comments showed an increase in an Anti-gang stance from 47% (2006) to 78% (2007). The Anti-gang stance demonstrated a clear preference to an 'us and them' position (54% for 2006, 67% for 2007). These results indicate that the perception of gangs as outsiders, as folk devils, did increase during the campaigns. The contribution of the panic to

feelings towards gangs can be considered when viewing the 2009 reader comment results that showed the Anti-Gang stance dropped to 22% compared to 52% of readers with a Pro-gang stance.

For the third component, as to whether the response was disproportionate, I considered the response and the resulting legislation. It is difficult to make an assessment of whether the emotional response of the public to the killing of Jhia was disproportionate (Cohen, 2002; Garland, 2008). It is also acknowledged that in looking at whether there was disproportion only the actual threat might be measured, what the threat represents is much harder to quantify (Cohen, 2002). To assist with looking at the actual threat and whether there may be disproportion I referred to indicators suggested by Goode & Ben-Yehuda (2009).

These indicators included: figures about the problem being exaggerated and/or fabricated, rumours are generated about non-existent harm, the attention paid to the threat is much greater than that paid to other threats with an equal or greater level of actual damage, and finally the attention paid to the threat is greater compared to other times without 'any corresponding increase in objective seriousness'.

When looking at whether there was evidence of the problem being exaggerated, one demonstration that was present relates to an article in the Dominion Press which stated:

Yesterday, Mr Laws provided figures gained under the Official Information Act

that showed public gang clashes in Wanganui had increased significantly in recent years - from 11 brawls in 2004 to 48 in 2006.

> Dishonesty offences committed by gang members -- which include theft, burglary and shoplifting -- had almost tripled from 26 to 77 between 2005 and 2006, and incidents of violence had more than doubled, from 22 to 52. ('Figures justify gang regalia ban, says Laws', 4/4/2007, p. 8)

The figures given do not accurately convey the gang problem as it was being presented. The gang problem was being defined and portrayed in the media as being public fighting between gang members. This definition of 'gang clash' was not clearly provided to the police who compiled the report (New Zealand Police, 2008). As such the police included incidents that they thought were a 'gang clash'. The result was many of the incidents given did not fall under the public 'brawls' between gang members. With the 2006 'clashes', 6 of the 11 clashes were public fighting (New Zealand Police, 2008). In terms of the 2007 'clashes' that Laws uses to show the problem is 'getting worse', only 15 related to actual fighting between gang members (New Zealand Police, 2008). Out of these 15 'clashes', five took place at a private residence rather than in public (New Zealand Police, 2008). The remainder of the 2007 'clashes' related to incidents such as having alcohol in a liquor ban area, merely being present in the CBD, verbal abuse at a player while watching a rugby match and results of searches (New Zealand Police, 2008). Some of the searches did produce weapons such as knives and spanners but others only produced cannabis (New Zealand Police, 2008).

The figures do show an increase in public violence between gang members (from 6 to 10 incidents). However, both the news article and the report provided by the police had said any increases could be due to updating the National Intelligence Application system in 2005. The figures were also inflated due to using the broad search criteria for reported offences and ones that were 'gang related' (so that not all of the incidents involved gang members).

The statistics of overall offending in Whanganui and also for gang offending (as presented in the police report also show the attention paid to the threat of gang violence and intimidation was much greater than that paid to other threats with an equal or greater level of actual damage (see table 6.1 and 6.2). In relation to gang offending, the figures for the time period of 2004 until 2006 show that dishonesty offences were more frequent than violent offences. It was only in 2007 that violent offences were more common that dishonesty offences in relation to gangs. The increase of violence over dishonesty was largely due to the shooting of Jhia which resulted in multiple entries of incidents for the same event (ie one person could be charged for multiple offences and each of these were recorded as separate offences). For overall offending within Whanganui, dishonesty offences were by far the most frequent offence

Table 6.1 *Police report on gang offending 2004-2007*

Year	Violence	Sexual	Drugs/Anti-social	Dishonesty	Property Damage	Property Abuse/ firearms	Administrative
2004	12		17	28	14	6	

2005	22		13	26	7	10	4
2006	52		33	77	17	8	4
2007	99		39	90	18	8	8

Table 6.2 *Wanganui Offending in total 2004-2007 (taken from Statistics New Zealand)*

Year	Violence	Sexual	Drugs/Anti-social	Dishonesty	Property Damage	Property Abuse/ firearms	Administrative
2004	693	36	500	2763	634	229	69
2005	738	26	419	2661	610	175	73
2006	787	44	501	2977	684	179	82
2007	758	28	559	2746	731	169	58

The indicator of the attention paid to the threat is greater compared to other times without 'any corresponding increase in objective seriousness' can be seen by referring to the above mentioned statistics as to offending and comparing it to the elevated level of reporting as to the Whanganui 'gang problem'. As the results show, the number of articles for all newspapers went from 25 news articles in 2004 (which were mostly from the Wanganui Chronicle), to 117 articles in 2006 and 197 articles in 2007.

Taking this all into consideration, in terms of the actual, objective, threat there did not appear to be a reason for the heightened attention.

In terms of the response from political and law enforcement, as previously mentioned, this legislation went further than other gang orientated legislation as it did not require any actions on the part of gangs or gang members other than wearing their gang insignia. Groups were identified as gangs without having to first meet the criteria of establishing that the particular group or members of the group were engaging in criminal behaviour. This response was commented on as being 'not a silver bullet' against gangs in the media articles and parliamentary papers, so it was arguably a symbolic gesture towards appeasing public demand

rather that a means that would seek an effective solution to any problems (Critcher, 2008; Cohen, 2002). The response was not one that would alleviate the problems that were targeted, and it was , arguably, an exaggerated response to the actual threat posed by gang offending. The overall conclusion was that this was an episode that involved a moral panic.

If there was a panic, then what was the panic about? A moral panic is not about the folk devil, it is what the devil represents as a threat to moral standards (Cohen, 2002). To evaluate what the gang identity represented I re-looked at what was said and by whom. I also considered the social and political issues present during the two campaign phases.

As discussed above, the 2006 initial events were described in the Wanganui Chronicle in terms of war. References were made to 'warfare', 'warring rivals', 'terrorists', 'launching an offensive' (against the gangs), 'gang fortress'. There were also references and photos of armed police dealing with gang members. These were comments and insertions (in terms of the photos) that were made by the media and politicians (the politicians being Michael Laws). In combination with this was the police comments and response. This was centred on the police doing a strong crackdown that focused on the behaviour. For example, a quote from Senior Sergeant Duncan McLeod stated:

> The violence that occurred today in Wanganui is not acceptable and will be met with a strong police response. (Gang brawls provoke stern police response, Wanganui Chronicle, 1/3/06, p, 1)

The police comments referred to the event as 'the violence', and also referred to gangs in the sense of 'criminal groups'. Much of the police comment was focused on reassuring people that the police had things in hand – 'the police were ready for anything', 'police are prepared for the worst scenario'. The first Wanganui Chronicle article stated:

> Extra police will be rostered on to patrol the streets and ensure the safety of all Wanganui people for as long as it takes. (Gang brawls provoke stern police response, Wanganui Chronicle, 1/3/06, p. 1)

The message was there was a war but not to worry as the 'army' (police) had it under control. Police as a solution to the problem was prominent with the early articles. There were calls for extra police ('For God's sake give us the resources', Wanganui Chronicle, 2/3/06). These calls were made by Michael Laws, Greg O'Connor and Annette King.

A desire to increase police powers and resources coupled with a political desire to be seen as being tough on crime has been attributed as a motivator for law enforcers to engage in a panic (Morgan, Dagistlanli & Martin, 2010; Roguski and Tauri, 2012). The reasons behind this motivation could be viewed in terms of the decivilizing process. When there is an incident such as the 2006 event this can increase public perception as to levels of danger and reduce their faith in the ability of the state to protect them. To counter this, politicians and police seek to reassure the public that they have or will get the resources needed to protect them

(Mennell, 1990; Rohloff, 2008). The comments by police following the 2006 incident were directed at reassurance that they had the situation under control. These comments did appear to relieve some of the anxiety created as shown in the following public comment (these types of comments are different to the reader comments coded for, these are ones that featured as an article and coded as an article):

I have always felt safe but did not with the gang violence until I knew the police were patrolling. (Our readers say, Wanganui Chronicle, 4/3/06, p. 1)

This public comment potentially reflects decivilizing processes in action – the person felt an increased sense of danger and was unsure of how they would be protected until they knew the police had increased their presence.

Other public comments also demonstrated indicators of decivilization in the form reduced mutual identification and a desire to remove the uncivilised from their community:

'we should put up a sign saying gangs not wanted'

'time they (the gangs) were stopped altogether'

'I have had a gutsful of these gangs. They should all be driven out of town.'

However, these comments were also tapered with:

> 'Yes of course I feel safe in Wanganui….these gang things will flare
> up'

> 'I do not feel intimidated by the Mongrel Mob at all. The other day
> they helped me to find a street that I was looking for. They really tried
> to help me and were very polite'

> (All taken from: Our readers say, Wanganui Chronicle, 4/3/06, p. 1)

Michael Laws solution of removing the gang presence by banning patches would have appeased the section of the public who wanted the 'other' removed ('Council gets tough on gang `strut factor', 11/3/2006). The need for this type of action was supported by follow up reports that contained what Cohen (1972) calls 'prediction' – media reports that create the feeling that what has happened will happen again. One example of this was the comments from Michael Laws that:

> Because history tells us that gangs would be putting their heads down
> for a little tiny while, while the spotlight is on them, but the moment
> the spotlight moves they reappear and continue to offend. (New
> Zealand Herald, 11 March 2006, p11, Recent gang violence brings
> action from Mayor Michael Laws and his council)

The Dominion Press coverage of the event differed in a number of aspects. The

initial event was on page 3 of the first edition – it did not make the second edition.

The event was described as a vicious assault and there were some of the quotes

from Michael Laws and the police that appeared in the Wanganui Chronicle but

there was no references to war or similar symbolism. The Press surveyed local

people at the same time as the Chronicle (4/3/06) and came up with the following

comments:

> "I'm not worried. The gangs basically stick to themselves."

> "It's absolutely shocking. People don't feel safe walking around
> town."

> "You hardly see any patches, maybe a couple of Mongrel Mob guys
> walking round. A lot of it has been blown out of proportion."

> (True Colours, Dominion Post, 4/3/06, p. 5)

Out of the six comments only one conveyed strong anti-gang feelings. The other

comments conveyed that people in Whanganui were used to gangs and that it was

not a huge problem. The people surveyed were also asked if they supported the

idea of a patch ban (by this stage Michael Laws had put forward this suggested

response). There were three people who supported the ban but two of these people

did not think it would do any good.

The difference between the newspapers in terms of their coverage supports the

idea that studies that only engage with one publication may produce different results compared to research that compares different publications (Thompson, Young & Burns, 2000). Different publications may have different ideologies (for example a liberal stance) so using a variety of publications can help to develop a broader understanding of how events or people are portrayed (Bates, 2011). This is one further contribution that my research makes – the emphasis on the need for multiple sources to discover what news coverage is occurring.

Further coverage of the campaign in the Press did not make page one, usually any mention was on page 5, and only briefly stated progression of the proposed patch ban. The Chronicle coverage of the campaign continued with page one articles that contained Michael Laws' statements that the gangs were terrorists and not members of the Whanganui community. The level of reporting on the campaign in the Chronicle reduced after April, and from that time onwards the reports were similar to the Dominion with a focus on reporting progression of the ban. The results show that in terms of coverage The Chronicle produced the most articles compared to the national papers. The level of reporting between the two papers may be an example of news values operating. News that has a greater immediacy or proximity to the audience is seen as more newsworthy as it will potentially generate greater engagement (Jewkes, 2015; Monod, 2017).

Further input from the public in the form of letters to the editor did not show an overwhelming support for the proposed ban. The readers, the majority of whom were Wanganui people, acknowledged gang presence but did not show a level of

panic that required this intervention. Frequent comments from both Anti-gang and Pro-gang stance readers consisted of:

'The gang problem has not grown bigger'

'I have never felt scared stiff of patched gang members'

'Wouldn't it (the ban) merely exacerbate the problem, which isn't really a problem'

The personal knowledge of the public -being from Whanganui- possibly allowed them to have a realistic assessment of the risk (Cohen, 2002). They knew that the streets were not constantly patrolled by terrorist gangs seeking to enact violence, despite what the news reports might have suggested.

At the time of the 2006 campaign the image of the gangs was framed as being war like terrorists. The threat of terrorism had been a high-profile global issue since the 9/11 attacks. It had remained in the public eye with further bombing incidents (for example the London underground bombing in 2005). In 2006 there had been bomb attacks using bicycles, which further cemented the idea that people were not safe anywhere – even supposedly innocent surroundings could create harm. The use of this imagery allowed for the gangs to be thought of as dangerous outsiders who could harm innocent civilians at any time without warning. One of the gang leaders had tried to resist this association by stating:

> .. the gang understood terrorists went around bombing and shooting people and the gang took exception Mayor Michael Laws comments that they were terrorists. ('We're not terrorists', Wanganui Chronicle, 4/3/06, p. 1)

This resistance did not alter the perception that the gangs were a threat to public safety and, as in the case of other terrorists, required swift actions to remove them from the community. The use of the terrorist image can increase political power, as Rothe & Muzzatti (2004) state:

The terms terrorists and terrorism are entrenched in a definitional quagmire. The difficulty in defining (conceptualising) terrorism is the pejorative connotations it holds. It is subjective in terms of the social and historical context. It is dependent on political power. The State can increase its power (or perceived legitimate power) when the enemies become labelled as terrorists (p. 331).

The terrorism laws that were in force at the time allowed for powers to act against suspected terrorists even if these actions would usually breach human rights. By framing the gangs as a terrorist threat this set the stage to justify solutions (new laws) that could breach the Bill of Rights. The use of the terrorist image has parallels to the study conducted by Morgan, Dagistlanli & Martin (2010). Their study of the moral panic that occurred in New South Wales after inter-gang violence occurred demonstrated how labelling gangs as terrorists enabled the enactment of laws that encroached on civil liberties.

Any moral panic analysis should consider the broader contexts that were happening at that particular time and place that the panic occurred (Monod, 2017). As well as the context of the terrorist threat, on the local level one of the big issues within Whanganui was the 'h' debate. The debate had reached the stage where a referendum was conducted to see how the community felt about the inclusion of the letter 'h' in Whanganui. The referendum took place in April 2006. The debate had created divisions in Whanganui. Those who opposed the 'h' wanted things to remain the same. Those who wanted the 'h' sought to have Māori recognised. As discussed in Chapter one, Whanganui had been subject to racial tension over a period of years. The 'h' debate was just one aspect of the racial divide. This undercurrent of racial separation may have been one of the factors that allowed for public acceptance of the gangs as terrorists, as others who were seeking to disrupt a way of life. One of the gangs that featured most often in the news reports and in public comment was the Mongrel Mob. Their members were (and still are) predominantly Māori. The existing reluctance to accept Māori rights may have influenced feelings towards gang members 'strutting around'.

The first event and campaign showed hallmarks of a panic, this panic may have died out and no law changes achieved. The Whanganui referendum in April 2007 did show local support for the ban, but there were critics. For the ban to succeed it needed to be passed by parliament so needed national support. There had been a decrease in national coverage of the campaign and also opposition to the proposal of banning patches from the public, politicians such as Tariana Turia, and civil rights lawyers. However, the panic regained momentum with the event in May 2007, and the longer lasting (and more high profile) campaign that

followed.

The initial coverage of the shooting of Jhia made front page news in all the publications. Her death provided all the attributes required of national attention, public condemnation, and political action. This story had everything – villains, victims, heroes. The use of storytelling as a journalist tool can be crucial in an environment where news is viewed as needing to provide entertainment as well as information (Boczkowski & Peer, 2011; Uribe & Gunter, 2007). The use of mythic or melodramatic structures can assist the reader to make sense of what is happening. It takes the reader to a familiar place where they can easily identify the existence of 'good' and 'evil' and become involved with the struggles facing the characters (Uribe & Gunter, 2007, Anker, 2005; Wright, 2015; Knight & Dean, 1982).

There were still references to war and terrorism, but one of the striking features of the initial coverage was the emphasis on the victim. The innocence of Jhia provided the media with a perfect victim. She was vulnerable and without blame for the events (Walklate, 2007; Christie, 1986) The story of her killing had many of the core news values. There was violence, risk, an extra ordinary event, a child and emotion. The use of emotions forms a major component of the 'theatre of news', as Beckett and Dueze (2016) explains:

> News as a spectacle has always been one of its dramatic forms. If
> news or an investigative report does not get your attention, if you do
> not find it interesting, amusing, frightening, or uplifting than you are

less likely to take notice (p. 4).

The initial coverage put forward several sets of dialogue. There were the stories about Jhia that highlighted the innocence of a child and the grief that her loss had caused (Shooting victim a beautiful girl, Wanganui Chronicle, 7/5/07; Grief and guns in city on edge, Dominion Press, 8/5/07). There were stories focused on the police action to find the killers (Hunt for killer heats up, Wanganui Chronicle, 8/5/07). Then there was the dialogue about the gangs and what needed to be done about them. This dialogue (mostly from politicians) did get some space during the initial coverage but took a back seat to the other stories compared to the initial coverage of the 2006 event. This time the story itself was enough to help shape the devil and invoke emotions of anger, fear, and a desire to 'do something about them'. This time the devil was not just a terrorist who <u>may</u> cause harm – it was an entity that <u>had</u> caused harm. The threat that gangs posed was a threat to our way of life, but in a particular they were a threat to our children. The gangs became faceless beings who prowled the night preying on the innocent. The initial coverage was focused on emotive reporting.

A public that has become infused with emotions of anger and fear against another group may be less inclined to consider all perspectives when it comes to decision making – they want a decision that meets their emotional needs.

The initial response from the public was emotional. They all mentioned the loss of a child's life. The Dominion Press had comments from the public that showed

they were not afraid of gangs (6 comments selected and none displayed fear about the gangs) but did reflect on the loss of life and think there might be more trouble on the way:

> Yes, there will be retaliation. That was someone's little baby, an only child as well. Something will happen. I just hope no more kids die.
>
> (Wanganui people react, Dominion Press, 8/5/07 p. 4)

As discussed in the results the responses from readers following the event showed a high level of an Anti-gang stance that was emotional and angry towards the gangs. The killing of Jhia was a strong motivator of these expressions and led readers to call for swift and harsh actions against gangs.

The voices that were heard (in the news) were the public, police, the media, but also there were gang voices. One article in the Dominion Press quoted a gang member as saying (italics added):

> "We don't know anything about it. We just heard on the news they (*the Black Power*) were going to retaliate on us so we're protecting our ground."

The Mongrel Mob did not condone killing a child, he said. "It's sad. It's a kid you're talking about. We got morals and we got kids of our own."

(Police urge gangs to stay calm, Dominion Press, 8/5/07, pg 1)

The idea that gangs were concerned about protecting their 'turf' or ground was also conveyed with the quotes from another gang member:

'..the source of the fighting between Mongrel Mob and Black Power was over "colours, over turf".

I think it's about them trying to come out into our community and try to start something up for themselves down here. But this community has always been our community for a lifetime – 20 years plus.

Most of our children have been raised in this areas and brothers aren't content to sit back and take that I suppose'. (Turf war behind fatal shooting: gang leader, Wanganui Chronicle, 8/5/07, p. 3)

These comments did nothing to help destroy the folk devil, if anything they add to the fire - it put forward the idea that the gangs were so protective of their

identity, their colours, that they will use violence to protect that identity.

The news items went from the initial story into the second campaign that continued until the passing of the legislation in May 2009.

The initial campaign (2006) had not featured prominently as a national issue, but the second campaign did get national attention. On a national front, things were different in terms of the campaign. First, was the nature of the event – the killing of a child compared to gang members injured. Second, it was a year leading up to elections. The topic of gangs as an election topic has been present since the 1970s, the idea of getting tough, establishing law and order, and this relationship to gangs has featured in many lead up campaigns to election year. This stance of 'getting tough on gangs' is a classic example of penal populism (Morgan, Dagistlanli & Martin, 2010; Pratt et al, 2005: Monod, 2017). Politicians use public perceptions of gangs, and build on them, to obtain votes (Gilbert, 2010).

While the topic of gangs as an election issue is not new, the progression of how gangs have been viewed and what measures are 'needed' to control them has altered over the years. In the lead up to the 1990 elections, Jim Bolger stated that he would outlaw gangs. When asked how this would be achieved he was quoted as saying:

"a law that stops known criminals getting together to plot their crime." Existing laws giving the police powers to dismantle gang "fortresses" would be enforced. Gang members would be put on work schemes rather than "allowing them to do nothing.

But Mr Bolger says he would stop well short of making it illegal for people simply wearing gang "patches" to gather together.

"The criminal consorting laws, of course, depend on people being convicted of serious crime," he says.

"It's not a question of how you look. It's a question of what your behaviour has been as judged by the courts."

(Sober slogan marks Nationals' vision for victory, New Zealand Herald, 30/10/1989, p. 9)

At this time there were fears expressed about gangs and their influence on youth, and also of gang violence. There was also the view of gangs *becoming* criminal groups, for example Richard Prebble was quoted as saying (emphasis added):

"In my electorate gangs have *moved into* organised crime," he said.

"Gangs run sophisticated car conversion operations, they provide protection to the parlours in K Rd, and dominate the tow-truck business. Gangs are also *becoming* more involved in drugs."

(Prebble lands gang inquiry, New Zealand Herald, 4/8/89, p. 1)

In 1996 the changing view towards gang identity became very pronounced. Mike Moore became a leading voice, a moral entrepreneur, during the 1996/7 campaign that led to a raft of anti-gang legislation (Gilbert, 2010). Mike Moore's anti-gang campaign helped to foster and support a view of gang identity as criminal. They were not just groups that had members who behaved criminally, they were groups who <u>controlled</u> crime in New Zealand (Gilbert, 2010). His views reflected those of Greg O'Connor who stated that 'Gangs control crime in every major centre in New Zealand and, as such, new powers were needed to combat them' (NZ Herald 30.4.1996).

Other politicians also contributed to the discourse of the criminal group. Winston Peters stated:

"They dominate the drug trade in New Zealand and are involved in relatively sophisticated protection, prostitution and money laundering rackets.

"Initially I thought that the gang violence [in Christchurch and Invercargill] was the ritual and macho posturings of the one gang fighting another."

But it has become clear they were not just "alienated yahoos beating their breasts."

"Rather it was about organised criminals who rob, bash and steal to order and who do not care if innocent members of the public are terrorised."

(Peters talks tough about gangs, New Zealand Herald, 30/9/96, p2)

Gilbert (2010) describes the Mike Moore led campaign as a moral panic and points to a number of factors to support this view. One of his observations are Mike Moore's comments which shaped the threat of gangs as being one that threatened the moral fibre of society by declaring that 'they are a threat to our democracy' and that the war against gangs was needed to 'preserve peace and civil order in New Zealand' (Gilbert, 2010, p. 541).

The construction of gang identity as a criminal group was firmly cemented with

the 1996/7 campaign, and laws were enacted to reflect this. However, there was still the need to show evidence of the group or individual engaging in criminal behaviour for the laws to be enforced. For example, the criteria for s98A of the Crimes Act 1961 required that a criminal group (gang) be one that had objectives of obtaining material gains via offences or engaged in violent offences. For a person to come within the section it needed to be shown they either knew or were reckless as to their actions contributing to the criminal activities. The requirement for there to be sufficient evidence of a criminal group can be seen in *S v R* (HC Gisborne T032566, 13 May 2004) where a charge of s98A was dismissed due to a lack of evidence supporting there was a criminal group. A detective had given evidence that in his opinion the gang (referred to as 'M') had an objective of criminal offending was not regarded as sufficient. The court stated:

> There is substance in the criticism that the detective's evidence is not sufficient to enable a jury, properly directed, to infer that the Gisborne Chapter of the M was an organised criminal group. The facts upon which an expert's evidence are based must be proved by admissible evidence and the expert witness should state those facts upon which his or her opinion is based in the witness's evidence in chief. If he has observed those facts, he can testify to their existence.

The acceptance of membership or associations to certain groups means there is a connection to a criminal group has varied over different cases, but there still remains a need to show a criminal connection and knowledge or recklessness as

to whether the individual's activities contributed to these criminal activities.

By 2007, in the lead up to the 2008 election, the ways in which to define gangs had altered again. By this time, it was possible to link them to another known threat – terrorists. The initial coverage that was analysed had reinforced the idea of gangs being terrorists. The killing of Jhia had shown the threat was not just a potential one (innocents may be harmed); it was an actual and immediate threat where innocents *were* harmed. The link to the terrorist threat enabled calling for the same types of laws that had been enacted in reaction to the 9/11 attacks. The laws enacted to combat terrorism had allowed for increased police powers that went beyond the usual criminal powers.

Whilst the discourse of gangs as terrorist was present, during the campaign in 2007 -2009 there were other discourses. There were attempts by Tariana Turia to put forward a community centred dialogue towards gangs. However this was met with harsh opposition from the public and other politicians. In one of the articles that attracted a lot of reader comments Tariana had stated the media coverage of the gang issue was a moral panic (Time to listen to gangs, says Māori MP,' New Zealand Herald online, 28/6/2007). Many of these comments have been discussed in the results but one theme not discussed was the racial aspect to number of reader comments (27% of the comments). These comments viewed gangs as being a Māori problem:

'She should push for a change from the way Māori embrace the gang culture and its members, evident by gang presence on marae and at Waitangi.'

'This is crazy!! This is a political game trying to show a good face and win votes from the gangs since they are mainly Māori.'

'I always thought that instead of just listing names of these people in the court list recount their whakapapa to the public perhaps through this way their so called whanua may step in and take action.'

'Gangs are a totally unnecessary part of society. It is only due to the fact that they are mostly Māori she is bothering.'

These comments showed that for some people there was a racial component to the 'gang problem'. However, there appeared to be a general denial from other spokespeople that the focus on gangs had a racist component. This was seen in some of the responses to Turia's comments that the stance against gangs unfairly targeted Māori. These reactions reflected the situation of denial expressed by Van Dijk (1992), who states: 'as long as a problem is being denied in the first place, the critics are ridiculed, marginalised or delegitimated: denials debilitate resistance' (p.181). As such, speakers such as Turia were effectively silenced as

to the racial aspects of the stance on gangs.

This connection between Māori and gangs may have assisted acceptance of the view that gangs were violent terrorists. The idea of Māori activism having a violent approach had been present in the news in 1999 where Māori said that attacks similar to IRA attacks would occur unless land was given back to Māori (Sluka, 2010). There were also reports in 2004 of the SIS monitoring Māori organisations (Sluka, 2010). The racial connection to the concept of terrorism was further reinforced with the Urewera raids in October 2007. The raids were conducted using powers under the Terrorism Suppression Act and resulted in 17 people being arrested. As discussed above, racial tension within Whanganui may have been a contributor to the 2006 panic, with the 2007 panic this national awareness of Māori as a potential terror threat may have also been a contributor. The gangs could be seen as representing the threat that Māori activists posed to the 'New Zealand' way of life.

The 2007 campaign that led to the law being passed built on the 2006 panic. The 2006 panic set the seeds for the 'gang as a terrorist' view. This view allowed for the idea that groups of people could be targeted for law enforcement without the need for evidence of criminal activity. When the 2007 event occurred this created a new panic that was more widespread and more emotive. The ability of moral entrepreneurs such as Michael Laws to provide a quick and easy solution came from the prior panic where the gangs had been demonised as terrorists and the solution was to eliminate their presence.

The role of Michael Laws in the panic is interesting. As discussed in the results he was the most cited politician in the coverage across the newspapers. The portrayals of him have some similarities to Cohen's (2002) Margate magistrate Dr George Simpson. He pronounced harsh 'punishments' for the gang members in the aim of protecting his community. His phrases were used for news headlines. He also had 'his personality, career and views on various social issues presented to the public' (Cohen, 2002, p 120). As with Dr Simpson this created a hero character for some people. By offering solutions he was cast into the role of hero (Wright, 2015). The public were at times reminded of his alignment to the forces of 'good' – for example with his comments that any progress on the patch ban was 'one up for the good guys'. But does his role as the hero mean that he instigated the panic, and if he did not then who instigated the panic?

The results of looking at the two main events shows that the media conveyed what was said by the politicians and the public. For the two initial events media coverage relayed the facts, adding in touches of sensationalism, then added public comment. These articles were supplemented by political responses. The graphs in the results chapter show the sharp increase of 'law creation' following each event. This helps to show that the comments, and calls for law reform/gang suppression were a reaction to the events rather than separate to the events. This created a situation where there was 'a self-perpetuating cycle in which the major actors involved in the situation respond in a manner which encourages subsequent action from the other groups' (Burns & Crawford, 1999, p. 159). This interaction between the actors is also commented on in the study by Katz (2011) that looked

at Outlaw Motorcycle Gang moral panic in Canada. She describes the cycle as one where an event of violence happens, media see it as newsworthy and report it to the public. The public then become concerned over the events and this concern is enhanced with more media coverage. Politicians then step in to take action, their response reinforces that it is a problem that the public should be concerned with. This leads to punitive actions against gangs.

For the 2006 campaign the political comment was mostly from Michael Laws. His comments helped to shape the folk devil into being one that should be associated with terrorism. Whilst there were some attempts by gangs, other politicians, and members of the public to refute this image, his voice as to who the devil was, and what they were, remained prominent. The media coverage acted as a secondary definer by relaying what Michael Laws and other commentators had to say (Critcher, 2008, Hall et al, 1978). It was geared towards gang suppression, which is supported by the results that showed Anti-gang stance readers accepted the view in articles whilst none of the Pro-gang supporters accepted the articles. It is possible that the media, which was mainly the Wanganui Chronicle for the 2006 campaign, could have chosen to provide more articles that gave an additional dialogue about gangs and their identity. The balanced view of articles (that gangs have rights) were focused on how this might impact on the legislation rather than a dialogue of treating gang identity as something that had value, or they were designed to show that the problem was not as bad as it appeared, so still recognised gangs as being a 'problem'. This is a reflection of the continuing stigma associated with gangs and their status as folk

devils. The public input was minimal (11 reader comments). In this panic it would seem that it was elite engineered (Hall et al, 1978; Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2009) with Michael Laws being the primary focus of attention and the media acting as his voice.

With the 2007 event, the political responses that were obtained from the analysis were not as prominent compared to the early coverage of the event compared to 2006. The events itself allowed for its news worthiness. The political responses did follow during the campaign. The progression of responses showed a pattern of 'he said' and then 'she said'. That is, the media would put forward a response from a source (such as a politician or the public) that was then responded to by another source (usually a politician). With the loss of online reader comments to code, and the potential loss of other public (reader comments) that did not fit the search criteria (for example if it did not contain the word Wanganui) it is difficult to judge the exact outpour of public comment. However, from what was able to be obtained, the results showed there was a strong emotional feeling by members of the public who felt motivated to comment. The comments were demanding a solution to the problem – no matter how drastic the solution was. These comments were not necessarily the views of all New Zealand people. However, they were views that could have been prominent in the minds of politicians before they put forward their continuing views and solutions. As such it is possible it appeared that there was a high level of public concern which allowed the panic to continue. It allowed the existing devil to gain new attention.

As discussed above there were different dialogues present, in the early times after

the event this was mainly a law and order frame (as shown with the responses on articles) but changed to a community-based frame in early 2009. Possibly this was once emotions and other events had clouded from the public eye.

The role of the media as a secondary definer for this debate does not mean that they were not instrumental in the definitions of the folk devil (Hall et al., 1978; Cohen, 2002; Monod, 2017). The initial reports about the actual events were not generated from political or police sources – the use of language and the ways of framing the events were media generated. The use of the war frame was not a result of political input (though it was picked up and supported by some politicians), nor was the use of the victim frame. These were tools that the media used to generate a story' a means to capture an audience (Boczkowski & Peer, 2011; Uribe & Gunter, 2007; Wright, 2015; Thompson, Young & Burns, 2000). The media then got the reactions from the public, entrepreneurs and politicians. These responses then obtained further input from entrepreneurs, and in turn their comments then led to more comments and debate. A cycle of media commentary was created (Burns & Crawford, 1999; Katz, 2011).

The media became part of the moral panic as a secondary definer but as a primary definer in terms of allocating the roles people should play (the victim, the villains, the hero's) and when they got to act their part. The news acted as forum for a melodrama that was acted out for the purpose of entertaining the audience (Wright, 2015). For the melodrama to become accepted it needs to contain elements that are familiar, that the reader can use in order to make sense of what

has happened. When these elements exist the media can create its own version of reality:

News, like folklore and myth, is a cultural construction, a narrative that tells a story about things of importance or interest. Journalists like to think that news somehow mirrors reality, that it objectively describes events; news is "out there" to be discovered. However news does not exist until it is written, until it becomes a story, and what is deemed newsworthy owes as much to our cultural conceptions of what makes a "good story" as it does to ideas of importance or significance (Rothenbuhler and Coman, 2005: 222)

The evidence that this was a panic may be supported by the dramatic increase in coverage, which gradually filtered out to pre-panic levels. These results were discussed above in considering whether there was disproportion but they may also support the quality of volatility, where the panic reaches its peak and then gradually dies out. It can be argued that the consistent dialogue surrounding gangs has created a situation of a permanent panic where the folk devil never truly vanishes (Young, 2013; Monod, 2017, Gilbert, 2010). The results of my research and the pattern of prior gang panics within New Zealand (Gilbert, 2010) seem to fit more within Garland (2008) idea of panic as a series where each new episode builds onto the prior dialogue. Cohen (2002) also recognises that the problem that is the subject of the panic may have had prior existence but also argues that the 'panic' is about the intensified attention that is given to the problem. The results show there was increased attention. The progression of the gang as 'criminal' to being the gang as a 'terrorist' added a new

dimension to the type of threat that gangs posed so created a new wave of panic, a continuation in the series, that built onto the previous image of the folk devil. In this respect, my research adds much to the discussion of panics that have an on-going basis.

While there may be a level of continued hostility towards gangs it does not always result in a panic where demands for extreme measures will be supported. This is the nature of an ongoing or rolling folk devil – the threat is always there but it is only when other factors such as a specific event and the context of the time combine that the existing devil can be summoned as the focus of a panic.

The results of the 2009-2013 period showed a reverse attitude to the idea of the patch ban. Although the public were still not 'fans' of gangs, panic levels where there is the desire to oust the devil had diminished. During this stage the Whanganui gang panic seemed to have ceased.

One of the reasons for it ceasing could be the situation that Cohen (2002) described as being where 'the putative danger fizzles out, the media or entrepreneurs have cried wolf once too often, their information is discredited'. This idea is also supported by Critcher (2008, p1136) who states that moral panics may decline due to the 'emergence of counterclaims that challenge or discredit the originators of the moral panic'.

This description seems to fit with the results. Once the Hells Angels legal challenge to the by-law was successful other information as to how Michael Laws had misled council and public, as well as the cost became known. People wanted to distance themselves from the whole saga. The public, through their reader

comments (which are described in the results), made it very clear that they no longer trusted Laws or his supporters as to a ban being needed or wanted.

The results show a rise and decline in media attention and public attitudes towards gangs. These results suggest that there are elements of a moral panic present and that it was generated by elites such as Michael Laws that were supported by media coverage. The overall context that surrounded the campaigns contributed to the outcome. Penal populism, the racial attitudes present within New Zealand, and the linking of gangs as terrorists helped to provide the cement to the foundations of gang definition and identity as one that should be eliminated. This foundation had been growing over time as gang identity had been constantly discredited and made the subject of prior panics. The (then) current climate allowed for a further extension so as to elevate the nature of the devil so that it needed to be removed completely.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

In 2017 I went to Whanganui. I had been there as a child, but had not been there for many years. I deliberately did not go during the main writing of the thesis as I wanted to keep the image of Whanganui as presented in the media in my mind.

I walked and drove around the streets. I was looking out for whom might be a 'gang' member. I was disappointed. No one that I saw came close to the images that I had seen in the media during the time when legislation was introduced to ban gang patches. By this time, in 2017, the local bylaw had been revoked, replaced by the National Law that prevents gang patches in government owned areas. As such, there were many places that I went to where gang members could have displayed their insignia if they wished.

Instead of seeing a city plagued by gangs I saw a city with many friendly and helpful people. On one evening I encountered a man named 'Charlie' who was a retired policeman. He had been retired after receiving injuries in the course of duty. He was not on active service in Whanganui during the relevant times for this thesis but he was familiar with what had been happening. He said:

'It wasn't really that bad. The media...they (the media and Laws) created their own version of what was happening….don't know why…..guess they like to

make things up.'

The aim of this research was to explore how gang identity as opposed to gang behaviour became constructed to the point that visible signs of the identity were criminalised. To achieve this aim I had questions to address. First, what identity for Whanganui gangs was constructed? Second, how was this identity constructed? Third, was this a result of a moral panic?

I searched for theories and literature to expand my knowledge of gangs, identity construction and the role that the media may play in identity construction. I discovered that the definitions and discourse relating to gangs most often situate them as 'outsiders' who are viewed with distrust from the rest of the community. Even though there can be many socially productive reasons for joining gangs (such as mutual support and kinsmanship) and there are many gang members who never engage in criminality (Hallsworth, 2013; Hallsworth & Young, 2008), the public image is one of a criminal entity who is anti-social. In New Zealand the view of gangs as the 'other' is further enhanced by having a largely Māori gang membership in a country that still resonates colonial attitudes (Taonui & Newbold, 2016; Monod, 2017).

The identity of gangs in New Zealand, and in Whanganui, prior to the 2006 incident was one of organised groups who controlled crime. So there was an established recognition of gangs as devils. However, this identity still had behaviour as a core requirement for criminalisation. Gang related criminal sanctions could not be imposed on an individual unless it could be shown that the

group they belonged to engaged in criminal behaviour. The 2006 declaration that gangs were terrorists opened the door for the enactment of laws where groups are automatically subject to suppression without the need to provide evidence of criminal behaviour. As such, it is suggested that it was the construction of Whanganui gangs as 'terrorists' as opposed to 'criminals' that led to the identity itself (rather than any behaviour) being criminalised.

To ascertain how this identity was constructed I conducted an analysis of media articles and reader comments using both content analysis and narrative analysis. I found that there was a media feedback loop that assisted with the construction. The media relayed the events using sensationalist reporting that utilised both emotive and war like frames and then acted as secondary definers for politicians and police translating their messages to the public. The media then provided feedback to the politicians in the role of their voice of the public through editorials, opinion pieces, articles containing public opinion, and reader comments (Critcher, 2008; Hall et al, 1978).

One of the most prominent voices in this media loop was Michael Laws. His assertions that the gangs were terrorists were supported in two ways. First the media use of images showing armed police and warlike terms suggested that the events were being played out on a battlefield. One of the features of global terrorist attacks during 2005 and 2006 was that it harmed innocent people and had been unexpected. The killing of Jhia in some ways resembled this type of event and the media did convey comments as to the unexpected nature of her killing. The second, and unintended, support for the idea of gangs as terrorists potentially

came from the 2007 Urewera raids. The raids communicated that there was a threat in the form of Māori terrorist groups. The racial composition of gangs in New Zealand and Whanganui is predominantly Māori so it could be easy to create a link between the groups. I could not find any direct association that occurred in the media that linked the two events, but the 2007 raids were a part of the overall context where the dialogue surrounding gangs was being presented during this point in time.

It is suggested that the construction of the gang identity that led to the legislation was initially driven by Michael Laws but it was also a product of media involvement and the context of the particular time that helped to support the concept of 'gangs as terrorists'. This global context of terrorism was enhanced and brought home as being a local (NZ) problem with the raids in 2007. The prominence of Michael Laws as a commentator in the results is due to the nature of the research as this research was focused on a place where he was mayor and during a time period in which there was significant events occurring. However, it shows that the voices which shape our perspective of reality is context driven. Laws was able to be a dominant force in the construction of the national gang identity due to Whanganui gang activity becoming a national interest after 2007 events. In another place or time period his input into national law making could have been negatable.

That leads into the third question of whether this could be explained as moral panic. The results align with many of the elements that indicate that a moral panic has occurred. The first event in 2006 was not unusual for Whanganui yet it

generated increased attention directed towards removing gangs from the community. As far as it can be measured this response toward the 'terrorist gang' (Folk devil) appeared to be disproportionate. The attention given to the threat had declined by April 2007, and there were indications that the bill would not get the required support to continue through. As such, it is possible that this could have ended up as a moral panic which 'passes over and is forgotten' (Cohen, 1972, p.9). The killing of Jhia removed this possibility.

The dramatic nature of the 2007 event enticed all the actors needed for a moral panic (media, public, law enforcers, moral entrepreneurs) to take action. The threat that gangs posed was amplified by linking the event to other gang activity occurring in other centres and also shaping the gangs as terrorists. The devil was everywhere, and it was linked with other current widespread threats such as terrorism. The public called for immediate action to remove the folk devil and this call was answered by the politicians who supported the idea of using any means possible to subdue the devil.

The situation of this being a continuing devil is also linked to our colonial past. In New Zealand gangs are not minority groups seeking to claim rights, they are not immigrants who are trying to establish a new claim. They are not like the USA gangs of Hispanic origin who are seeking to make their mark. In New Zealand, gangs who are Māori are seeking to re-claim rights. Rights that existed prior to settlement. The racial tension that was the backdrop to the panic centred around acknowledgement of Māori rights, and their ability to protest. The memories of the past protests and land wars are part of New Zealand knowledge. From the

perspective of gangs in New Zealand this may create a legitimacy as to their right to defy social (European) norms. From the perspective of other members of New Zealand society, the idea of Māori becoming a warlike force that could overtake and re-gain control could create a residual sense of panic. When a context arises where this residual fear is able to take form (such as with the Whanganui situation) then panics occur.

My research adds to the body of knowledge on identity construction and the nature of moral panics. It reinforces the idea that whilst there may be a permanent folk devil, the actual panics can be part of a series of episodes that re-generate the devil and add to its form (Cohen, 2002; Garlands, 2008). It also demonstrates how it is possible for the media to build a momentum as to the importance of an issue. The increased prominence of the articles directed readers to the idea that gangs were a relevant and critical issue. The ways in which gangs were depicted told the readers (the public) how they should feel about the issue. This process could happen with any group that becomes labelled as the 'other', hence there is a need to be vigilant when these circumstances occur during the course of potential decision making. Rights should not be limited just because the media and other powerful forces like to (as Charlie would put it) 'make things up.'

REFERENCES

Abdelal, R., Herrera, Y. M., Johnston, A. I., & McDermott, R. (2006). Identity as a Variable. *Perspectives on politics*, 4(4), 695-711.

Abel, S. (1997). Shaping the news: Waitangi Day on television. Auckland, New Zealand

Adler, P. A., & Adler, P. (1994). Observational techniques. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (p. 377–392). Sage Publications, Inc.

Adoni, H., & Mane, S. (1984). Media and the social construction of reality: Toward an integration of theory and research. *Communication research*, 11(3), 323-340.

Ainsworth, S. (2001, July). Discourse analysis as social construction: Towards greater integration of approaches and methods. *In Second International Conference on Critical Management Studies*, Manchester (pp. 11-13).

Alach, Z. (2012). A New Zealand approach to prioritising criminal groups. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, 35(3), 491-504.

Alain, M. (1995). The rise and fall of motorcycle gangs in Quebec. *Fed. Probation*, 59, 54.

Alper, M., & Chappell, A. T. (2012). Untangling fear of crime: A multi-theoretical approach to examining the causes of crime-specific fear. *Sociological Spectrum*, 32(4), 346-363.

Aldridge, J., Medina, J., & Ralphs, R. (2012). Counting gangs: Conceptual and validity problems with the Eurogang definition. In F.-A. Esbensen & C. L. Maxson (Eds.), *Youth gangs in international perspective* (pp. 33-51). New York, NY: Springer

Alleyne, E., & Wood, J. L. (2010). Gang involvement: Psychological and behavioral

characteristics of gang members,peripheral youth, and nongang youth. *Aggressive Behavior*, 36, 423-436.

Althaus, S. L., & Tewksbury, D. (2002). Agenda setting and the "new" news: Patterns of issue importance among readers of the paper and online versions of the New York Times. *Communication Research*, 29(2), 180-207.

Altheide, D. L. (1997). The news media, the problem frame, and the production of fear. *The sociological quarterly,* 38(4), 647-668.

Altheide, D. L. (2000). Tracking discourse and qualitative document analysis. *Poetics*, 27(4), 287-299.

Andrae, Dominic, Tracey McIntosh, and Stan Coster. 2016. Marginalised: An Insider's View of the State, State Policies in New Zealand and Gang Formation. *Critical Criminology*. doi: 10.1007/s10612-016-9325-8.

Andrew, B. C. (2007). Media-generated shortcuts: Do newspaper headlines present another roadblock for low-information rationality?. *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, 12(2), 24-43.

Andrews, K. T., & Caren, N. (2010). Making the news: Movement organizations, media attention, and the public agenda. *American Sociological Review*, 75(6), 841-866.

Anker E (2005) Villains, victims and heroes: Melodrama, media, and September 11. *Journal of Communication* 55(1): 22–37.

Arthur, D. M. (2010). The symbolic consumption of subcultures: an ethnographic study of the Australian hip hop culture (Doctoral dissertation).

Ashworth A (2000) 'Is the Criminal Law a Lost Cause?' *Law Quarterly Review* vol 116, 225

Baer, J, Chambliss WJ (1997) Generating fear: The politics of crime reporting, *Crime, Law and Social Change* 27: 87–107,

Ball, Richard and G. David Curry. 1995. The Logic of Definition in Criminology: Purposes and Methods for Defining 'Gangs.' *Criminology* 33:225-46.

Ballard, L. M. (1997). "These Youngsters Change All These Traditions" 1: A Perspective on "Outlaw" Motorcycle Clubs in Ireland. *Folklore,* 108(1-2), 107-111.

Baresch, B., Knight, L., Harp, D., & Yaschur, C. (2011, April). Friends who choose your news: An analysis of content links on Facebook. In ISOJ: *The Official Research Journal of International Symposium on Online Journalism*, Austin, TX(Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 1-24).

Bargh & Cross, 1996 The Whanganui District: *Working Paper: First Release*. Waitangi Tribunal, Rangahaua Whanui Series.

Barnhurst, K. G. (2010). The form of reports on US newspaper Internet sites, an update. *Journalism Studies,* 11(4), 555-566.

Barnhurst, K. G. (2012). The form of online news in the mainstream US press, 2001–2010. *Journalism Studies,* 13(5-6), 791-800.

Beaglehole, 2009 'Whanganui places - Whanganui', *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/zoomify/18927/petre-wanganui-or-whanganui

Beals, F., & Van Wijk, N. (2010) 'crime families' in the news: exploring media reports of young offenders and their families DR. *Families Commission*.

Beckett C and Deuze M (2016) On the role of emotion in the future of journalism. *Social Media Society* 2(3). Available at: ttp://sms.sagepub.com/content/2/3/2056305116662395.long

Belich, 2001, Paradise Reforged: *A History of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the Year 2000*. University of Hawai Press.

Ben-Ner, A., & Hill, C. A. (2008). Negative Dimensions of identity: A Research Agenda for Law and Public. *Minn. JL Sci. & Tech.,* 9, 643.

Ben-Ner, A., McCall, B., Stephane, M., Wang, H., 2006. Identity and self-other differentiation in work and giving behaviors: experimental evidence. *FEEM Working Paper*, http://www.bepress.com/feem/paper6/.

Bennett, T. (1982). Theories of the media, theories of society. *Culture, society and the media*, 30-55.

Bennett, T., & Holloway, K. (2004). Gang membership, drugs and crime in the UK. *British Journal of Criminology*, 44 (2004), pp. 305-323

Ben-Yehuda, 2019, Moral Panics and Folk Devils, Oxford Research *Encyclopedia, Criminology And Criminal Justice* (oxfordre.com/criminology).(c) Oxford University Press USA

Berg, B. L. (2001). *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences* (4th ed.). Boston: Allyn and Bacon

Berger & Luckmann, 1966 *The Social Construction of Reality*, New York: Doubleday.

Berger, J., Cohen, B. P., & Zelditch Jr, M. (1972). Status characteristics and social interaction. *American Sociological Review*, 241-255.

Bernstein, A. (2010). Civil Rights Violations, Broken Windows: De Minimis Curet Lex. *Florida Law Review*, 62, 895

Best (2002) Constructing the Sociology of Social Problems: Spector and Kitsuse Twenty-Five

Years Later. *Sociological Forum* 17(4): 699–706.

Best, J. (2011). 'Locating Moral Panics Within the Sociology of Social Problems', in S. Hier, ed., *Moral Panic and the Politics of Anxiety*, 37–52. Routledge.

Bilsky, L. (2008). Uniforms and Veils: What Differences Does a Difference Make. *Cardozo L. Rev.*, 30, 2715.

Bilsky, L. (2009). Muslim headscarves in France and army uniforms in Israel: a comparative study of citizenship as mask. *Patterns of Prejudice*, 43(3-4), 287-311.

Bird & Dardenne, 2009, Rethinking news and myth as storytelling: The handbook of journalism studies, New York: Routledge

Bjerregaard, B. (2003). Self-definitions of gang membership and involvement in delinquent activities. *Youth & Society*, 34(1), 31-54.

Boczkowski, P. J., & Peer, L. (2011). The choice gap: The divergent online news preferences of journalists and consumers. *Journal of Communication*, 61(5), 857-876.

Boduszek, D., & Hyland, P. (2011). The theoretical model of criminal social identity: *International Journal of Criminology and Sociological Theory*, 4(1), 604-615.

Bolden, Christian, (2010). "*Evolution Of The Folk Devil: A Social Network Perspective Of The Hybrid Gang Label*" Electronic Theses and Dissertations, 2004-2019. 4280.https://stars.library.ucf.edu/etd/4280

Borah, P. (2014). The hyperlinked world: A look at how the interactions of news frames and hyperlinks influence news credibility and willingness to seek information. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 19(3), 576-590.

Borooah, V. K., & Carcach, C. A. (1997). Crime and fear: Evidence from Australia. *The British Journal of Criminology,* 37(4), 635-657.

Bottoms, (1995) 'The philosophy and politics of punishment and sentencing', in Chris Clarkson and Rod Morgan (eds) *The politics of sentencing reform*, pp.15–49. Oxford: Clarendon.

Bowles, Faure & Garoupa (2008) The Scope of Criminal Law and Criminal Sanctions: An Economic View and Policy Implications, *Journal of Law and Society* 35: 389–416.

Braga & Piehl, (2001). Problem-oriented policing, deterrence, and youth violence: An evaluation of Boston's Operation Ceasefire. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 38, 195-225.

Breakwell, G. (1993). Social representations and social identity. *Papers on social representations*, 2, 198-217.

Brewer, M. B. (1996). When contact is not enough: Social identity and intergroup cooperation. *International journal of Intercultural relations*, 20(3-4), 291-303.

Brint, S. (2001). Gemeinschaft revisited: A critique and reconstruction of the community concept. *Sociological theory*, 19(1), 1-23.

Brooker v Police [2007] 3 NZLR 91,

Brown, B., & Benedict, W. R. (2009). Growing pains and fear of gangs: A case study of fear of gangs at school among Hispanic high school students. *Applied Psychology in Criminal Justice,* 5(2), 139-164.

Brown, J. D. (2002). Mass media influences on sexuality. *Journal of sex research*, 39(1), 42-45.

Brubaker, R., & Cooper, F. (2000). Beyond "identity". *Theory and society*, 29(1), 1-47.

Bucher, H. J., & Schumacher, P. (2006). The relevance of attention for selecting news content. An eye-tracking study on attention patterns in the reception of print and online media. *Communications,* 31(3), 347-368.

Boyd, D. (2008) "Why Youth Social Network Sites: The Role of Networked Publics in Teenage Social Life." *Youth, Identity, and Digital Media*. Edited by David Buckingham. The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation Series on Digital Media and Learning. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 119–142. doi: 10.1162/dmal.9780262524834.119

Buckingham, J. I. (2004). "Newsmaking" Criminology or "Infotainment"1 Criminology? *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 37(2), 253–275. https://doi.org/10.1375/acri.37.2.253

Bullock, K., & Tilley, N. (2008). Understanding and tackling gang violence. *Crime Prevention and Community Safety*, 10(1), 36-47.

Bullock, K., & Tilley, N. (2008). Understanding and Tackling Gang Violence. *Crime Prev Community Saf* 10, 36–47 (2008). https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1057/palgrave.cpcs.8150057

Burgess, J. (1996). Focusing on fear: the use of focus groups in a project for the Community Forest Unit, *Countryside Commission. Area,* 130-135.

Burkard, A. W., & Knox, S. (2009). Qualitative Research Interviews. *Education Faculty Research and Publications* (1-18)

Burns, R., & Crawford, C. (1999). School shootings, the media, and public fear: Ingredients for a moral panic. *Crime, Law and Social Change,* 32(2), 147-168.

Butler, A. S., 2002 'Limiting Rights', 33 *VUWLR* 537

Byassee. J. (2007) How Churches are reaching out: Gangs and God. *Christian Century*. Sept. 20-27.

Callinan, R., July 5, 2007. Tribal trouble, in *Time Magazine*. [Online] Available at: http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1640583,00.html

Campbell, A. (1987). Self definition by rejection: The case of gang girls. *Social Problems*, 34(5), 451-466.

Campbell, D. T. (1967). Stereotypes and the perception of group differences. *American Psychologist,* 22, 817–829.

Campbell, S. M. (2011). *Youth gang membership: Factors influencing and maintaining membership* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Waikato).

Carlson, J. 2015 'Moral Panic, Moral Breach: Bernard Goetz, George Zimmerman, and the Racialized News Reporting in Contested Cases of Self-Defense', *Social Problems* 63(1): 1–20.

Carragee, K. M., & Roefs, W. (2004). The neglect of power in recent framing research. *Journal of communication*, 54(2), 214-233.

Cavender, G. (2004). Media and crime policy: A reconsideration of David Garland's The Culture of Control. *Punishment & Society*, 6(3), 335-348.

Cephus-Wilson, C. L. (2012). I *Am Who You Say I Am; I Am What You Make Me: an Exploratory Analysis of Gangs in the Heartland* (Doctoral dissertation, Oklahoma State University).

Chacón, J. M. (2007). Whose Community Shield: Examining the Removal of the Criminal Street Gang Member. *U. Chi. Legal F*., 317.

Chibnall 1977 *Law and Order News*, London, Tavistock Publications

Chiricos, T., Eschholz, S., & Gertz, M. (1997). Crime, news and fear of crime: Toward an identification of audience effects. *Social problems*, 44(3), 342-357.

Christie, (1996) 'The Ideal Victim', pp. 17–30 in E.A. Fattah (ed.) From *Crime Policy to Victim Policy.* London: Macmillan

Cissel, M. (2012). Media Framing: a comparative content analysis on mainstream and alternative news coverage of Occupy Wall Street. *The Elon Journal of Undergraduate Research in Communications,* 3(1), 67-77.

Clark, (1975), '*Hauhau': The Pai Marire Search for Maori Identity*, Auckland

Cohen, S. 2002[1972] *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of the Mods and Rockers*, 3rd ed., London: Routledge.

Coie, J. D., Dodge, K. A., & Coppotelli, H. (1982). Dimensions and types of social status: A cross-age perspective. *Developmental psychology*, 18(4), 557.

Committee on Gangs (1981). *Report of the committee on gangs*. Wellington, Government Printer

Constantinescu, A. R., & Tedesco, J. C. (2007). Framing a kidnapping: Frame convergence between online newspaper coverage and reader discussion posts about three kidnapped omanian journalists. *Journalism Studies*, 8(3), 444-464.

Corcoran, F. (1986). KAL-007 and the evil empire: Mediated disaster and forms of rationalization. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 3, 297–316.

Côté, J. E. (1996). Sociological perspectives on identity formation: The culture–identity link and identity capital. *Journal of adolescence*, 19(5), 417-428.

Coughlin, B. C., & Venkatesh, S. A. (2003). The urban street gang after 1970. *Annual Review of Sociology,* 29(1), 41-64.

Critcher, C. (2003). *Moral panics and the media*. Buckingham, England: Open

Critcher, C. 2008 'Widening the Focus: Moral Panics as Moral Regulation', *BRIT. J. CRIMINOL.* (2009) 49, 17–34

Critcher, C. 2013 New perspectives on anti-doping policy: from moral panic to moral regulation, *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*, 6:2, 153-169, DOI: 10.1080/19406940.2013.778321

Crockett, D., & Wallendorf, M. (1998). Sociological perspectives on imposed school dress codes: Consumption as attempted suppression of class and group symbolism. *Journal of Macromarketing*, 18(2), 115-131.

Curry, G.D. (2015), "The logic of defining gangs revisited", in Decker, S.H. and Pyrooz, D.C. (Eds), *The Handbook of Gangs*, Wiley-Blackwell, New York, NY, pp. 7-27.

Cyr, J. L. (2003). The folk devil reacts: Gangs and moral panic. *Criminal Justice Review*, 28(1), 26-46.

Davis, J. (1993). Psychological versus sociological explanations for delinquent conduct and gang formation. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, 9(2), 81-93.

Davis, S.A.B. & Kemp, S. 1994. Judged seriousness of crime in New Zealand. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, vol. 27, pp. 250-263.

De La Rosa, M. R., & Adrados, J. L. R. (1993). Drug abuse among minority youth: Methodological issues and recent research advances. *NIDA Research Monograph*, 130.

De Waal, E., & Schoenbach, K. (2008). Presentation style and beyond: How print newspapers

and online news expand awareness of public affairs issues. *Mass Communication & Society*, 11(2), 161-176.

De Waal, E., & Schoenbach, K. (2010). News sites' position in the mediascape: Uses, evaluations and media displacement effects over time. *New Media & Society*, 12(3), 477- 496.

De Young, M. (2004). *The day care ritual abuse moral panic*. Jefferson, North Carolina

Deacon, D. (2007). Yesterday's papers and today's technology: Digital newspaper archives and 'push button'content analysis. *European Journal of Communication*, 22(1), 5-25.

Decker, S. H., Bynum, T., & Weisel, D. (1998). A tale of two cities: Gangs as organized crime groups. *Justice Quarterly*, 15(3), 395-425.

Decker, S. H., & Curry, G. D. (2002). Gangs, gang homicides, and gang loyalty:: Organized crimes or disorganized criminals. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 30(4), 343-352.

Decker, S. H., & Curry, G. D. (2002). Gangs, gang homicides, and gang loyalty: Organized crimes or disorganized criminals. *Journal of Criminal Justice,* 30(4), 343-352.

Decker, S. H., & Pyrooz, D. C. (2010). On the validity and reliability of gang homicide: A comparison of disparate sources. *Homicide Studies*, 14(4), 359-376.

Decker, S. H., Bynum, T., & Weisel, D. (1998). A tale of two cities: Gangs as organized crime groups. *Justice Quarterly*, 15(3), 395-425.

Decker, S. H., Katz, C. M., & Webb, V. J. (2008). Understanding the black box of gang organization: Implications for involvement in violent crime, drug sales, and violent victimization. *Crime & Delinquency*, 54(1), 153-172.

Decker, S., & Kempf-Leonard, K. (1991). Constructing gangs: The social definition of youth activities. *Criminal Justice Policy Review*, 5(4), 271-291.

Decker, S., & Van Winkle, B. (1996). *Life in the gang: Family, friends, and violence*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Decker, Scott H. 1996. "Collective and Normative Features of Gang Violence." *Justice Quarterly* 13:243–64.

Deflem, M. (2020) Popular Culture and Social Control: The Moral Panic on Music Labeling. *American Journal of Criminal Justice* 45, 2–24. https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1007/s12103-019-09495-3

Denscombe, M. (2014). *The good research guide: for small-scale social research projects*. McGraw-Hill Education (UK).

Densley, J. A. (2013). It's gang life, but not as we know it: The evolution of gang business. *Crime & Delinquency*, 60(4), 517-546.

Department of Corrections (2017). *Fact sheet: Statistics for Māori offenders*.

Dervin, F. (2012). Cultural identity, representation and othering. *The Routledge handbook of language and intercultural communication*, 2, 181-194.

Ditton, J., Chadee, D., Farrall, S., Gilchrist, E., & Bannister, J. (2004). From imitation to intimidation: A note on the curious and changing relationship between the media, crime and fear of crime. *British Journal of Criminology*, 44(4), 595-610.

Doudaki, V., & Spyridou, L. P. (2013). Print and online news: Remediation practices in content and form. *Journalism Studies,* 14(6), 907-925.

Dulaney, W. L. (2006). *Over the Edge and into the Abyss: the communication of organizational identity in an outlaw motorcycle club*. A Doctoral Thesis.

Duwe, G. (2005). A Circle of Distortion: The Social Construction of Mass Murder in the United

States. *Western Criminology Review* 6(1), 59-78

Eagleton, T. 2007 *Ideology: An Introduction*, London: Verso.

Eggleston, E. J. (2000). New Zealand youth gangs: Key findings and recommendations from an urban ethnography. *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand*, 148-148.

Elias, N. (2000) (1986). *The civilising process: Sociogenetic and psychogenetic investigations* (Revised). Oxford: Blackwell.

Ellemers, N., Spears, R., & Doosje, B. (2002). Self and social identity. *Annual review of psychology,* 53(1), 161-186.

Emerson 1963 'Toward a General Theory of the First Amendment,' (1963) 72 *Yale Law Journal:* 877-956

England, M. (2008). Stay out of drug areas: Drugs, othering and regulation of public space in Seattle, Washington. *Space and Polity*, 12(2), 197-213.

Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of communication,* 43(4), 51-58.

Entman, R. M. (2007). Framing bias: Media in the distribution of power. *Journal of communication*, 57(1), 163-173.

Erickson, R., Baraneck, P. and Chan, J. eds., (1991), *Representing Order: Crime, Law, Justice in the News Media,* Tronto: University of Tronto Press.

Eriskson, R. V. (1991). Mass media, crime, law, and justice: An institutional approach. *The British Journal of Criminology*, 31(3), 219-249.

Esbensen, F. A., & Carson, D. C. (2012). Who are the gangsters? An examination of the age, race/ethnicity, sex, and immigration status of self-reported gang members in a seven- city study

of American youth. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, 28(4), 465-481.

Esbensen, F. A., & Maxson, C. L. (2012). The Eurogang program of research and multimethod comparative gang research: Introduction. *In Youth gangs in international perspective* (pp. 1-14). Springer New York.

Esbensen, F. A., & Tusinski, K. (2007). Youth gangs in the print media. *Journal of Criminal Justice and Popular Culture, 1*(1), 21-38

Esbensen, F. A., & Weerman, F. M. (2005). Youth gangs and troublesome youth groups in the United States and the Netherlands: A cross-national comparison. *European Journal of Criminology*, 2(1), 5-37.

Esbensen, F. A., Winfree Jr, L. T., He, N., & Taylor, T. J. (2001). Youth gangs and definitional issues: When is a gang a gang, and why does it matter?. *NCCD news*, 47(1), 105-130.

Esbensen, F.-A., Winfree, L. T., Jr., He, N., & Taylor, T. J. (2001). Youth gangs and definitional issues: When is a gang a gang, and why does it matter? *Crime & Delinquency*, 47, 105-130.

Evans, W. P., Fitzgerald, C., Weigel, D., & Chvilicek, S. (1999). Are rural gang members similar to their urban peers? Implications for rural communities. *Youth & Society*, 30(3), 267-282.

Eveland, W. P. (2003). A "mix of attributes" approach to the study of media effects and new communication technologies. *Journal of Communication*, 53(3), 395-410.

Fagan, J., & Davies, G. (2004). The natural history of neighborhood violence. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, 20(2), 127-147.

Fagan, J., & Wilkinson, D. L. (1998). Guns, youth violence, and social identity in inner cities.

Crime and justice, 24, 105-188.

Faulkner, G., Finlay, S. J., & Roy, S. C. (2007). Get the news on physical activity research: A content analysis of physical activity research in the Canadian print media. *Journal of Physical Activity and Health*, 4(2), 180-192.

Fearon, J. D. (1999). *What is identity (as we now use the word).* Unpublished manuscript, Stanford University, Stanford, Calif.

Fischer, Claude S. (1982) *To Dwell among Friends: Personal Networks in Town and City. Chicago*: University of Chicago Press

Fischer, J. M., & Ravizza, M. (2000). *Responsibility and control: A theory of moral responsibility.* Cambridge university press.

Franklin, T. W., Franklin, C. A., & Fearn, N. E. (2008). A multilevel analysis of the vulnerability, disorder, and social integration models of fear of crime. *Social Justice Research*, 21(2), 204-227.

Fritz, N. J., & Altheide, D. L. (1987). The mass media and the social construction of the missing children problem. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 28(4), 473-492.

from https://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz/handle/2292/11030.

Fujii, L. A. (2010, January). Performances of identity and violence. In *RGIS paper seminar series*, University of California at Irvine, January (Vol. 8).

Gamson, W. A., & Modigliani, A. (1989). Media discourse and public opinion on nuclear power: A constructionist approach. *American journal of sociology*, 95(1), 1-37.

Gardner, 1998 'On the General Part of Criminal Law' in Duff (ed) *Philosophy and the Criminal Law* (1998)

Garland, D. (2001). *The culture of control*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Garland, D. (2008). On the concept of moral panic. *Crime, Media, Culture*, 4(1), 9-30.

Garofalo, J. (1981). The fear of crime: Causes and consequences. *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* (1973-), 72(2), 839-857.

Garot, R. (2001*). It's the Way you Wear Them*:" On Embodying Gang Identity. *The Contradictions of Controlling Students Dress,* 1-20

Garot, R. (2007). "Where You From!" Gang Identity as Performance. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography,* 36(1), 50-84.

Garot, R. (2010). *Who you claim?: Performing gang identity in school and on the streets*. New York: New York University Press.

Gau, Corsaro, & Brunson, 2014 Revisiting broken windows theory: A test of the mediation impact of social mechanisms on the disorder–fear relationship. *Journal of Criminal Justice*. 2014;42(6):579–588.

Geenen, K. (2009). 'Sleep occupies no space': The use of public space by street gangs in Kinshasa. *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 79(3), 347-368.

Gergen, K. J. (1995, April). Social construction and the transformation of identity politics. In *New School for Social Research Symposium*.

Gergen, K. J. (1995, April). Social construction and the transformation of identity politics. In *New School for Social Research Symposium*.

Gerhards, J., & Schäfer, M. S. (2010). Is the internet a better public sphere? Comparing old and new media in the USA and Germany. *New media & society*, 12(1), 143-160.

Gilbert (2010, 2013). *Patched: The history of gangs in New Zealand.* Auckland.

Gilbert, J., & Newbold, G. (2006). *Youth Gangs: A Review of Literature*: A Report Prepared for the Ministry of Social Development.

Gilbert, P. (2003). Evolution, social roles, and the differences in shame and guilt. *Social Research*, 1205-1230.

Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (2017). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. New York: Aldine

Goc, N. (2009). Framing the news: "Bad" 'mothers and the "Medea" news frame. *Australian Journalism Review*, 31(1) 33-47

Goffman 1959 *The Presentation of Self in Everyday life*. University of Edinburgh Social Sciences Research Centre

Golding, P. and Elliott, P. (1979) *Making the News*, London: Longman.

Goldson, B. (Ed.). (2011). *Youth in crisis?:'Gangs', territoriality and violence*. Routledge.

Goldstein, S. A. (2009). *Not your average criminal: Dexter, Weeds and The Sopranos, challenging traditional media portrayals* (Doctoral dissertation, School of Criminology-Simon Fraser University).

Goode, E. and Ben-Yehuda, N. 2012 [2009] *Moral Panics: The Social Construction of Deviance. Oxford*: Wiley-Blackwell.

Goodin, R. E., & Klingemann, H.-D. (1996). Political science: The discipline. In R. E. Goodin & H.-D. Klingemann (Eds.), *A new handbook of political science* (pp. 3–49). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gordon, R. M. (2000). Criminal business organizations, street gangs and wanna-be groups: A Vancouver perspective. *Canadian J. Criminology*, 42, 39.

Gray, E., Jackson, J., & Farrall, S. (2008). Reassessing the fear of crime. *European Journal of Criminology*, 5(3), 363-380.

Green, A., (1997). *Public perceptions, gang "reality" and the influence of the media.* (Unpublished Masters dissertation). Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand.

Green, J., & Pranis, K. (2007). *Gang wars: failure of enforcement tactics and the need for effective public safety strategies.* Washington DC: Justice Policy Institute Report.

Greer, C. (2007). News media, victims and crime. *Victims, crime and society*, 20-49.

Greer, C. (2013). Crime and the media: Understanding the connections. In C. Hale, K. A. Wahadin and E. Wincup (eds.) *Criminology*, second edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp25.

Greer, C. and Reiner, R. (2012), 'Mediated Mayhem: Media, Crime, Criminal Justice', in M. Maguire, R. Morgan and R. Reiner, eds, *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology*, 245–78. Oxford University Press.

Grekul, J., & LaBoucane-Benson, P. (2008). Aboriginal gangs and their (dis) placement: Contextualizing recruitment, membership, and status. *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice,* 50(1), 59-82.

Griffiths, R. (2010). "The Gothic Folk Devils Strike Back! Theorizing Folk Devil Reaction in the PostColumbine Era*." Journal of youth studies* 13 (3): 403–422. doi:10.1080/13676260903448021.

Hagan, J., Hirschfield, P., & Shedd, C. (2002). First and last words: Apprehending the social and legal facts of an urban high school shooting. *Sociological Methods & Research*, 31(2), 218-254.

Hagedorn, J. M. (1991). Gangs, neighborhoods, and public policy. *Social Problems*, 38(4), 529-542.

Hale, C. (1996). Fear of crime: a review of the literature. *International Review of Victimology* 4,79–150.

Hall, S. (2000). Who needs identity? In du Gay, P., Evans, J. & Redman, P.(Eds.), *Identity: a reader* (pp. 15-30).

Hall, S., Critcher, C., Jefferson, T., Clarke, J., & Roberts, B. (1978). *Policing the crisis: Mugging, the state, and law and order*. London: Macmillan.

Hallsworth, S. (2013). *The Gang & Beyond: Interpreting Violent Street Worlds*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hallsworth, S., & Brotherton, D. (2011). *Urban disorder and gangs: A critique and a warning*. London: Runnymede Trust.

Hallsworth, S., & Young, T. (2008). Gang talk and gang talkers: A critique. *Crime, Media, Culture*, 4(2), 175–195. https://doi.org/10.1177/1741659008092327

Hansen, A., Cottle, S., Negrine, R., & Newbold, C. (1998). *Mass communication research methods*, .London: Macmillan.

Haslett, D. S. (2007). *Riding at the Margins: International Media and the Construction of a Generic Outlaw Biker Identity in the South Island of New Zealand*, circa 1950-1975. Unpublished dissertation.

Heimer, K. (1997). Socioeconomic status, subcultural definitions, and violent delinquency. *Social forces*, 75(3), 799-833.

Heir, (2019). Moral panic and the new neoliberal compromise, *Current Sociology Review*, Vol.

67(6) 879–897

Henson, B & Reyns. (2015). The Only Thing We Have Left to Fear is Fear Itself…And Crime: The Current State of Fear of Crime Literature and Where It Should Go… *Sociology Compass* 9(2): 91-103

Herda-Rapp, A. (2003). The social construction of local school violence threats by the news media and professional organizations. *Sociological Inquiry*, 73(4), 545-574.

Herring, S. C. (Ed.). (1996). *Computer-mediated communication: Linguistic, Social, and cross-cultural perspectives* . John Benjamins Publishing.

Hier, (2016). Moral panic, moral regulation, and the civilizing process, *The British journal of sociology*, 67(3), 414-434.

Hier, S. (2003). Risk and panic in the late modernity: Implications of the converging sties of social anxiety. *British Journal of Criminology*, 54(1), 2–20

Hier, S. (2008). 'Thinking Beyond Moral Panic: Risk, responsibility, and the politics of moralization. *Theoretical Criminology*, Vol. 12(2): 173–190

Hier, S. (2011) 'Tightening the Focus: MoralPanic, Moral Regulation, and Liberal Government' *British Journal of Sociology*, 62(3): 523–41.

Hillery, G. A. (1955). Definitions of Community: Areas of Agreement." *Rural Sociology* 20. 111-123.

Hjelm, T. (2014). *Social Constructionisms: Approaches to the Study of the Human World*, New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hoffner, (2018). *Still Raving: The social construction of club drug use at raves and EDM festivals in Canadian newspapers*. Thesis.

Hogg, M. A., & Terry, D. I. (2000). Social identity and self-categorization processes in organizational contexts. *Academy of management review*, 25(1), 121-140.

Hornsey, M. J., & Hogg, M. A. (2000). Assimilation and diversity: An integrative model of subgroup relations. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 4(2), 143-156.

Horowitz, (1990) Sociological perspectives on gangs: Conflicting definitions and concepts. In C. Ronald Huff (ed.), *Gangs in America. Newbury Park*, Calif.: Sage

Horowitz, R. (1982). Adult delinquent gangs in a Chicano community: Masked intimacy and marginality. *Urban Life*, 11(1), 3-26.

Horowitz, R. (1987). Community tolerance of gang violence. *Social Problems*, 34(5), 437-450.

Horowitz, R., & Schwartz, G. (1974). Honour, normative ambiguity and gang violence. *American Sociological Review*, 238-251.

Howarth, C. (2002). Identity in whose eyes? The role of representations in identity construction. *Journal for the theory of social behaviour*, 32(2), 145-162.

Howarth, C. (2011). Representations, identity, and resistance in communication. In *The social psychology of communication* (pp. 153-168). Palgrave Macmillan UK.

Howell, J., (2004). "Youth gangs: An overview". In: Esbensen, F., Tibbetts, S., and Gaines, L., eds. *American youth gangs at the millennium*. Long Grove, IL: Waveland; 2004. pp. 16–50.

Hubbard, J. C., DeFleur, M. L., & DeFleur, L. B. (1975). Mass media influences on public conceptions of social problems. *Social Problems*, 23(1), 22-34.

Hudock, L. (2005). *News Or Speculation? A Comparative Content Analysis Of Headlines And The Prevalence Of Speculative Language In Corporate And Independently Owned Newspapers.* Unpublished Thesis.

Hughes, C. E., Lancaster, K., & Spicer, B. (2011). How do Australian news media depict illicit drug issues? An analysis of print media reporting across and between illicit drugs, 2003–2008. *International Journal of Drug Policy*, 22(4), 285-291.

Hughes, E. C. (1945). Dilemmas and contradictions of status. *American journal of Sociology*, 50(5), 353-359.

Hunt, A. (1997) '"Moral Panic" and Moral Language in the Media', *The British Journal of Sociology* , 48(4), 629-648

Hunt, A. (1999) *Governing Morals: A Social History of Moral Regulation*, Cambridge:

Husak, D. (2004). The criminal law as last resort. *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies*, 24, 207–235.

Ibarra & Kitsuse, (1993) Vernacular Constituents of Moral Discourse: An Interactionist Proposal for the Study of Social Problems. S. 21-54 in: Miller, G./Holstein, J.A. (Hrsg.), *Constructionist Controversies. Issues in Social Problem Theory.* New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

Ifantidou, E. (2009). Newspaper headlines and relevance: Ad hoc concepts in ad hoc contexts. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 41(4), 699-720.

Irving, J. 2006 'Transient Feelings: Sex Panics and the Politics of Emotion', *GLQ, A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, 14(1), 1-40.

Isaac, T., & Haami, B. (2007). *True Red.* Pukekohe, New Zealand: True Red.

Hayward, A. Wahidin, & E. Wincup (Eds.), *Criminology (*3rd ed., pp. 143–163).

Jacobs, B. A. (2004). A typology of street criminal retaliation. J*ournal of Research in Crime and Delinquency,* 41(3), 295-323.

Jaspal, R., & Yampolsky, M. A. (2011). Social representations of the Holocaust and Jewish

Israeli identity construction: insights from identity process theory. *Social Identities*, 17(2), 201-224.

Jaworskia, Fitzgerald & Morris (2003) Certainty and speculation in news reporting of the future: The execution of Timothy McVeigh. *Discourse Studies* 5(1): 33–48

Jensen, G. F., & Thibodeaux, J. (2013). The gang problem: Fabricated panics or real temporal patterns?. *Homicide studies*, 17(3), 275-290.

Jensen, S. Q. (2009). *Preliminary notes on othering and agency: Marginalized young ethnic minority men negotiating identity in the terrain of otherness*. Working paper presented at Castor Seminar Løgstør, Aalborg, Denmark, May 13-14.

Jensen, S. Q. (2011). Othering, identity formation and agency. *Qualitative studies*, 2(2), 63-78.

Jewkes, Y. (2015). *Media and crime* (3rd ed.). Los Angeles: Sage Publications.

Jimerson, J. B., & Oware, M. K. (2006). Telling the code of the street: An ethnomethodological ethnography. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 35(1), 24-50.

Johansson, T (2000) '*Moral Panics Revisited'*, Young 8(1): 22–35

Johnstone, W. C. (1981). Youth gangs and Black suburbs. *The Pacific Sociological Review*, 24(3), 355-375

Jones, E. E., & Pittman, T. S. (1982). Toward a general theory of strategic self-presentation. In J. Suls (Ed.), *Psychological perspectives on the self* (Vol. 1, 231–262). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Katterns & Watson, (2010, 16 May), *Gang vows to punish young boy's attacker*, Stuff news, http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/3689417/Gang-vows-to-punish-young-boys-attacker

Katz, C. M., & Schnebly, S. M. (2011). Neighborhood variation in gang member concentrations. *Crime & Delinquency*, 57(3), 377-407.

Katz, C. M., Webb, V. J., & Armstrong, T. A. (2003). Fear of gangs: A test of alternative theoretical models. *Justice Quarterly*, 20(1), 95-130.

Katz, K. (2011). The enemy within: The outlaw motorcycle gang moral panic. *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, 36(3), 231.

Kebede, S. S. (2010). *The struggle for belonging: Forming and reforming identities among 1.5-generation asylum seekers and refugees*. Refugee Studies Centre.

Kelling, & Wilson, (1982) Broken windows: the police and neighborhood safety, *Atlantic Monthly*, 29-38

Kelsey, J., & Young, W. (1982). *The Gangs: Moral Panic as Social Control*. Wellington: Institute of Criminology, Victoria University of Wellington.

Kepplinger, H. and Daschmann, G. (1997). Today's news-tomorrow's context: A dynamic model of news processing. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, 41: 548–565.

Kilminster, R. 2007 *Norbert Elias: Postphilosophical Sociology*, London: Routledge.

King, R. D., & Wheelock, D. (2007). Group threat and social control: Race, perceptions of minorities and the desire to punish. *Social Forces*, 85(3), 1255-1280.

Kinsella, C. (2012). Re-locating Fear on the Streets: Homelessness Victimisation and Fear of Crime. *European Journal of Homeleness*, 6(2), 121–136.

Kintrea, K., & Suzuki, N. (2008). Too Much Cohesion? Young people's territoriality in Glasgow and Edinburgh. In J. Flint & D. Robinson (Eds.), *Community Cohesion in Crisis: New Dimensions of Diversity and Difference.* Bristol: Policy Press.

Kintrea, K., Bannister, J., & Pickering, J. (2010). Territoriality and disadvantage among young people: an exploratory study of six British neighbourhoods. *Journal of Housing and the Built*

Environment, Vol. 25, pp. 447–465. https://doi.org/10.2307/41107528

Kiousis, S., Bantimaroudis, P., & Ban, H. (1999). Candidate image attributes: Experiments on the substantive dimension of second level agenda setting. *Communication Research*, 26(4), 414-428.

Kitamura, S. (2013). The relationship between use of the internet and traditional information sources: an empirical study in Japan. *SAGE Open*, 3(2), 2-9.

Kitzinger, J. (2004). *Framing Abuse: media influence and public understanding of sexual violence against children,* London: Pluto Press.

Klein, M. W. & Maxson, C.L., (2006). *Street gang patterns and policies*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Klein, M. W. (1995). *The American Street Gang*. New York: Oxford Univ. Press

Klein, M. W. (2005). The value of comparisons in street gang research. *Journal of contemporary criminal justice,* 21(2), 135-152.

Klein, M. W., & Maxson, C. L. (2010). *Street gang patterns and policies*. Oxford University Press.

Knight, G. and T. Dean (1982) 'Dramatic Functions of Press Coverage: Myth and the Structure of News', *Journal of Communication* 32(2): 144–61.

Kohring, M., & Matthes, J. (2002). The face (t) s of biotech in the nineties: how the German press framed modern biotechnology. *Public understanding of Science*, 11(2), 143-154.

Krinsky, C. (2013). Introduction: The moral panic concept. In C. Krinsky (Ed.), *The Ashgate research companion to moral panics* (pp. 1–14). Burlington: Ashgate Publishing

Kubrin, Charis E., and Ronald Weitzer. (2003). New directions in social disorganization

theory. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 40:374–402.

Landis and Koch (1977) The measurement of observer agreement for categorical data. *Biometrics*, 33:159–174.

Lane, J., & Meeker, J. W. (2000). Subcultural diversity and the fear of crime and gangs. *NCCD news*, 46(4), 497-521.

Lane, J., & Meeker, J. W. (2003). Fear of gang crime: A look at three theoretical models. *Law & Society Review*, 37(2), 425-456.

Lane, J., & Meeker, J. W. (2003). Women's and men's fear of gang crimes: Sexual and nonsexual assault as perceptually contemporaneous offenses. *Justice Quarterly*, 20(2), 337-371.

Lane, J., & Meeker, J. W. (2004). Social disorganization perceptions, fear of gang crime, and behavioral precautions among Whites, Latinos, and Vietnamese. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 32(1), 49-62.

Lane, J., & Meeker, J. W. (2010). Combining theoretical models of perceived risk and fear of gang crime among Whites and Latinos. *Victims and Offenders,* 6(1), 64-92.

Lange (1975) Speech and Press Clauses *UCLA Law Review* Vol 23 : 77 at 90

Langer, J. (1998) *Tabloid Television: Popular Journalism and the 'Other News'.* London: Routledge.

Lasley, J. R. (1992). Age, social context, and street gang membership: Are "youth" gangs becoming "adult" gangs?. *Youth & Society*, 23(4), 434-451.

Lau, R. W. (2012). Re-theorizing news' construction of reality: A realist-discourse- theoretic approach. *Journalism,* 13(7), 886-902.

Le, E. (2012). Gateways to the news: Headlines on Le Monde's home page and front page. *Discourse, Context & Media*, 1(1), 32-44.

Legislation and Design Advisory Committee, 2018, *Legislation Guidelines*, Department of Justice

Levenson, J. S., Brannon, Y. N., Fortney, T., & Baker, J. (2007). Public perceptions about sex offenders and community protection policies. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy*, 7(1), 137-161.

Lewis, D. A, & Salem, G. (1986). *Fear of crime: Incivility and the production of a social problem*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books.

Li, X., & Liu, X. (2010). Framing and coverage of same-sex marriage in US newspapers. *The Howard Journal of Communications*, 21(1), 72-91.

Lim, (2017) *Gangs and Guns:Is a Blanket Firearms Ban on Gangs Justified*? A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the degree of Bachelor of Laws (with Honours) at the University of Otago --- Te Whare Wānanga o Otāgo

Linnemann, T. (2010). Mad men, meth moms, moral panic: Gendering meth crimes in the Midwest. *Critical Criminology*, 18(2), 95-110.

Local Government New Zealand (1997). *Local Government - Getting to Gripes with Gangs: An Overview of Gang Related Problems Encounted by Local Authorities and Local Authority Responses to those Problems*.Wellington

Loftin, C. (1984). Assaultive violence as a contagious social process. Bulletin of the New York *Academy of Medicine*, 62(5), 550.

Loseke, D. R. (2003). *Thinking about social problems* (2nd ed.). New Brunswick, New Jersey: Aldine Transaction.

Love, C. (1999). *Maori voices in the construction of indigenous models of counselling theory and practice.* PhD dissertation; Palmerston North, New Zealand: Massey University

Lugo-Ocando & Brandao, 2015 Stabbing News: Articulating crime statistics in the newsroom. *Journalism Practice*, 10, 715-729.

Lumsden , K. , 2009 . Do we look like boy racers? The role of the folk devil in contemporary moral panics . *Sociological research online* [online], 14 (1). Available from: http://www.socresonline.org.uk/14/1/2.html

Lundstrom, R. (2011) 'Between the exceptional and the ordinary: A model for the comparative analysis of moral panics and moral regulation, *Crime Media Culture* 7(3) 313–332

Lupton, D. (1999). Dangerous places and the unpredictable stranger: Constructions of fear of crime. *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 32(1), 1-15.

Lupton, D. (2000). Part of living in the late twentieth century: Notions of risk and fear in relation to crime. *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 33(1), 21-36.

Maguire, M, Morgan, R & Reiner, R. (Eds.), (2012) *The Oxford handbook of criminology,* Oxford University Press

Magee, R. G. (2013). Can a print publication be equally effective online? Testing the effect of medium type on marketing communications. *Marketing Letters*, 24(1), 85-95.

Maher, J. (2010). Youth gang crime. In F. Brookman, M. Maguire, T. *Handbook of Crime*, Willan Publishing.

Major, B., & O'brien, L. T. (2005). The social psychology of stigma. *Annu. Rev. Psychol.*, 56, 393-421.

Mallon, R. (2007). A field guide to social construction. *Philosophy Compass*, 2(1), 93-108.

Manely, S., (1995), *The lived experience of Interaction with Authority by Members of a Fringe Group (Gang) in New Zealand Society*. (Unpublished Masters dissertation). Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand

Maneri M and ter Wal J (2005) The criminalisation of ethnic groups: An issue for media analysis Forum: *Qualitative Social Research* 6(3).

Maneri, M. (2013). From Media Hypes to Moral Panics: Theoretical and Methodological Tools. *Moral Panics in the Contemporary World*, 171.

Maney, G. M., & Oliver, P. E. (2001). Finding collective events: Sources, searches, timing. *Sociological Methods & Research*, 30(2), 131-169.

Markowitz, F. E., Bellair, P. E., Liska, A. E., & Liu, J. (2001). Extending social disorganization theory: Modeling the relationships between cohesion, disorder, and fear. *Criminology,* 39(2), 293-319.

Marsh, I., & Melville, G. (2011). Moral panics and the British media–a look at some contemporary 'folk devils'. *Internet Journal of Criminology*, 1(1), 1-21.

Marshall, B., Webb, B., & Tilley, N. (2005). *Rationalisation of current research on guns, gangs and other weapons: Phase 1*. London: Jill Dando Institute of Crime Science, University College London.

Martins, N., Weaver, A. J., Yeshua-Katz, D., Lewis, N. H., Tyree, N. E., & Jensen, J. D. (2013). A content analysis of print news coverage of media violence and aggression research. *Journal of Communication,* 63(6), 1070-1087.

Maslow, A. (1954). *Motivation and personality*. London, UK: Addison-Wesley.

Matsuda, K. N., Esbensen, F. A., & Carson, D. C. (2012). Putting the "Gang" in "Eurogang": characteristics of delinquent youth groups by different definitional approaches. In *Youth gangs in international perspective* (pp. 17-33). Springer New York.

Matsuda, Melde,, Taylor, Freng,, & Esbensen,, (2013) Gang membership and adherence to the "code of the street." *Justice Q*. 30:440–48

Matsueda, R. L., Gartner, R., Piliavin, I., & Polakowski, M. (1992). The prestige of criminal and conventional occupations: a subcultural model of criminal activity. *American sociological review*, 752-770.

Matthes, J., & Kohring, M. (2008). The content analysis of media frames: Toward improving reliability and validity. *Journal of communication,* 58(2), 258-279.

Mayring, P. (2000). Qualitative Content Analysis/Philipp Mayring. In Qualitative content analysis. Forum: *Qualitative Social Research* (Vol. 1, No. 2).

McCombs, M. (1997). Building consensus: The news media's agenda-setting role. *Political Communication,* 14, 433–443.

Maxwell E. McCombs , Donald L. Shaw & David H. Weaver (2014) New Directions in Agenda-Setting Theory and Research, *Mass Communication and Society*, 17:6, 781-802, DOI: 10.1080/15205436.2014.964871

McCorkle, R. C., & Miethe, T. D. (1998). The political and organizational response to gangs: An examination of a "moral panic" in Nevada. *Justice quarterly*, 15(1), 41-64.

McGloin, J. (2007). The continued relevance of gang membership. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 6(2), 231-240.

McGregor, J. (1992). Who owns the press in New Zealand? In J. McGregor & M. Comrie (Eds.), *Whose news?* (pp. 26-38). Palmerston North, N.Z.: Dunmore Press Limited.

McIntosh, A. J., and A. Zahra (2007) A Cultural Encounter through Volunteer Tourism: Towards Ideals of Sustainable Tourism? *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 15:541–556.

McMillan, D. W., & Chavis, D. M. (1986). Sense of community: A definition and theory. *Journal of community psychology*, 14(1), 6-23.

McRobbie, A., and Thornton, S. 1995 'Rethinking "Moral Panic" for MultiMediated Social Worlds', *British Journal of Sociology* 46(4): 559–74.

Meehan AJ (2000) The organizational career of gang statistics: the politics of policing gangs. *Sociol Q* 41:337–370

Meek, J. (1992). Gangs in New Zealand prisons. *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 25(3), 255-277.

Melde C and Esbensen F-A (2012) The onset of (Euro)gang membership as a turning point in the life course. In: Esbensen F-A and Maxson CL (eds) *Youth Gangs in International Perspective: Results from the Eurogang Program of Research*. New York: Springer, 169–188.

Melde, C., & Rennison, C. M. (2010). Intimidation and street gangs: Understanding the response of victims and bystanders to perceived gang violence. *Justice Quarterly*, 27(5), 619-666.

Mell, A. (2011). *Are" Gangstas" Peacocks?: The Handicap Principle and Illicit Markets*. Department of Economics, University of Oxford.

Mennell, S. 1990 'Decivilising Processes: Theoretical Significance and Some Lines of Research, *International Sociology*, 5(2), 205-223.

Meredith, P. (2000). *Urban Māori as 'new citizens': The quest for recognition and resources*, University of Waikato

Messing, S., & Westwood, S. J. (2013). *Friends that matter: How social influence affects selection in social media.* Retrieved from

https://dl.dropboxusercontent.com/u/25710348/POQTieStrengthNOTAnon.pdf

Metcalf, J. (2012). Reviewing "monsters": The press reception and media constructions of contemporary street gang memoirs. *Crime, Media, Culture*, 8(3), 333-353.

Metila, R. A. (2013). A discourse analysis of news headlines: diverse framing for a hostage-taking event. *Asian Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, 2(2), 171-178.

Miethe, T. D. (1984). Types of Consensus in Public Evaluations of Crime: An Illustration of Strategies for Measuring" Consensus". *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 75(2), 459-473.

Milioni, D., Vadratsikas, K., & Papa, V. (2011). Their two cents worth: A content analysis of online readers' comments in mainstream news outlets. In Article présenté *à la World Association for Public Opinion Research*, 64th Annual Conference, Amsterdam [En ligne].

Miller, D. (1998) 'Public Relations and Journalism: Promotional Strategies and Media Power', pp. 65–80 in A. Briggs and P. Cobley (eds) *The Media: An Introduction.* London: Longman.

Ministry of Social Development (2016). A*dult gang members and their children's contact with*

Ministry of Social Development service lines. Retrieved from: https://library.nzfvc.org.nz/cgi-bin/koha/opacdetail.pl?biblionumber=4930

Ministry of Social Development (2008). *Youth Gangs in Counties Manukau: Ministry of Social Development*

Ministry of Social Development. (2006) *From Wannabes to Youth Offenders: Youth Gangs in Counties Manukau - Research Report*. Centre for Social Research and Evaluation Te Pokapū Rangahau Arotake Hapori. 1-22

Mitchelstein, E., & Boczkowski, P. J. (2010). Online news consumption research: An assessment of past work and an agenda for the future. *New Media & Society*, 12(7), 1085- 1102.

Molek-Kozakowska, K. (2013). Towards a pragma-linguistic framework for the study of sensationalism in news headlines. *Discourse & Communication*, 7(2), 173-197.

Molek-Kozakowska, K. (2014). Coercive metaphors in news headlines: a cognitive- pragmatic approach. *Brno studies in English,* 40(1).

Monod, S. (2017). *Making Sense of Moral Panics: A Framework for Research*. London: Palgrave.

Moonen v Film and Literature Board of Review [2000] 2 NZLR 9 (CA),

Moore, S. E. H. (2014). *Crime and the media*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Morgan, G., Dagistanli, S., & Martin, G. (2010). Global fears, local anxiety: Policing, counterterrorism and moral panic over 'Bikie Gang Wars' in New South Wales. *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 43(3), 580-599.

Morris, J. (2003) A Gang. Human Ecology and Community. *Human Ecology* Special Issue No. 11: 61-68

Morrison, B., Smith, D. M. J., & Gregg, L. (2010). *The New Zealand Crime and Safety Survey 2009: Main findings report.* Ministry of Justice.

Moses, J. W. & Knutsen, T. L. (2007) *Ways of Knowing: Competing Methodologies in Social and Political Research.* Basingstok England: Palgrave MacMillan

Moy, P., Tewksbury, D., & Rinke, E.M. (2016). Agenda-setting, priming, and framing. In K.B. Jensen, & R.T. Craig (Eds.). *The International Encyclopedia of Communication Theory* doi:10.1002/9781118 766804.wbiect266

Moylan, B. (2013). *News in 140 Characters: A Content Analysis of US News Outlets on Twitter.* Master's degree project. American University.

Mullis, J. (2009). *The impact of the media on public opinion of the police* (Doctoral dissertation, California State University, Long Beach).

Muniz, A. (2012). Disorderly community partners and broken windows policing. *Ethnography,* 13(3), 330-351.

Murakami, K. (2001, September). Talk about rice: A discursive approach to studying culture. In Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: *Qualitative Social Research* (Vol. 2, No. 3).

Muukkonen, J. (2010). *Identity, Belonging & Othering in Caryl Phillips's Cambridge*. MA Thesis –University Of Tampere.[Online] https://trepo.tuni.fi/bitstream/handle/10024/81280/gradu04066.pdf

Nakamura, K., Blumstein, A., Krackhardt, D., & Tita, G. (2007). *Gang Violence in the "Balance": A Triadic Analysis of Rivalries and Allies.* The Heinz School, Carnegie Mellon University, Pittsburgh

Nakamuraa, Tita & Krackhardt, (2019) Violence in the balance: A structural analysis of how rivals, allies, and third-parties shape inter-gang violence. *Global Crime*. 10.1080/17440572.2019.1627879

Nakhid, C. (2009). The meaning of family and home for young Pasifika people involved in gangs in the suburbs of South Auckland. *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand*, 35, 112- 128.

Nelson, T. E., Clawson, R. A., & Oxley, Z. M. (1997). Media framing of a civil liberties conflict and its effect on tolerance. *American Political Science Review*, 91(3), 567-583.

Ness, C. D. (2004). Why girls fight: Female youth violence in the inner city. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* 595(1), 32-48.

New Zealand Department of Justice, (1987), *Committee of Inquiry into Violence*. Report of the ministerial committee, Wellington: New Zealand.

New Zealand Government, Attorney-General Office, (2008), *Report of the Attorney-General under the New Zealand Bill of Rights 1990 on the Wanganui District Council* (Prohibition of Gang Insignia) Bill 2008 (NZ)

New Zealand Police Association (2009). *Gangs and Organised Crime Bill: Submission of the New Zealand Police Association* (27 March 2009).

Newbold, C., Boyd-Barrett, O., & Van Den Bulck, H. (2002). *The media book*. London: Arnold

Newbold, G. (2004). A Reply to Buckingham's "Newsmaking" Criminology or "Infotainment" Criminology? Inaccuracy, Distortion and Feminist Doctrine. *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 37(2), 276-285.

O'Malley, T. and C. Soley (2000) *Regulating the Press.* London: Pluto.

Office of the Prime Minister. (2014). *Whole-of-government action plan to Reduce the Harms caused by New Zealand Adult Gangs and Transnational Crime Groups*, retrieved from https://www.police.govt.nz/about-us/publication/cabinet-paper-whole-government-action-plan-reduce-harms-caused-new-zealand

Oliver, P. E., Cadena-Roa, J., & Strawn, K. D. (2003). Emerging trends in the study of protest and social movements. *Research in political sociology*, 12(1), 213-244.

O'Shaughnessy & Stadler, (2012). *Media & society*. New York: Oxford University Press

Pain, R. (2000). Place, social relations and the fear of crime: a review. *Progress in human geography*, 24(3), 365-387.

Papacharissi, Z. (2007). Audiences as media producers: Content analysis of 260 blogs. *Blogging, citizenship, and the future of media*, 2138.

Papachristos, A. V. (2005). Interpreting inkblots: Deciphering and doing something about modern street gangs. *Criminology & Pub. Pol'y*, 4, 643.

Papachristos, A. V. (2009). Murder by structure: Dominance relations and the social structure of gang homicide. *American Journal of Sociology*, 115(1), 74-128.

Parker, E. L. (2001). Hungry for honour: Children in violent youth gangs. *Interpretation*, 55(2), 148-160.

Pattillo, M. E. (1998). Sweet Mothers and Gangbangers: Managing Crime in a Black Middle-Class Neighborhood. *Social Forces*, 76(3), 747–774. https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/76.3.747

Paulin, J., Searle, W., & Knaggs, T. (2003). *Attitudes to crime and punishment: A New Zealand study*. Wellington, New Zealand: Ministry of Justice.

Peelo, M. (2006). Framing homicide narratives in newspapers: mediated witness and the construction of virtual victimhood. *Crime, Media, Culture*, 2(2): 159–175

Perkins, D. D. & Zimmerman, M. A. (1995). Empowerment theory, research, and application. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 23(5), 569-579.

Perko, T., Turcanu, C., Geenen, D., Mamane, N., & Van Rooy, L. (2011). *Media content analysis of the Fukushima accident in two Belgian newspapers*. Belgian Nuclear Research Centre SCK.

Petersen, R. D. (2000). Definitions of a gang and impacts on public policy. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 28(2), 139-149.

Police Association, 2008 *Gangs and Organised Crime Bill: Submission of the New Zealand Police Association*, 6 June 2008, Wellington: New Zealand.

Posner, E. A. (1998). Symbols, signals, and social norms in politics and the law. *The Journal of Legal Studies*, 27(S2), 765-797.

Pratt & Clark, (2005). Penal Populism in New Zealand. *Punishment and Society* 7(3):303-22.

Pratt J, Anderson J. (2016). "The Beast of Blenheim", risk and the rise of the security sanction. *Aust. N. Z. J. Criminol*. 49(4):528–45

Pratt, J. (1998) '*Towards the Decivilization of Punishment', Social and Legal Studies Problem and response*. Washington DC: US Department of Justice.

Pyrooz D (2012) Structural covariates of gang homicide in large U.S. cities. *J Res Crime Delinq* 49:489–518

Pyrooz, D. C., Decker, S. H., & Webb, V. J. (2014). The ties that bind: Desistance from gangs. *Crime & Delinquency*, 60(4), 491-516.

Quayle, A., & Sonn, C. C. (2009). The construction of Muslims as "Other" in mainstream Australia's print media: An analysis of discourse. *The Australian community psychologist*, 21(1), 8-23.

Quilter v Attorney-General [1998] 1 NZLR 523, (CA)

Quince, K. (2007). Māori and the criminal justice system in New Zealand. In J. Tolmie & W. Brookbanks (Eds.), *Criminal justice in New Zealand* (pp. 333–359). Auckland, New Zealand: LexisNexis

Quinn, J. F. (2001). Angels, bandidos, outlaws, and pagans: The evolution of organized crime among the big four 1% motorcycle clubs. *Deviant Behavior*, 22(4), 379-399.

Quinn, J. F., & Forsyth, C. J. (2011). The tools, tactics, and mentality of outlaw biker wars. *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, 36(3), 216-230.

R v Church, ((unrep) High Court, Wellington, 23 May 2008, Ronald Young)

Ralphs, R., Medina, J., & Aldridge, J. (2009). Who needs enemies with friends like these? The importance of place for young people living in known gang areas. *Journal of youth studies*, 12(5), 483-500.

Ransom, R. (1981). *Sentencing Criminal Offenders: Judicial Practice and Public Opinion*., (Unpublished Masters dissertation). University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand.

Reader, B. and Moist, K. (2008) 'Letters as Indicators of Community Values: Two Case Studies of Alternative Magazines', *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 85(4): 823–49.

Reiner, R., Livingstone, S., & Allen, J. (2003). From law and order to lynch mobs: Crime News since the Second World War', in P. Mason, ed., *Criminal Visions*, 13–32. Cullompton: Willan

Rennison, C. M., & Melde, C. (2009). Exploring the use of victim surveys to study gang crime: Prospects and possibilities. *Criminal justice review*, 34(4), 489-514.

Riley, W. (2006). Interpreting gang tattoos. *Corrections Today*, 68(2), 46.

Robert J Gregory Morrow, V. (2001). Young people's explanations and experiences of social exclusion: retrieving Bourdieu's concept of social capital. *International journal of sociology and social policy*, 21(4/5/6), 37-63.

Roberts, J. V. (1992). Public opinion, crime, and criminal justice. *Crime and justice*, 16, 99-180.

Rocque, M. (2014). The lost concept: The (re)emerging link between maturation and desistance from crime. *Criminology & Criminal Justice*, 15(3) 340–360.

Rogers, E. M., Dearing, J. W., & Bregman, D. (1993). The anatomy of agenda-setting research. *Journal of communication*, 43(2), 68-84.

Roguski, M. (2017). *The gang action plan: A developmental evaluation*. Wellington, NZ: Oranga Tamariki.

Roguski, M. (2019). Achieving Wellbeing and Prosocial Transformation Through Social Mobilisation: An Evaluation of a Gang Empowerment Strategy. *Decolonization of Criminology and Justice* 1(1), 78-105

Roguski, M., & Tauri, J. M. (2012). Te politics of gang research in New Zealand. In K. Carrington (Ed.), *Crime, justice and social democracy: An international conference proceedings* (2nd ed., pp. 26–44). Brisbane, Australia: School of Justice, Queensland University of Technology

Rohloff, A. 2008 'Moral Panics as Decivilizing Processes: Towards an Eliasian Approach', *New Zealand Sociology* 23(1):66–76.

Rohloff, A. and Wright, S. 2010 'Moral Panic and Social Theory: Beyond the Heuristic', *Current Sociology* 58(3): 403–19.

Rollo, S. (2007). *Prohibition of Gang Insignia in Government Premises Bill Submission of Steven Rollo* submission to the Law and Order Select Committee.

Rose, N. 1999 *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rothe, D. and Muzzatti, S. 2004 'Enemies Everywhere: Terrorism, Moral Panic, and US civil society. *Critical Criminology* 12: 327–350

Rothenbuhler, E. and Coman, C. (eds) (2005) *Media Anthropology*. London: Sage

Rowbotham, J.; Stevenson, K.; and Pegg, S.,(2013). *Crime News in Britain. Press Reporting and Responsibility,* 1820-2010. Basingsyoke, Hampshire,UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Roy, S. C., Faulkner, G., & Finlay, S. J. (2007, September). Hard or soft searching? Electronic database versus hand searching in media research. In Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: *Qualitative Social Research,* 8(3).

Rummens, J. (2001). *An interdisciplinary overview of Canadian research on identity. Commission by Canadian Heritage*. Retrieved from canada. metropolis.net/events/ethnocultural/publications/identity_e. pdf.

Sacco, V. F. (1982). The effects of mass media on perceptions of crime: a reanalysis of the issues. Pacific Sociological Review, 25(4), 475-493. disorganization theory. *American journal of sociology*, 94(4), 774-802.

Sacco, V. F. (1995). Media constructions of crime. *The annals of the American academy of political and social science*, 539(1), 141-154.

Sampson, R & Groves, W., (1989). Community Structure and Crime: Testing Social Disorganization Theory. *American Journal of Sociology* 94: 774-802.

Sampson, R. J. (2018). Organized for what? Recasting theories of social (dis) organization. In E. Waring & D. Weisburd (Eds.), *Crime and social organization* (pp. 113–128). Routledge.

Sampson, R. J., & Raudenbush, S. W. (2004). Seeing disorder: Neighborhood stigma and the social construction of "broken windows". *Social psychology quarterly*, 67(4), 319-342.

Sampson, R. J., Morenoff, J. D., & Gannon-Rowley, T. (2002). Assessing "neighborhood effects": Social processes and new directions in research. *Annual review of sociology*, 28(1), 443-478.

Sampson, R. J., Raudenbush, S. W., & Earls, F. (1997). Neighborhoods and violent crime: A multilevel study of collective efficacy. *Science,* 277(5328), 918-924.

Sato (1992) *Kamikaze Biker: Parody and Anomy in Affluent Japan* (The University of Chicago Press, Chicago).

Scheufele, D. A. (1999). Framing as a theory of media effects. *Journal of communication*, 49(1), 103-122.

Schoenbach, K., de Waal, E., & Lauf, E. (2005). Research note: Online and print newspapers: Their impact on the extent of the perceived public agenda. *European Journal of Communication*, 20(2), 245-258.

Schouten, J. W., & McAlexander, J. H. (1995). Subcultures of consumption: An ethnography of the new bikers. *Journal of consumer research*, 22(1), 43-61.

Schubert v Wanganui District Council (HC Wanganui CIV-2010-483-321 3 March 2011),

Severson, A. J. (2011). *Social identity construction of Muslim women: A case study*. Graduate Theses and Dissertations

Sharp, C., Aldridge, J., & Medina, J. (2006). Delinquent youth groups and offending behaviour: findings from the 2004 Offending, *Crime and Justice Survey* 14(6). London: Home Office.

Shaw & McKay 1969 [1942]. *Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Shaw & McKay, (1931) "Social Factors in Juvenile Delinquency." *In Report on the Cause of Crime, vol. 2, National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement*. Report no. 13. Washington, D.C.:Government Printing Office.

Shehata, A., & Strömbäck, J. (2013). Not (yet) a new era of minimal effects: A study of agenda setting at the aggregate and individual levels. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 18(2), 234-255.

Sherman, L. W. Gottfredson, D., MacKenzie, D., Eck, J., Reuter, P., & Bushway, S. (1997). *Preventing crime: What works, what doesn't, what's promising*. Report to the U.S.

Congress, Washington, DC.

Sheyholislami, J. (2001). *Critical discourse analysis*. Retrieved from http://www.arleton.ca/~jsheyhol/cda.htm.

Shoemaker and Reese , (1996) *Mediating the Message: Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content*. New York: Longman.

Shute, J., Aldridge, J., & Medina, J. (2012). Loading the policy blunderbuss: Jon Shute, Judith

Aldridge and Juanjo Medina examine Coalition policy and find it wanting. *Criminal Justice Matters*, 87(1), 40-41.

Siltaoja, M (2013) Moral panic, moral regulation and essentialization of identities: Discursive struggle over unethical business practices in the Finnish national media, *Culture and Organization*, 19:1, 62-84, DOI: 10.1080/14759551.2011.644667

Silverman, D. (2006). *Interpreting qualitative data: Methods for analyzing talk, text and interaction.* Sage Publications.

Simon, B., & Klandermans, B. (2001). Politicized collective identity: A social psychological analysis. *American Psychologist*, 56, 319–331.

Singer, J. B. (2016). Transmission creep, *Journalism Studies*, 19:2, 209-226, DOI: 10.1080/1461670X.2016.1186498

Smithson, H., Ralphs, R., & Williams, P. (2012). Used and abused: The problematic usage *British Journal of Criminology*, 53(1), 113-128.

Smolej M (2010) Constructing ideal victims? Violence narratives in Finnish crime-appeal programming. *Crime, Media, Culture* 6(1): 69–85.

Soothill, K., Ackerley, E., & Francis, B. (2004). Profiles of crime recruitment: changing patterns over time. *British Journal of Criminology*, 44(3), 401-418.

Spears, R., Doosje, B., & Ellemers, N. (1997). Self-stereotyping in the face of threats to group status and distinctiveness: The role of group identification. *Personality and social psychology bulletin*, 23(5), 538-553.

Spence v. Washington 418 U.S. 405, 409, 94 S.Ct. 2727, 41 L.Ed.2d 842 (1974)

Spergel, I. A. (1984). Violent gangs in Chicago: In search of social policy. *Social Service Review,* 58(2), 199-226.

Spergel, I. A. (1994). *Gang Suppression and Intervention: Problem and Response*. Washington, D.C.: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.

Spergel, I. A., Wa, K. M., & Sosa, R. V. (2005). *Evaluation of the Tucson Comprehensive Community-Wide Approach to Gang Prevention*, Intervention, and Suppression Program Technical report, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, Chicago.

Spergel, I., & Curry, G. D. (1990). Strategies and perceived agency effectiveness in dealing with the youth gang problem. In Huff, C. R. (ed.), *Gangs in America: Diffusion, Diversity and Public Policy*, Sage, Newbury Park, CA.

St. Cyr, J. (2001). The folk devil reacts: Gangs and moral panic. *Criminal Justice Review*, 28(1): 26-46.

Stacey, M. (1969). The myth of community studies. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 20(2), 134-147.

Stallings, R. A. (1990). Media discourse and the social construction of risk. *Social problems*, 37(1), 80-95.

Stanely, E. (2016). *The Road to Hell: State Violence against Children in Post-War New Zealand.* Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press.

Starkloff, P. (1996) *Scooterists: social identity in subcultural groups, an ethnographic study*. Exeter University. 1-42.

Staszak, J. F. (2009). Other/otherness. *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*. Elsevier

Statistics New Zealand, (2006). *Census of Population and Dwellings, 2006*. Statistics New Zealand, Wellington.

Statistics New Zealand, 2016, *Census of Population and Dwellings, 2016.* Statistics New Zealand, Wellington.

Statistics New Zealand. (2008). *Review of crime and criminal justice statistics report 2008.* Statistics New Zealand, Wellington.

Statistics New Zealand. (2009). *Review of crime and criminal justice statistics report 2009*. Statistics New Zealand, Wellington.

Stodolska, M., Acevedo, J. C., & Shinew, K. J. (2009). Gangs of Chicago: Perceptions of crime and its effect on the recreation behavior of Latino residents in urban communities. *Leisure Sciences*, 31(5), 466-482.

Stryker, S., & Burke, P. J. (2000). The past, present, and future of an identity theory. *Social psychology quarterly*, 284-297.

Sullenger, T. E. (1929). Popular Attitudes Toward the Administration of Criminal Justice. *Am. Inst. Crim. L. & Criminology,* 20, 500.

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. *The social psychology of intergroup relations,* 33(47), 74.

Tamatea, 2017 The last defence against gang crime: Exploring community approaches to gang member reintegration - part I, Practice: *The New Zealand Corrections Journal 5*(2): November 2017, Department of Corrections

Taonui & Newbold, 2016, Staunch: Māori Gangs in Urban New Zealand, Chapter six, *Urban Social Capital: Civil Society and City Life*, Ashgate Pub Co, Surrey.

Taonui (2007) *Not a race issue*, New Zealand Sunday Star Times, 5 August, pA10

Ter Wal, J. (Ed.). (2002). *Racism and cultural diversity in the mass media: an overview of research and examples of good practice in EU member states*, 1995-2000. EUMC.

Terminiello v City of Chicago 337 US 1 (1949) (US SC), at p 4.

Thakker, J., & Durrant, R. (2006). News coverage of sexual offending in New Zealand, 2003. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*, 35(1), 2835.

Thomas, C. W., Cage, R. J., & Foster, S. C. (1976). Public opinion on criminal law and legal sanctions: An examination of two conceptual models. *J. Crim. L. & Criminology*, 67, 110.

Thompson, C. Y., Young, R. L., & Burns, R. (2000). Representing gangs in the news: Media constructions of criminal gangs. *Sociological Spectrum*, 20(4), 409-432.

Thorns, D. C., & Sedgwick, C. P. (1997). *Understanding Aotearoa/New Zealand, Historical Statistics.* Palmerston North: The Dunmore Press.

Thornton, (2003) Published Reaction When Murrow Battled Mccarthy, *Journalism History* 29 (October 2003): 133-47

Thrasher, (1927) *The Gang*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Tolmie, J., & Brookbanks, W. J. (2007). *Criminal Justice in New Zealand.* Wellington, New Zealand: LexisNexis New Zealand Ltd

Tumblin, D. M. (2010). *The blame is in the frame: inter-reality comparisons of crime reports and local news crime coverage on the internet*. LSU Master's Theses. 3958. https://digitalcommons.lsu.edu/gradschool_theses/3958

Tuori, A. (2009). *Using social categories in a study of identities: Exploring methodological questions.* 18th EDAMBA Summer Academy, Soreze, France.

Turner, B. S. (2009). *Introduction: A New Agenda for Social Theory?* The New Blackwell companion to social theory, 1-16.

Tyler, T. R., & Blader, S. L. (2001). Identity and cooperative behavior in groups. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations,* 4(3), 207-226.

Ungar, S. 2001 'Moral Panic Versus the Risk Society: The Implications of the changing sites of social anxiety. *British Journal of Sociology*, 52(2), 271–291

Uribe R and Gunter B (2007) Are 'sensational' news stories more likely to trigger viewers' emotions than non-sensational news stories? A content analysis of British TV news. *European Journal of Communication* 22: 207–228.

Valasik & Reid, 2019 Taking Stock of Gang Violence: An Overview of the Literature, Chapter in *Handbook of Interpersonal Violence Across the Lifespan*, Springer Science/Nature, pp.1-21

Van Dijk, T.A. (1993) *Elite Discourse and Racism*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Van Dijk, T.A. (1992) Discourse and the Denial of Racism. Discourse and Society 3, 87-118.

Van Krieken, R. 2003 *'Crime, Government, and Civilization: Rethinking Elias in Criminology',* Paper presented at ESA Conference, September, Murcia, Spain.

Van Vugt, M., & Hart, C. M. (2004). Social identity as social glue: the origins of group loyalty. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 86(4), 585.

Venkatesh, S. A. (2001). *The Social Outcomes of Street Gang Involvement* (No. 250). Northwestern University/University of Chicago Joint Center for Poverty Research.

Veno, 2003 *The brotherhoods: Inside the outlaw motorcycle clubs Allen and Unwin, Crows*

Nest, New South Wales, Australia (2003)

Veno, A., & Van den Eynde, J. (2007). Moral panic neutralization project: a media-based intervention. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 17(6), 490-506.

Waddington, P. J. (1986). Mugging as a Moral Panic: A Question of Proportion. *British Journal of Sociology* 37(2): 245–59.

Walker, R. (1990). *Ka wahawhai tonu matou: Struggle without end 1990,* Auckland: Penguin.

Walker, R. J. (1979). The Urban Maori. In New Zealand Planning Council (Ed.), *He Matapuna*: A source. (pp. 33-42). Wellington: Author.

Walklate S. (2007). *Understanding criminology.* Buckingham: Open University Press

Walsh, J. P. (2016). Moral panics by design: The case of terrorism. *Current Sociology,* 65(5) 643–662

Warius, J. (2011). *"And now to the rest of the trash…" Representations of begging Roma and an ideal society in two Nordic newspapers* (Doctoral dissertation).

Warner, K. (2004). Gang rape in Sydney: Crime, the media, politics, race and sentencing. *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 37(3), 344-361.

Weerman, F. M., Maxson, C. L., Esbensen, F. A., Aldridge, J., Medina, J., & van Gemert, F. (2009). *Eurogang program manual*. Background, development and use of the Eurogang tools in multisite multimethod comparitive research.(www. umsl. edu/~ ccj/ eurogang/ eurogangmanual. htm).

Welch, M. (2006) *Scapegoats of September 11th*, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.

Welch, M., Fenwick, M., & Roberts, M. (1997). Primary definitions of crime and moral panic:

A content analysis of experts' quotes in feature newspaper articles on crime. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 34(4), 474-494.

Wester, F., Pleijter, A., and Renckstorf, K. (2004). Exploring newspaper portrayals: A logic for interpretative content analysis. *Communications,* 29, 495513.

White, R. (1993). Young people and the policing of community space. *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 26(3), 207-218.

White, R., & Mason, R. (2006). Youth gangs and youth violence: Charting the key dimensions. *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 39(1), 54-70.

Wickes, R. L. (2010). Generating action and responding to local issues: Collective efficacy in context. *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 43(3), 423-443.

Wilson, J. Q., & Kelling, G. L. (1982). The police and neighbourhood safety: Broken windows. *Atlantic monthly*, 127(2), 29-38.

Woo, D., H. Giles, M. A. Hogg, and L. Goldman. (2015). "Social Pyschology of Gangs: An Intergroup Communication Perspective." In *The Handbook of Gangs*, edited by S. H. Decker and D. C. Pyrooz, 136–156. New York: Wiley.

Wood, J., & Alleyne, E. (2010). Street gang theory and research: Where are we now and where do we go from here? *Aggression and violent behavior*, 15(2), 100-111.

Workman. K. (2008) *Looking Back – Looking Beyond – Gang Strategies in the Wider Context.* A paper presented at the Local Government Forum on Gangs, Brentwood Hotel, Kilbirnie,

Wortley, S., & Tanner, J. (2007). *Criminal organizations or social groups? An exploration of the myths and realities of youth gangs in Toronto*. Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto..

Wright S (2015) Moral panics as enacted melodramas. *British Journal of Criminology* 55(6):

1226–1244

Wyllie, A., Cameron, A., & Howearth, Jo. (2008). *Impacts of national media campaign to counter stigma and discrimination associated with mental illness.survey 9 results for campaign 4.* Auckland, New Zealand: Phoenix Research.

Yang, J., & Grabe, M. E. (2011). Knowledge acquisition gaps: A comparison of print versus online news sources. *New Media & Society*, 13(8), 1211-1227.

Yar, (2012) Crime, media and the will-to-representation: Reconsidering relationships in the new media age. *Crime, Media, Culture,* 8(3), 245–260.

Yarwood, R., & Gardner, G. (2000). Fear of crime, cultural threat and the countryside. *Area*, 32(4), 403-411.

Young, 2017 'Whanganui tribes', *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/whanganui-tribes (accessed 6 January 2020)

Young, J. (2007). Slipping away … moral panics each side of "the Golden age." In D. Downes, Rock, P., & Chinkin, C., (Eds.), Crime, social control and human rights: From *moral panics to states of denial, essays in honour of Stan Cohen (*pp. 53–65). Collumpton, England: Willan.

Young, J. (2011). Moral panics and the transgressive other. *Crime, Media, Culture*, 7(3), 245–258.

Young, K., & Craig, L. (1997). Beyond White pride: identity, meaning and contradiction in the Canadian skinhead subculture. *Canadian Review of Sociology/Revue canadienne de sociologie,* 34(2), 175-206.

Young, W,Morris, Cameron and (1997) *New Zealand national survey of crime victims 1996.*

Wellington: Ministry of Justice.

Zimmerman,E., Dopkins, L., Masters, P., & Vallas, PhD (2006) *Public Perceptions of Gang Activity in Northern Virginia: Results of a Pilot Study*. University of Virginia.

Zoghlman, J. (2011). *The Social Identity Theory: Explanation of Gang Members as Terrorist in the United States*. Honors Seminar: Terrorism

Newspaper articles

 (787) Related to Wanganui Chronicle print 7 May 2007, First ed, p2.

(789) Related to Wanganui Chronicle print 7 May 2007, First ed, p2.

(791) Related to Wanganui Chronicle print 8 May 2007, First ed, p3.

(792) Related to Wanganui Chronicle print 9 May 2007, First ed, p3.

Britton, 2006, *Gangs clash in streets of Wanganui*, 1st march 2006 Dominion Post p. 3

 A flash of gang bravado (18 Aug 2007, Edition 2) *Dominion Post,* P4.

Anti-gang regalia bill hysteria, say residents, (18 Apr 2007, Edition 1), *Dominion Post,* p8

Figures justify gang regalia ban, says Laws, (4 Apr 2007, Edition 1), *Dominion Post*, p8

Forced out over 'gang' T-shirt, (11 Nov 2011), *Wanganui Chronicle*, retrieved from

https://www.nzherald.co.nz/wanganui-

chronicle/news/article.cfm?c_id=1503426&objectid=11045720

Gang clashes fuel crime increase, (3October, 2006), *Wanganui Chronicle*, retrieved from

https://www.nzherald.co.nz/wanganui-

chronicle/news/article.cfm?c_id=1503426&objectid=10945705

Gangs don't recruit from schools, say Black Power leader, (10 Nov 2005), *Wanganui Chronicle*, https://www.nzherald.co.nz/wanganui-chronicle/news/article.cfm?c_id=1503426&objectid=10931910.

Mixed reaction to gang-patch law, (13 August, 2013), *Hawkes Bay Today*, retrieved from https://www.nzherald.co.nz/hawkes-bay-today/news/article.cfm?c_id=1503462&objectid=11107202

Time to talk to gangs, says Māori MP, (28 June, 2007), *New Zealand Herald,* retrieved from https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=10448382

111 system fails again, (24 November, 2005) *Wanganui Chronicle*, pg1

Judge takes Hells Angels gang patch in test case, (19 Mar 2010, Edition 2), *Dominion Post,* P5.

Small patch makes its presence felt (21 Aug 2010 Edition 2) *Dominion Post* P6.

The mayor who aims to patch up Whanganui's reputation (30 Oct 2010 Edition 2), *Dominion Post*, P11.

Hells Angels take court action over patch bylaw (31 July 2010 Edition 2), *Dominion Post*, P4.

Judge's gang-patch ban ruling 'wrong' – Laws, (4 Mar 2011 Edition 2), *Dominion Post*, P7.

Gang patch ban off, but convictions stay on (05 Mar 2011 Edition 2), *Dominion Post* P13

Blow to gang as boss jailed (21 Feb 2008, Edition 2), *Dominion Post* P 3.

Britton, True Colours (4 March 2006), *Dominion Post*, p. 5

Patch ban 'outweighs rights (31 Jul 2008, Edition 1), *Dominion Post,* P3.

Editorial 'Occupation must end' (1995, March 14).. *The Evening Post*, p6

Editorial: Gang patch ban taking it too far', (19 Mar 2008), *New Zealand Herald*: retrieved from https://www.nzherald.co.nz/opinion/news/article.cfm?c_id=466&objectid=10499239

Extra patrols following gang violence' (1 March 2006), *New Zealand Herald*: retrieved from https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=10370567

Gangs clash in streets of Wanganui (1 Mar 2006, Edition 1), *Dominion Post*, p3.

For God's sake give us the resources, (2 Mar 2006), *Wanganui Chronicle*, p2.

Gang brawls provoke stern police response, (1 Mar 2006) *Wanganui Chronicle* p1.

Gang fence still up despite Laws' promise, (03 Sep 2010 Edition 2), *Dominion Post*, P7

Gang patch ban bill passes first test', (17 April 2008), *New Zealand Herald*: retrieved from https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=10504597

Gang Patch Ban Just One Step, (4 September 2009), *Dominion Post,* p2

Gangs are not welcome here. It is time to make a stand, (3 March 2006), *Wanganui Chronicle,* p2.

Grief and guns in city on edge, (8 May 2007), *Dominion Press*, p1.

Hey, kid: want to join a gang? (4 Nov, 2005), *Wanganui Chronicle*, p1.

Hunt for killer heats up, (8 May, 2007), *Wanganui Chronicle*, p1

Is Turia right, should we listen to gangs' ideas for change? (2 July 2007), *New Zealand Herald*: retrieved from https://www.nzherald.co.nz/opinion/news/article.cfm?c_id=466&objectid=10448409

Journalists in `feeding frenzy' on Maori issues. (18 March, 1995) *The Dominion Post*, p2

Kayes, J. (1995, March 15). Police urge peace on garden protest. *The Evening Post*, p1

Laws, Enough, 2006).

Minister to get gang-busting tips from US', (20 August 2013), *Stuff news*:

http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/politics/9063314/Minister-to-get-gang-busting-tips-from-US

Morgan, J. (1995, March 16). Maori occupation of gardens condemned. *The Dominion* p3

Morgan, J. (1995, March 18). Anger over occupation fuels rates strike call. *The Dominion,* p1

'Recent gang violence brings action from Mayor Michael Laws and his council' (11 March 2006), *New Zealand Herald* p11

nh6central (2012, March 5). *Jhia Te Tua Murder (New Zealand, 2007 - 2009)* (1 of 5) [video file]. retrieved from; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ay1lmYyyRis

Norgate, J. (1995, March 1). Mayor calls for end to Wanganui protest. *The Dominion*, p3

Norris, R. (1995, March 10). Police deny they harassed protesters. *The Dominion*, p3

Our readers say, (4 March 2006), *Wanganui Chronicle*, pg 1

Peters talks tough about gangs, (30 Sept 1996) *New Zealand Herald*, p2

Police concern at gang at Moutoa. (9 May 1995) *The Dominion*, p1

Police not all rapists, gang members not all criminals – Turia, (8 May 2007), *New Zeeland herald:* retrieved from

https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=10438430

Police urge gangs to stay calm (8 May 2007) *Dominion Press*, pg1

Prebble lands gang inquiry, (4 August 1989), *New Zealand Herald*, p1

Retailers say: What gang problem? (7 April, 2007), *Wanganui Chronicle* p2

Retailers support ban (14 March 2006) *Wanganui Chronicle*: retrieved from

https://www.nzherald.co.nz/wanganui-

chronicle/news/article.cfm?c_id=1503426&objectid=10936720

Rivalry takes back seat as gangs protest against bylaw, (2 Sept 2009), *Dominion Post* P4.

Scared Wanganui kids arming themselves, says social worker, 16 Nov 2004, *Wanganui Chronicle,* p4

Shooting victim a beautiful girl (7 May 2007), *Wanganui Chronicle*, p2.

Sober slogan marks Nationals' vision for victory, (30 Oct 1989), *New Zealand Herald*, pg9

Turf war behind fatal shooting: gang leader, (8 May, 2007) *Wanganui Chronicle* pg 3

Vass & Dye, 2007, 'Terrified city braces for gang revenge' 7 May 2007 *New Zealand Herald*

Wanganui bill may catch on elsewhere, say backers (6 Mar 2007, Edition 1), *Dominion Post* P2.

Wanganui people react, (8 May 2006), *Dominion Press*, p2

We have to stop the gangs, (13 Nov 2004), *Wanganui Chronicle*, p1

We're not terrorists, (4 March 2006), *Wanganui Chronicle*, p1