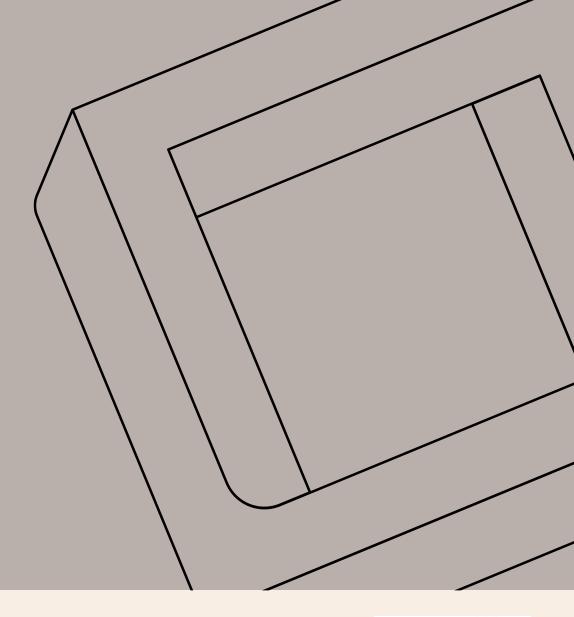
2024 Litmus Test of BSA decisions – Public attitudes towards gender identity issues on TV / Radio

Prepared by Verian

May 2024







Introducing Verian

Verian is the new name for Kantar Public (formerly Colmar Brunton).

Following our divestment from our former parent company, we are now an independent research and evaluation agency, providing evidence and advisory services to government and the public realm, across Aotearoa New Zealand and around the world.

Please get in touch if you have questions or would like to know more.

www.veriangroup.com/nz

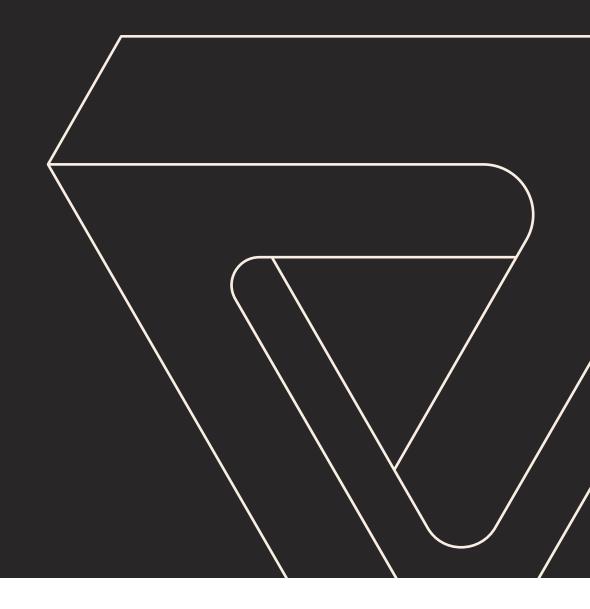




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Key take outs

Key take outs

All decisions surpassed the BSA Performance Measure target of 75%. Participants ranked the BSA decisions as acceptable or better on a five-point scale, as follows:

Morning Report

Use of 'people with cervixes' term

98%

Saturday Morning with Kim Hill

'Misgendering' and 'Deadnaming'

Saturday Morning

90% Interview with gender critical philosopher

New Conservative Party Ad

Policy to remove gender ideology from schools

89%

1News

Reporting on Kellie-Jay Keen 86% Minshull

New Zealanders balance the potential harm of a broadcast for gender diverse people against the right to freedom of speech.

Qualitative discussions highlight agreement that sharing opinions about gender identity issues on TV and radio should not cause harm to New Zealanders – despite varying levels of acceptance of potential harm.

For higher comfort New Zealanders*, malicious intent and potential harm to vulnerable gender diverse communities tends to be top of mind, remaining so regardless of the reasons outlined in BSA's decision and acceptance of the relevant standard's requirements (see slides 43 and 45).

In contrast, lower comfort New Zealanders** prioritise freedom of speech, and perceive the lack of a balanced discourse on gender identity issues to not be in the public interest (see slide 44).

New Zealanders understand and accept the BSA's decisions, generating trust and confidence in the BSA

Overall, people are happy with the BSA's decisions. Regardless of their view prior to reading a decision, most accept the BSA's reasoning, even when they do not agree with the outcome.

Among those who disagree with the BSA's decisions, while the reasoning varies broadly from case to case, most cite concerns over discriminatory language being used or misleading/false information being used in the clips. Even so, most of the decisions are clear and easy to understand, with relevant feedback mentioned throughout the report.

Perceptions around the application of both the discrimination and denigration standard and the fairness standard expose different views within sub-groups, but not necessarily consistently across all cases.

Across the five decisions, at least one sub-group feels significantly different towards the BSA's decisions than others. However, this appears more influenced by the subject of the item rather than being linked to the standards being enforced themselves. Some groups that find the BSA's decision significantly more acceptable than average may find another case involving the same standard significantly less acceptable.

This is supported by the qualitative phase, with similar findings across ages and ethnicities. Key differences relate to comfort levels with gender diverse people. Any other notable differences are mentioned throughout the report.

^{*}New Zealanders with high levels of comfort with gender diverse people. See slide 10 for more information.

^{**}New Zealanders with low levels of comfort with gender diverse people. See slide 10 for more information.

The research approach

The task at hand

- The Broadcasting Standard Authority (BSA) oversees the broadcasting standards regime in New Zealand. It provides the public with a free and independent complaints service with respect to broadcasting standards with which broadcasters must comply.
- Every other year, members of the public are invited to 'litmus test' up to five BSA decisions on a chosen topic or standard as specified in the BSA's Statement of Performance Expectations.

For the quantitative survey, the BSA's target for performance is that 75% or more of the participants rate the tested decisions as acceptable, good or very good on a five-point scale.

Research objectives

The overall objective of this research was to determine whether BSA decisions reflect community standards and are understood by members of the public.

Specifically, the BSA wanted to:

- Understand current community attitudes towards gender identity issues (under the Discrimination and Denigration, and Fairness broadcasting standards).
- Evaluate the BSA's:
 - Approach to complaints regarding gender identity issues under the Discrimination and Denigration, and Fairness Standards
 - Clarity of decision reasoning
 - Decision outcome.

This year's litmus test focused on BSA decisions concerning gender identity issues. These applied to two broadcasting standards: Discrimination and Denigration, and Fairness.

We looked at five broadcasts relating to this topic. This included three RNZ clips, one TVNZ news item, and one New Conservative Party advertisement. The subsequent BSA decisions on complaints made about those programmes provided the basis for discussion.

- New Conservative Party election ad | Policy to remove 'gender ideology' from schools
- 1News | Report on Kellie-Jay Keen Minshull (aka Posie Parker)
- Saturday Morning | Interview between Kim Hill and Kae Tempest
- Morning Report | News item on trans men and non-binary people missing out on cervical screening
- Saturday Morning | Interview between Kim Hill and Dr Kathleen Stock

Quantitative methodology



We spoke to a total of 581 people online.

Respondents were sourced from Verian's online consumer panel.

The number of interviews with Māori, Pacific peoples and Asian New Zealanders were boosted to ensure we had a sufficient sample to analyse responses by ethnicity.

See Appendix for detailed sample breakdown.

Due to limitations in sampling, gender diverse respondents make up only a small proportion of the overall sample. Insights into gender diverse responses can be found in the qualitative sections of this report.



Fieldwork was conducted from the 8th of April to the 20th of April 2024.



The questionnaire was structured to present a short video clip to each person and then ask for their feedback. We asked for feedback in two ways. First we asked for a gut reaction to the complaint - after viewing the clip each person was immediately asked if they would have upheld the complaint, or not. Second, we outlined the BSA decision and the relevant standards before asking people to rate the decision on a five point scale. It is this latter rating that reflects the KPI requirement for the BSA.



The maximum margin of error on a sample size of n=581 is +/-4%.

We post-weighted the data to ensure it is representative of the New Zealand adult population by age, gender, region and ethnicity.

Differences in the data over time are tested at the 95% confidence level, while differences between subgroups are tested at 90%.

Qualitative Methodology

At recruitment, participants were screened to determine their level of comfort with gender identity issues. This was based on peoples' comfort with having a gender diverse person in their family, as a friend, as a colleague, and as Prime Minister.

- Participants who were uncomfortable with most of these situations are considered 'Lower comfort'
- Participants who were comfortable with most of these situations are considered 'higher comfort'

Throughout this report we refer to 'lower' and 'higher comfort' New Zealanders to reflect this distinction.

The term 'New Zealanders' is used throughout this report. This refers only to people who participated in this research project. We completed five online group discussions: Across all groups: Spread of age Gender diverse We ensured an approximate age spread of 1/3 younger people, 1/3 middle aged, 1/3 older people. Cisgender male, higher comfort levels Spread of ethnicity We ensured an approximate ethnic spread of 1/4 of participants from each ethnicity group -Māori, Pākēha, Pasifika, Asian, Cisaender male, lower comfort levels Spread of participant location We ensured an approximate location spread of ½ of sample from urban location and ½ Cisgender female, higher comfort levels from rural/provincial location Spread of life stage and household type Sole parents, two-parent households, multi-Cisgender female, lower comfort levels generational households, empty nesters.

Participants completed a pre-task, which included watching/listening to the five clips and completing a self-completion sheet prior to the group. Within each group, four of the five clips were discussed. These were rotated across the groups.

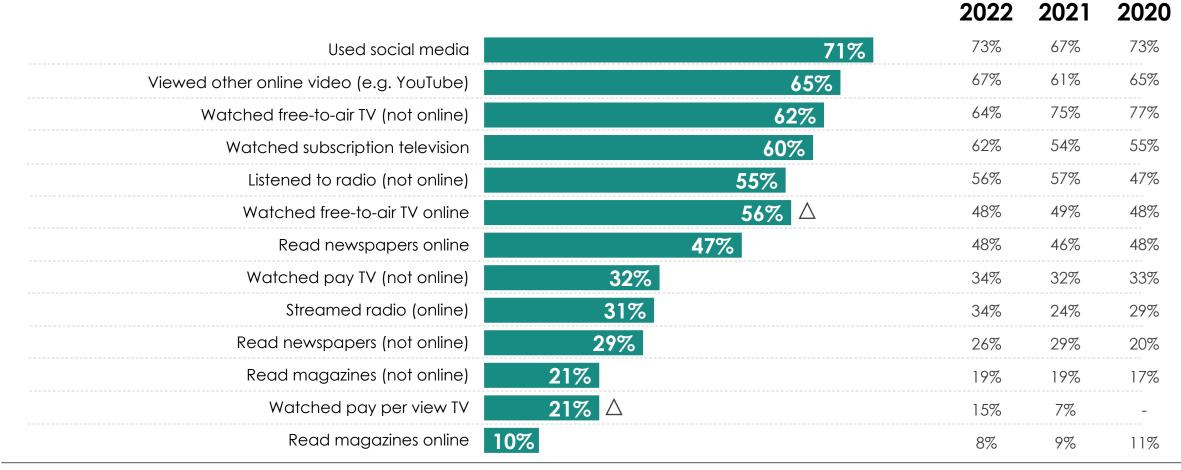
Fieldwork was completed during April 2024.

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Setting the scene: Media use / consumption

Social media remains the most-consumed media in 2024, while free to air TV (online) and pay per view TV have both increased significantly since 2022

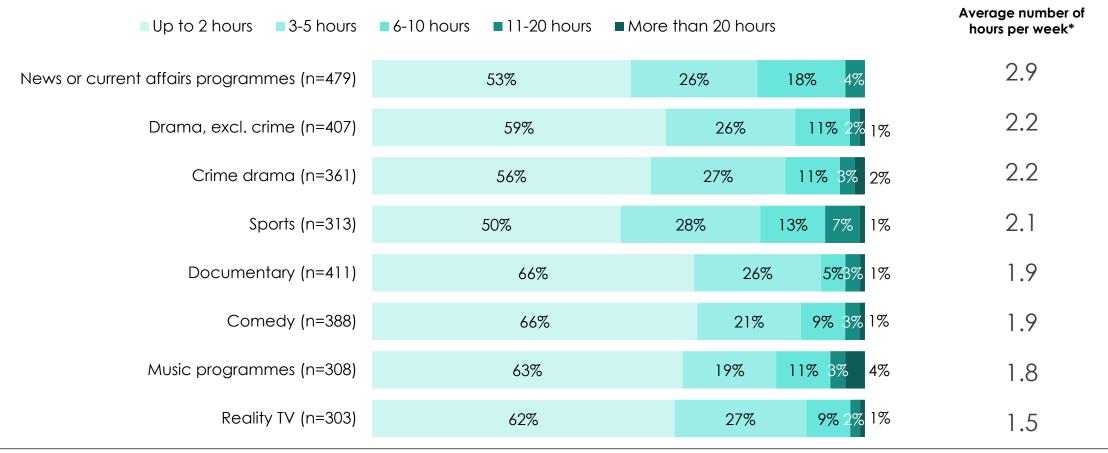
Type of media consumption



Base: All respondents n=581

New Zealanders spend the most time watching news or current affairs and drama programmes. They spend the least time watching reality television.

Time spent consuming media



Consistent with 2022, seven in ten New Zealanders do not use any of the tools we asked about to manage viewing in their household.

Use of media management tools

		2022	2021	2020
Electronic programming guide	13%	14%	13%	16%
Classifications	17%	13%	11%	12%
Broadcaster warnings/Audience advisories	10%	9%	8%	9%
Timebands	8%	8%	6%	7%
Parental locks on Sky	6%	5%	6%	6%
Parental locks on Freeview	6%	3%	5%	4%
Other	1%	1%	1%	1%
None of these	68%	71%	70%	65%

Base: All respondents n=581

Setting the scene: Gender identity and diversity in broadcasts

How New Zealanders think about gender identity in broadcasts is influenced by their sense that while gender identity is a hot topic, it is of public interest.



Strong perception that gender identity issues are a 'hot topic'

- New Zealanders feel that discussions of gender identity issues are a hot topic that can be exploited by broadcasters to gain viewers / listeners.
- There is a strong sense that New Zealanders must either be 'for' or 'against' gender diverse people due to the way this 'hot topic' tends to be framed.

"It's such a hot topic and people have really hard opinions on [gender identity issues]. It does feel like it's often used as outrage marketing for clicks because you're either pro or against. People are going to click on it to be mad about it or to support it for representation. It's a hot topic in mainstream media because it gets engagement."

[Non-binary, 26-35 years, Pasifika]



Consensus that there is significant public interest in sharing diverse perspectives on gender identity issues.

- Across higher and lower comfort New Zealanders, there is agreement that engaging in respectful sharing of perspectives on any issue on TV and radio can be beneficial to society – gender identity issues are no exception.
- However, this must be framed in a constructive manner to avoid unintentionally (or intentionally) causing harm to any viewers / listeners.
- It was suggested that it is not appropriate to include intentionally malicious opinions about gender identity issues in broadcasts

"If the environment is one that fosters proper discussion, then sharing discriminatory opinions is ok. However, the term discriminatory opinions, gives a feeling that the opinions themselves may be inflammatory in nature and thus the audience it's being provided to also needs to be assessed." [Male, 26-35 years, Asian, Higher comfort]

The potential for harm and preserving freedom of speech are also key contributing factors on how New Zealanders think about the way gender identity issues are portrayed in broadcasts.



Higher comfort New Zealanders are focused on potential harm

- Higher comfort New Zealanders believe it is important for broadcasts to be respectful and inclusive, avoiding negative stereotypes of gender diverse people.
- Discriminatory opinions about gender diverse people with malicious intent have no place being broadcast.

"I look at the language used - is it respectful and inclusive? I also pay attention to the representation of different gender identities – are they portrayed accurately and without stereotypes? Lastly, I would consider the overall message being conveyed - does it promote understanding or acceptance?"

[Female, 26-35 years, Pasifika, Higher comfort]



Lower comfort New Zealanders are focused on preserving freedom of speech

- Lower comfort New Zealanders place higher value on ensuring diverse perspectives are able to be shared on broadcasts, even when some may find them discriminatory to gender diverse people.
- There is a strong sense that the discourse lacks balanced perspectives on gender identity issues shared on TV and radio, with more 'liberal' perspectives often favoured.

"I just find that on the TV they focus a lot way more on the people who are actually for gender identity issues rather than the guys who are against it. Would be good if there was balance... equal with the guys who are for it and with the guys who are against."
[Male, 18-25 years, Asian, Lower comfort]

The BSA

Overall, New Zealanders are happy that the BSA exists.

Broadcasters in New Zealand have codes of practice and are responsible for maintaining standards in their programmes.

The Broadcasting Standards
Authority (BSA) is an independent
crown entity that oversees New
Zealand's broadcasting
standards and provides the
public with a free, independent
complaints service.

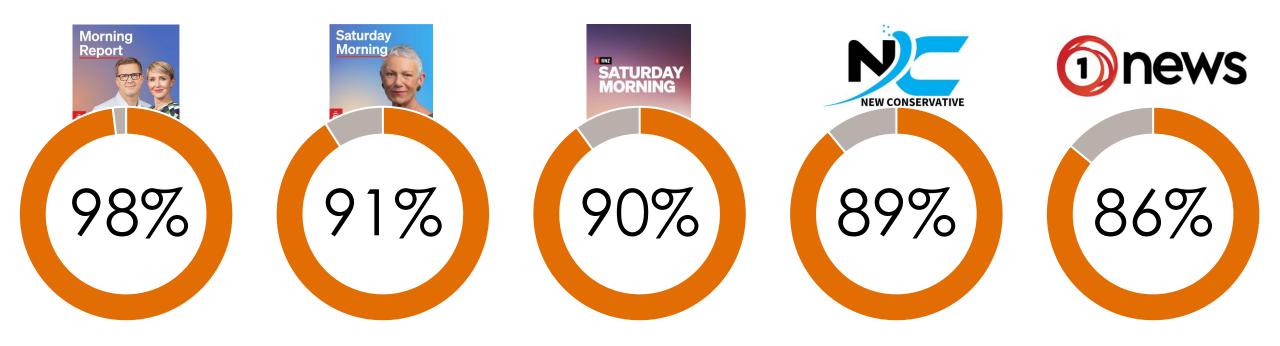
The way the complaints process works is that, generally, a person must complain to the broadcaster first, and then if they're not happy with the broadcaster's decision they can have it reviewed by the BSA.

- When asked about the BSA, New Zealanders can recall often seeing BSA advertisements on TV.
- New Zealanders tend not to be knowledgeable about the BSA and their role in upholding broadcasting standards. However, they are pleased the BSA exists – understanding that it must play an important role in determining what New Zealanders see and hear.
- In line with 2022 findings, New Zealanders have a number of questions about the BSA, including:
 - Who they are?
 - Who is writing and making the decisions (e.g. a group or individual)?
 - What happens after a decision is made, and is the process different for 'repeat offenders'?
 - Does the BSA get background information about a complainant, and does this impact the decision?
 - Do decisions create a precedent that may impact future decisions?
- Understanding the BSA's decisions generates trust and confidence in the BSA and its process.

Evaluation of BSA decisions

All five clips surpassed the 75% performance threshold. Only the New Conservative Party and 1 News clips fell below 90%. The BSA decisions achieved an average rating of 91%.

Rating of BSA decisions



% who rated each decision as acceptable, good or very good

CX.3. How do you rate the BSA decision?

Base: All respondents who are shown each clip.

Morning Report | News item on trans men and non-binary people missing out on cervical screening

Morning Report | News item on trans men and non-binary people missing out on cervical screening

- A complaint was made about an episode of Morning Report, broadcast on 22 July 2022, in which the subject of trans men and nonbinary people missing out on cervical screenings was discussed.
- The complaint was that the broadcast breached the discrimination and denigration standard as it denigrated women, by referring to women as 'people with cervixes'.





Decision summary

The BSA did not uphold the complaint (found no breach) under the discrimination and denigration standard.

The Authority concluded:

The reference to 'people with cervixes' did not discriminate against or denigrate women:

- The importance of freedom of expression means a high level of condemnation, often with an element of malice or nastiness, is usually necessary to find a breach of the discrimination and denigration standard.
- The purpose of the term was to be inclusive (describing all people who require cervical screening).
 - It referenced trans men and non-binary people in the context of a story about missing out on cervical screening due to how gender and sex is recorded by health providers.
 - In this context, the term was appropriate and would not encourage discrimination or denigration.

Morning Report | News item on trans men and non-binary people missing out on cervical screening



We invited 349 people to view and comment on the Morning Report clip...

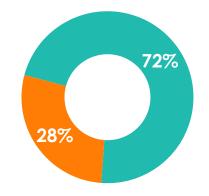
...their immediate reactions...

...after reading the BSA's decision...

72% agreed to view and comment on the clip*.

BSA Litmus Test 2024

Verian



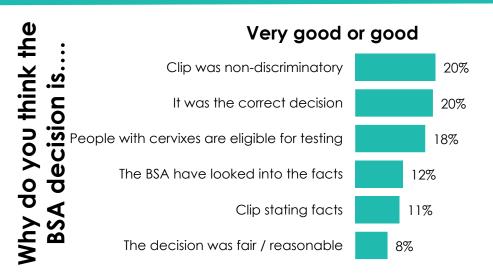


would have upheld the complaint

would not have upheld the complaint

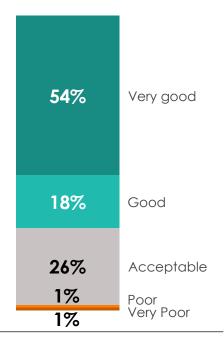


rated the BSA decision as very good, good or acceptable**





NSUFFICIENT SAMPLE



Nearly all demographic groups had similarly positive ratings for the BSA's decision, save for those aged 30-39 who rate the decision significantly lower than average.



Demographic differences - % who rated the BSA decision as very good / good / acceptable



Qualitatively, New Zealanders find this complaint to have no foundation.



There is a general consensus that the language used in this news item is intended to be inclusive, despite feeling "clumsy."

It is evident to New Zealanders that the intent of the news item was to be affirming, rather than discriminatory.

The context of this news item helps people to understand that the terminology is merely classifying a section of the New Zealand population for healthcare purposes, rather than intentionally discriminating against women.

People see the issue as black and white, identifying that the news item clearly uses this language to catch all New Zealanders with a cervix.

New Zealanders consider this to be a news item with significant public interest as it promotes cervical testing.

There is a strong sense of concern that some New Zealanders are missing out on essential health checks.

"I think they completely lost the message that cervical screenings are available for people aged 25 to 69. They could have totally gone 'hey, everyone, cervical screenings available for people aged 25 to 69, get your cervix checked. If you don't have one, you don't have to get a check." [Non-binary, 36-50 years, Pākehā]

"Saying 'people with cervixes' is not necessarily a discriminatory word in my opinion — it's just classifying." [Male, 26-35 years, Pasifika, Lower comfort]

"The fact there was a complaint is hilarious. If you have a cervix then you should get tested to prevent any potential health issues. A person that was born male does not get a cervix implanted in them to become female – and a person born female identifying as male, does not (necessarily) have their cervix removed. There was absolutely nothing wrong with this clip. If you have a cervix, then get tested." [Female, 36-50 years, Pākehā, Lower comfort]

New Zealanders feel that the BSA decision adequately reflects their perspective.



- New Zealanders are pleased with the BSA's decision as it reflected their own thoughts about the complaint.
 - The news item is not considered discriminatory towards women.
 - The terminology appropriately reflects the context of the news story.
- There is a strong sense that ultimately, the complaint was illogical and a waste of time for the BSA.

"It refers to people with cervixes and someone found that as a degrading term to refer to women because it was specific. We're referring to their genitals versus like person language, and that's the complaint... I would not uphold this complaint because it's inclusive language and also the majority of people that it was referring to wasn't cis women, was also mostly about trans men and nonbinary people." [Non-binary, 26-35 years, Pasifika]

"They had to find a way to describe that. A description that would capture everybody. That to me is a really good description. If you've got a cervix, then you should have a cervical smear. To me that's logical. I don't think it's a denigration at all."
[Female, 50+ years, Māori, Higher comfort]

"The claims made in the complaint are silly, as the subject of the piece is specifically the fact that it is not only people born as women who have a cervix. This piece is incredibly reasonable as it basically states some people struggle to attain services they are legally entitled to." [Male, 18-25 years, Asian, Higher comfort]

Approach to gender identity issues and clarity of the decision.



New Zealanders find this decision clear and easy to understand.

Unanimous agreement with the decision assists with clarity.

 This decision in particular highlights a clear and logical argument in line with the broadcasting standard.

The black and white logic is appreciated – especially in comparison to other decisions which required a more convoluted argument.

Although some New Zealanders are less comfortable with gender identity issues, all are happy with the way gender diverse people are treated in this decision. "I agree with the decision and I'm supportive of the texts underneath as well. I think they take a clear side... the intent of [the terminology] and the purpose of doing this as well, and it looks like they're taking a clear side." [Male, 26-35 years, Asian, Lower comfort]

"I'll rate this one a 5 [out of 5] because they've written it well. I still think [the news item] was clumsily written, Whoever made the original thing - but that's not the fault of the broadcasting people. I think it's a good decision and it's well written."

[Male, 50+ years, Pākehā, Lower comfort]

"They've said it required a high level of condemnation, with an element of malice or nastiness. And it I didn't see any of that talking about the cervical screening." [Non-binary, 36-50 years, Pākehā]

Saturday Morning | Interview between Kim Hill and Kae Tempest

Saturday Morning | Interview between Kim Hill and Kae Tempest

- A complaint was made about an interview on Saturday Morning, which aired on 11 February 2023.
- The complaint was that the broadcast breached the fairness standard on the basis that the interviewer Kim Hill 'deadnamed'*, misgendered** and was disrespectful to poet/rapper/author/artist Kae Tempest.



*See: "deadname" - 'The name that a transgender person was given at birth and no longer uses upon transitioning' Merriam-Webster Dictionary <www.merriam-webster.com>
**See: "misgender" - 'To identify the gender of (a person, such as a non-binary or transgender person) incorrectly (as by using incorrect label or pronoun)' Merriam-Webster
Dictionary <www.merriam-webster.com>

Decision summary

The BSA did not uphold the complaint (found no breach) under the fairness standard.

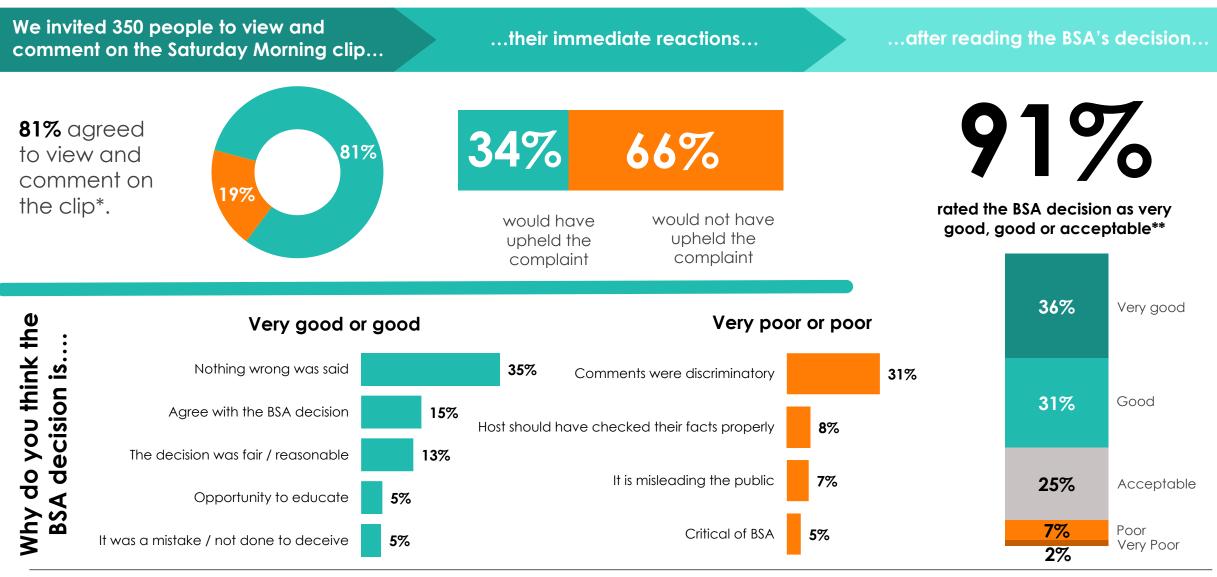
For the following reasons:

- The Authority acknowledged the potential harm and offence to Tempest in misgendering* and deadnaming** them.
 - However, it found no harm or unfairness to Tempest at a level which justified restricting the broadcaster's right to freedom of expression, noting:
 - Tempest is an acclaimed artist who is familiar with dealing with the media.
 - Tempest handled the interview well (taking the opportunity to educate Hill on the impact of her words).
 - The segment was unlikely to leave listeners with a negative impression of Tempest.
 - While potentially insensitive and harmful to Tempest, Hill's words were not malicious, critical or intentionally disrespectful.
 - Hill ended the line of questioning shortly after becoming aware of Tempest's discomfort.
 - The Authority nevertheless encouraged broadcasters to be aware of the evolution of language over time and the importance of keeping pace with audiences' changing expectations of language, noting harm can be caused regardless of the speaker's intentions.

^{*}See: "deadname" - 'The name that a transgender person was given at birth and no longer uses upon transitioning' Merriam-Webster Dictionary <www.merriam-webster.com>
**See: "misgender" - 'To identify the gender of (a person, such as a non-binary or transgender person) incorrectly (as by using incorrect label or pronoun)' Merriam-Webster
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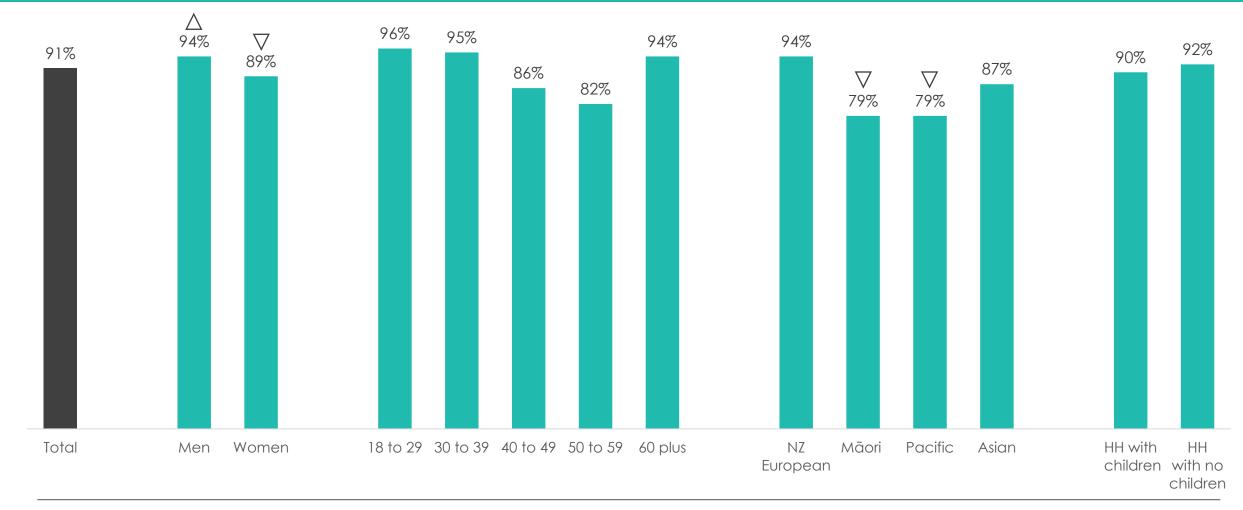
Saturday Morning | Interview between Kim Hill and Kae Tempest



Fewer than 80% of Māori and Pacific respondents rate the BSA's decision as at least acceptable, which is significantly lower than the average.



Demographic differences - % who rated the BSA decision as very good / good / acceptable



Qualitatively, New Zealanders are unsure if the complaint should be upheld due to uncertainty around Hill's intent.



Before reading the BSA decision, New Zealanders' opinions are shaped by their perception of the intent behind Kim Hill's comments.

On one hand, Hill's journalistic reputation suggests her intent was likely to provoke for the purpose of creating interesting radio. The fact that there was a greater focus on Tempest's gender identity than their work is perceived as disingenuous.

On the other hand, there is uncertainty if her actions were merely a genuine mistake, for which she attempted to apologise.

Regardless of the intent, New Zealanders agree that journalists should have a higher standard associated with their behaviour.

People believe that Hill should have been prepared before her interview with Tempest, and fully informed about their pronouns. However, this lack of preparation alone is not seen as evidence of disingenuous intent.

New Zealanders express empathy with Hill, acknowledging it can be hard to learn new social conventions as society changes.

Gender diverse participants are unanimous that the complaint should not be upheld. While Hill's actions are perceived as rude and abrasive, with the potential to negatively impact Tempest's dignity, they are not seen to meet the high threshold of harm. Hill's intent is not interpreted to be malicious in any way.

"I think when speaking to a guest, they should do their homework and know a little bit about them – especially around delicate topics. Even when the guest said they're uncomfortable, then she deliberately repeated it over and over and pushed them to talk about this topic. That was not the right thing."

[Male, 26-35 years, Asian, Lower comfort]

"What's that got to do with Kim Hill? Or is she just trying to be a provocateur? She's a bully. I don't have a problem with someone being introduced as they were 'Kate', and they've transitioned. Fine – that's just fact... It's just context, but did we need that? Kim Hill just pushed again and again."

[Male, 50+ years, Pākehā, Lower comfort]

"She could have done it for malicious intent. But also, I think that she's probably just uneducated and didn't think about how that would go and maybe was just saying it to reference stuff that has happened in the past. Obviously, that is a disrespectful thing to do, but maybe she was unaware of it. Hopefully she is aware of it now and she was corrected."

[Trans male, 18-25 years, Māori]

After reading the BSA decision, New Zealanders feel adequately informed and confident to support the decision.



- There is satisfaction with the outcome of this decision and that the complaint was not upheld. The decision resolves any reservations about Hill's actions and provides valuable context.
 - For people who were on the fence, the detail provided by the decision highlights that Hill's mistake was unintentional.
 - They are content that Hill's intent was not malicious.
 - Acknowledgement of Tempest's public profile and experience dealing with the media is also seen as key background information to support the decision. These points resonate with New Zealanders, helping them to feel fully informed and confident in their support of this decision.
- New Zealanders are pleased that the BSA encouraged broadcasters to be aware of the evolution of language over time, and feel that this effectively addresses Hill's behaviour.
 - It is suggested this paragraph could be integrated earlier in the decision summary to ensure the message was communicated effectively.

"I thought the clip was fine and the host Kim Hill did her best not to misgender or use Kae's deadname. She corrected herself when misgendering her, which she explained in a way that showed she was trying not to do this, and apologised for using Kae's deadname. I think Kim did her best in a situation that she was not used to and was not disrespectful – mainly curious."

[Male, 18-25 years, Māori, Higher comfort]

"So obviously we didn't get to see the full clip. From what we heard, Kim Hill was sort of battering Kae Tempest. But once that sort of line of questioning ended after realising the discomfort, the rest of the interview must have been sound." [Male, 26-35 years, Pasifika, Lower comfort]

"If [Hill] was more aware, then this whole thing wouldn't even be a thing to talk about. You know, if she was more aware of it, then none of this would have been happening and there wouldn't be a problem. So I guess, if they need to encourage the interviewers and make them more knowledgeable, I think that should definitely be a thing because it would save a lot of heartache and harm to other people."

[Trans male, 18-25 years, Māori]

Approach to gender identity issues and clarity of the decision.





- The decision is easy to follow, with clear contextual background.
- Although some people struggle to decide if they would uphold the complaint or not, the decision removes all doubt due to sound reasoning.
- There is confidence in the BSA's ability to look at the broader context when coming to a decision.
- People are pleased to see their concerns around Hill's intent addressed in the decision summary, and are content with its treatment of gender identity issues.
 - Encouragement of broadcasters to be aware of how language changes over time is seen as an invaluable aspect of the decision to prevent future errors by broadcasters.
 - Acknowledgement of the harm misgendering and deadnaming could have on Tempest is a strength of this decision.

"This one I found to be a bit of a non-issue, it's just rude, it's similar to referring to a celebrity as their maiden name when they've been married and changed it."
[Non-binary, 26-35 years, Pasifika]

"I was on the fence, and I like how they've laid their reasoning out. It's quite clear, it's easy to follow. It's logical. It's very easy to understand, with good points... especially that first point that Tempest is an acclaimed artist who is familiar with dealing with the public and with the media. She did handle that really well – she didn't get upset or uptight. She answered calmly, and she showed that she is good dealing with the media."

[Female, 50+ years, Māori, Higher comfort]

Saturday Morning | Interview between Kim Hill and Dr Kathleen Stock



Saturday Morning | Interview between Kim Hill and Dr Kathleen Stock

- Complaints were made about a radio clip from the programme Saturday Morning, broadcast on 14 May 2022, featuring an interview with Dr Kathleen Stock, a gender critical philosopher.
- The complaint was that comments made by Dr Stock discriminated against and/or denigrated transgender people by:
 - Misgendering them
 - Reliance on transphobic stereotypes
 - Calling for the different treatment of trans people.





Decision summary

The Authority did not uphold the complaint (found no breach) under the discrimination and denigration standard.

The Authority acknowledged the broadcast had the potential to cause harm to the trans community (an already vulnerable community).

- Phowever, while finely balanced, it found:
 - The potential harm of the broadcast did not reach the high threshold justifying a restriction on the right to freedom of expression.
 - The comments were unlikely to 'encourage' discrimination against transgender people.
- Key reasons were:
 - Hill's style and tone throughout the interview was challenging and critical. She did not sympathise with Dr Stock's views and challenged the key assumptions and tenor of those views.
 - The audience was likely to be left with the impression Dr Stock's views were widely criticised and Dr Stock was not an authoritative figure on the topic.
 - The issue of society's response to gender identity continues to draw polarised opinions (e.g., regarding appropriate treatment of children for gender dysphoria).



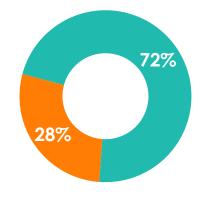
Saturday Morning | Interview between Kim Hill and Dr Kathleen Stock



...their immediate reactions...

...after reading the BSA's decision...

72% agreed to view and comment on the clip*.





would have upheld the complaint

would not have upheld the complaint

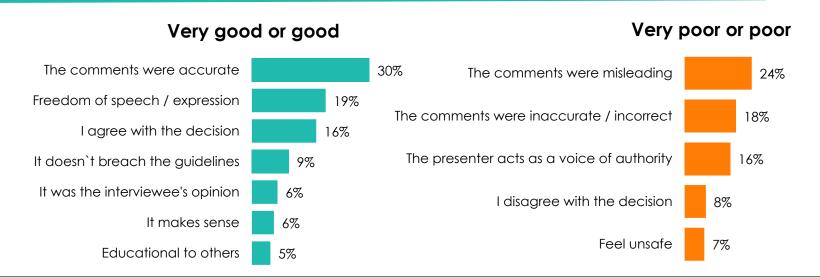


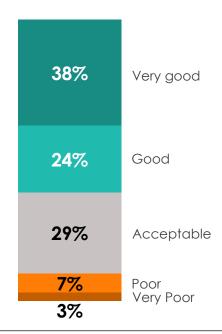
rated the BSA decision as very good, good or acceptable**



Verian

BSA Litmus Test 2024





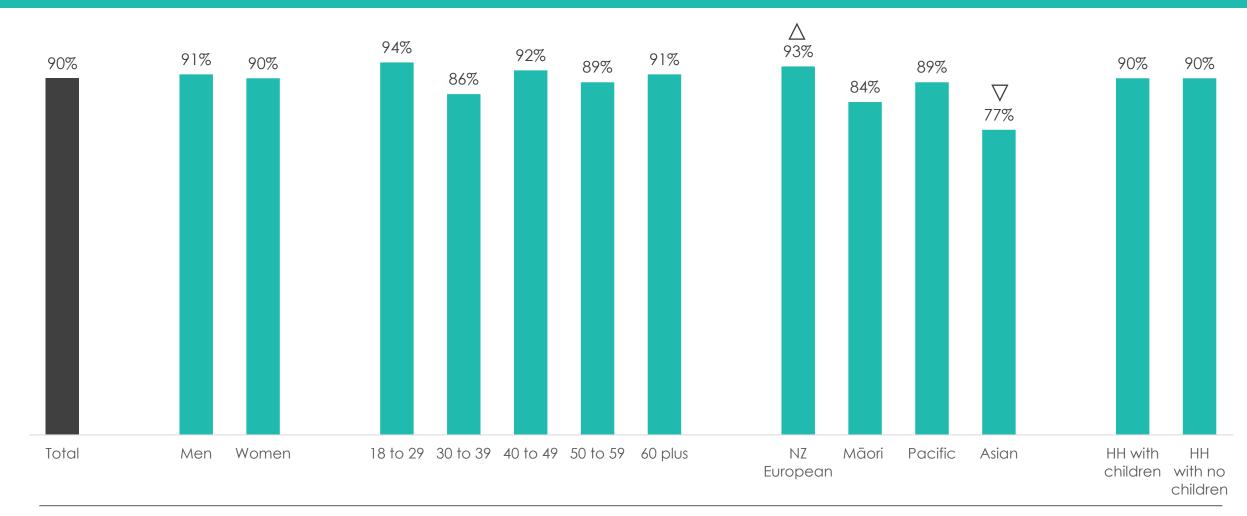
*Data is unweighted | **Note: The KPI is calculated by adding the raw numbers together and dividing by the total. The percentages in the chart are rounded to a whole number, which may result in discrepancies between the two numbers of up to 1 percentage point.

41



NZ Europeans tended to rate the BSA's decision more positively than average. Conversely, Asian New Zealanders rated their decision significantly less positively.

Demographic differences - % who rated the BSA decision as very good / good / acceptable



Qualitatively, prior to reading the decision, higher comfort New Zealanders are concerned about the potential harm of this broadcast.



Higher comfort New Zealanders would uphold the complaint for the following key reasons:

- The potential harm to the transgender community is top of mind harm which is seen to outweigh Dr Stock's right to freedom of expression.
 - Dr Stock's statements are extreme and clearly transphobic.
 - The reliance on harmful anti-trans stereotypes is felt to be invalidating of trans experiences and out of touch with reality.
- Dr Stock's positioning as an academic expert on gender identity issues causes unease.
 - There is danger in Dr Stock's characterisation as an expert on the topic, despite
 not having an academic background in biology or gender science. Stock's use
 of questionable evidence, and reliance on outliers and stereotypes further
 negates her credibility.
- Including a disclaimer at the start of the programme to advise about controversial content is not seen as sufficient to protect the vulnerable transgender community from Dr Stock's extreme opinion.
 - A disclaimer feels like a way to excuse hate speech.

Gender diverse New Zealanders find the programme upsetting, and are highly concerned with the potential harm that could come from broadcasting harmful antitrans stereotypes. Dr Stock's perspective is seen as an extreme and dangerous view which should not be given air-time.

"That was very upsetting. The mistreatment of trans women is absolutely horrible. For myself, I am a transgender male and I do use majority male bathrooms and male facilities. You think I would want to put myself in a more gross bathroom space just because I want to do something weird? No, I just identify as a male and this is labelled the male bathroom, so I think I should go into the male bathroom to use the bathroom." [Trans male, 18-25 years, Māori]

"Dr Stock had some strong beliefs and conveyed her opinion, which she is entitled to. But, in saying this, she didn't seem to have any respect for other people's opinions. There were some points where her opinions seemed valid, but others that just seemed disrespectful." [Male, 18-25 years, Māori, Higher comfort]

"I would have 100% upheld it. It was discriminatory. It was heaps of denigration. She had a label for them and put everybody in one box." [Female, 50+ years, Māori, Higher comfort]

"She's a doctor of philosophy, not of genetics, not of biology, not of social sciences related to gender identity. And people see she's a professor and a Doctor of Philosophy, but they will relate it to expertise when, quite frankly, it's not her field. And that's not something I'm really ok with perpetuating, that she is an expert in something. Philosophy is not social science. When we're talking about gender identity, she's not a doctor of genetics, anything to do with biology." [Non-binary, 26-35 years, Pasifika]

In contrast, prior to reading the complaint, lower comfort New Zealanders would not uphold the complaint due to broad agreement with Dr Stock's views.



Lower comfort New Zealanders would not uphold the complaint for the following key reasons:

- Freedom of expression is top of mind, with Dr Stock's right to present an alternative perspective on a 'hot topic' seen as holding significant public interest.
 - The sense that this discourse lacks balanced opinions in the broadcasting space shapes their perception of this complaint.
 - A "political agenda" is seen to be at play which prevents the communication of divergent perspectives in the media. This complaint is seen as further evidence of this, and consequently Dr Stock's perspective has high public interest to counteract other opinions.
 - Broad agreement with Dr Stock's comments influence people's choice to not uphold the complaint.
 - Many consider Dr Stock's perspective to merely present black and white facts rather than a controversial opinion. They feel that other New Zealanders need to learn these facts.

"I don't agree with the complaint. It came with a content warning. If you don't want to listen to it, she said it was upsetting from the start. Don't listen to it. She invited a person on to a show to ask some questions. They're answering questions the best way they know how."

[Non-binary, 36-50 years, Pākehā]

"Doctor Stock talked about a lot of things that perhaps people might not have thought about or considered in terms of having men and women's changing rooms or men and women's prisons regardless of whether it might lead to assault and just that uncomfortable nature of having somebody there... I think it's important for people's opinions to be presented and I think Doctor Stock did that in a very good way." [Female, 36-50 years, Pākehā, Lower comfort]

"I wouldn't [uphold the complaint]. I do think it's necessary for that education to happen, because these are facts and this is based on science and people need to understand that. They've got to stop trying to change the facts or science."
[Male, 26-35 years, Asian, Lower comfort]

After reading the BSA's decision, higher comfort New Zealanders accept the outcome, with some critiques.



- For higher comfort New Zealanders, the BSA's decision makes it clear to them that the potential harm to the transgender community does not meet the high threshold needed to breach the standard.
 - Some want further examples to help understand what the high threshold looks like practically.
- While they accept this, Dr Stock's comments are still widely considered to be discriminatory and harmful.
 - The comments are seen to still serve to encourage transphobia in New Zealand and proliferate anti-trans stereotypes.
- People believe that the BSA made an incorrect assumption that New Zealanders would not consider Dr Stock to be an authority figure on the topic, or would understand her views are widely criticised.
 - There is a strong sense that it is too easy to conflate Dr Stock's academic title with being a subject matter expert.

"[They said] the audience was likely to believe that Dr Stock's views were widely criticised and Stock was not an authority figure on the topic. I disagree. I don't think the audience would necessarily think that. As soon as she's come on, she's 'Dr.' You know, she's *Dr Stock*. She's a person who's got a PhD and she's talking authoritatively. Of course they're going to be influenced. They're going to say she's the authority... going to listen to what she's going to say."

[Female, 50+ years, Māori, Higher comfort]

"She's definitely being discriminatory, and encouraging other people to agree with her and get other people to be discriminatory against trans people... getting other people following her views, which is not good."

[Trans male, 18-25 years, Māori]

Lower comfort New Zealanders are pleased with the outcome, and feel that freedom of speech is central to the decision.



- Lower comfort New Zealanders are pleased that the BSA's decision is aligned with their perspective.
 - They are especially pleased that the issue of freedom of speech plays a prominent role in the BSA's reasoning.
 - Agreement that it is crucial to allow people to share their opinions, regardless of how 'popular' they may be.
- However, lower comfort New Zealanders are offended that Dr Stock was characterised by the BSA as widely criticised and not an authority figure on the topic.
 - Rather, Stock has a doctorate and should consequently be acknowledged as highly qualified on the topic.
 - The fact Dr Stock has a different perspective to other academics, should not imply she is not an authority figure.
 - There is a sense that this perspective stems from participants' personal alignment with Dr Stock's views, rather than the BSA's decision.

"I agree with the decision, but I don't agree with some of the writing underneath. Like saying that Dr Stock is not an authoritative figure. I thought she had more authority than Kim Hill had. She just has differing views from some other authority figures. That line is almost an appeasement line, and I think this is disingenuous because Kim Hill is not an authoritative figure on this. She's a badgering interviewer, and that's fine."
[Male, 50+ years, Pākehā, Lower comfort]

"The decision's the right one in my opinion and going along to say Dr Stock was not an authority figure. I mean, if you're a doctor, you must have worked pretty hard. They don't just give those out for free."

[Male, 26-35 years, Pasifika, Lower comfort]

"I figure it came with the content warning. She's talking to someone who's spent decades probably in their field, and she's asking them questions that have in their field of specialty." [Non-binary, 36-50 years, Pākehā]

Approach to gender identity issues and clarity of the decision.



- New Zealanders are content with the clarity of the BSA's decision.
 - The reasoning is balanced, acknowledging potential reasons for both sides of the argument.
 - The decision clearly took a stance and comprehensively explained the rationale behind it.
- This decision in particular outlines for New Zealanders how difficult the decision-making process can be for the BSA, and they appreciate being able to follow their thought process in this decision summary.
- While the decision is clear and understandable from a technical point of view highlighting the lack of a breach, higher comfort New Zealanders still feel the decision does not adequately address the potential harm.
 - A strong sense that Dr Stock's perspective was fundamentally discriminatory to transgender people remains top of mind for many participants.
 - Higher comfort New Zealanders still feel this radio interview was more harmful than useful, as it shares dangerous anti-trans stereotypes.

"That's acceptable, I wouldn't say it's fine. I would say it's acceptable. I guess people are free to talk about their thoughts and feelings as long as they are not doing it to hurt people. I wouldn't say I agree with her views, but I guess it is acceptable to be [broadcast]."
[Trans male, 18-25 years, Māori]

"I don't like entirely agree with everything that has been bullet pointed down here. Like it said it did not reach the high threshold. I'd kinda like to see an example of what that high threshold is, because that is not really clear to me. How high of a threshold you're speaking about when it's clearly saying that it probably had the potential to cause harm to an already vulnerable community." [Female, 18-25 years, Pākehā, Higher comfort]

"One of the text that I'm finding hard to digest is that the potential harm of the broadcast did not reach the high threshold, justifying a restriction on the right to freedom of expression. That sort of implies that it's not high enough, but it was in the direction towards being high enough."

[Male, 26-35 years, Asian, Lower comfort]

New Conservative Party election ad | Policy to remove 'gender ideology' from schools

New Conservative Party election ad | Policy to remove 'gender ideology' from schools

- A complaint was made about a New Conservative Party election advertisement, broadcast on 9 October 2023 during the 2023 election period on TVNZ 1.
- The complaint was that the Party's policy to remove 'gender ideology' from schools, as mentioned in the ad, amounted to discrimination against the transgender community.





Decision summary

The BSA did not uphold the complaint (found no breach) under the discrimination and denigration standard.

The Authority concluded:



It acknowledged some may find the policy discriminatory and offensive, and considered whether advocacy for such a position in itself constitutes discrimination. However, it found the broadcast did not reach the high threshold necessary for a finding of breach (given the importance of freedom of expression and the high value placed on political speech before an election) because:

The broadcast was a New Conservative Party election programme, which briefly highlighted that one of its policies was to 'remove gender ideology from schools.' As well, the programme did not contain any malice or condemnation directed at transgender people, or refer to transgender people.

Being focused on what should be taught in schools, the statement on their policy was not, at least overtly, directed at any specific group of people. Further, there is significant public interest in election programmes informing voters of party policies in the lead-up to the general election.

New Conservative Party election ad | Policy to remove 'gender ideology' from schools

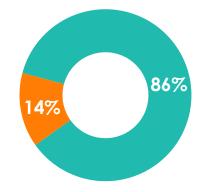


We invited 351 people to view and comment on the New Conservative clip...

...their immediate reactions...

...after reading the BSA's decision...

86% agreed to view and comment on the clip*.





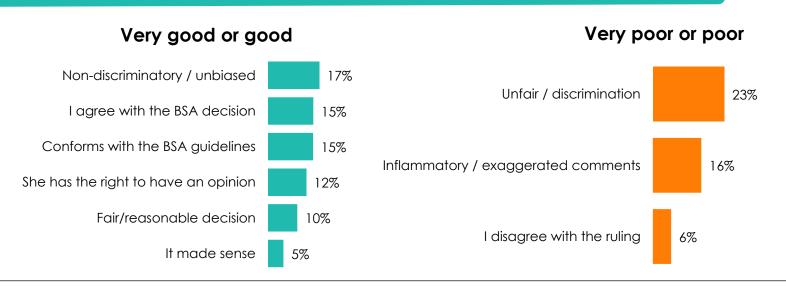
would have upheld the complaint

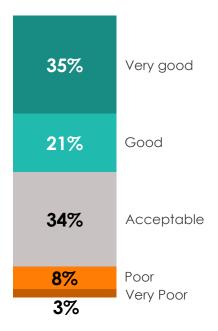
would not have upheld the complaint



rated the BSA decision as very good, good or acceptable**



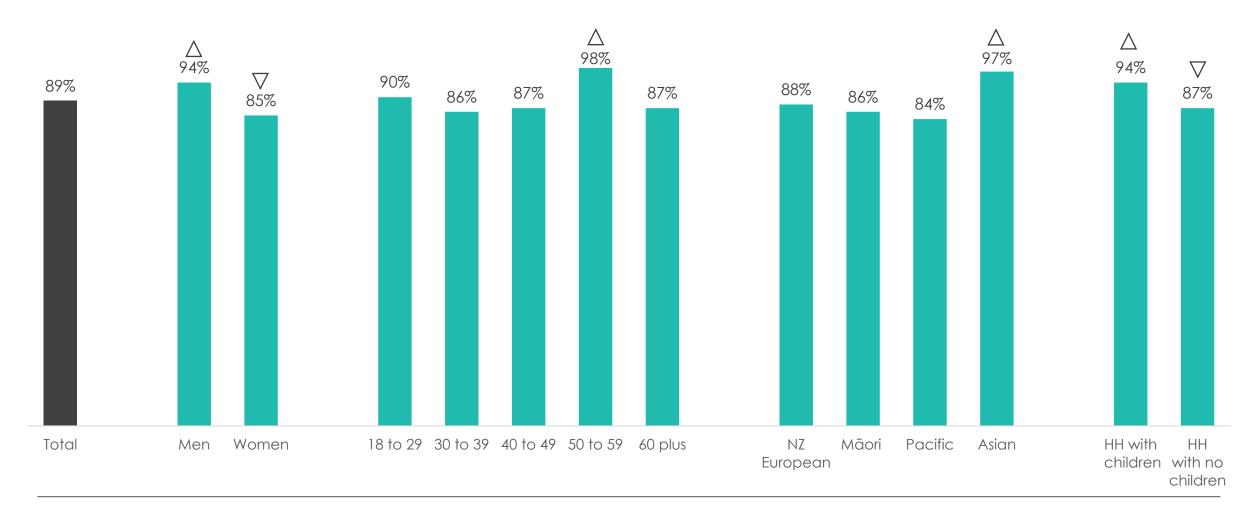






Men, those aged 50-59, Asian New Zealanders, and households with children are all significantly more likely than average to agree with the BSA's decision.

Demographic differences - % who rated the BSA decision as very good / good / acceptable



Qualitatively, there is a strong sense that New Zealanders would not uphold the complaint prior to reading the decision due to the political context.



- Before reading the BSA decision, New Zealanders would not have upheld the complaint for several key reasons:
 - The advertisement presents a political party's policy during election time.
 - There is public interest in ensuring New Zealanders of all political leanings are aware of a party's policy.
 - However, for higher comfort New Zealanders, there is a sense that the underlying ideology of the advertisement is unacceptable.
 - In these cases, people allude to being concerned about the potential harm to New Zealand society by airing this advertisement.
 - Fundamental disagreement with the policy, as marginalising gender diverse people within the education system, is top of mind when considering the validity of the complaint.

"Every party campaigns on a different topic. If you like what they are campaigning for, then you vote for that particular party. If you don't like what they campaigned for, then you don't." [Female, 36-50 years, Pākehā, Lower comfort]

"I think it is a discriminatory catchery that will appeal to a certain section of society. I don't like rallying calls like this one because I think it creates an 'us and them' mentality without allowing people to really make an informed decision."

[Female, 50+ years, Māori, Higher comfort]

"Education plays a crucial role in shaping children's attitudes towards discrimination. When adults engage in discriminatory behavior or express discriminatory views in front of children, it can normalize and perpetuate these harmful beliefs. It is important for adults to model inclusive and accepting behavior and to actively teach children about the value of diversity and respect for all individuals."

[Female, 26-35 years, Asian, Higher comfort]

After reading the decision, lower comfort New Zealanders are especially content with the decision as it aligns with freedom of speech.



- Lower comfort New Zealanders are especially supportive of the BSA decision.
 - Lower comfort New Zealanders are glad the decision explains that no malice or condemnation of gender diverse people is present. This is seen as evidence of the respectful sharing of an alternative perspective.
 - The decision is perceived to be supportive of freedom of speech, and the right for political parties to share their policies regardless of the policy's popularity.
- There is a degree of confusion about the BSA's acknowledgement that the advertisement may offend some people.
 - On one hand, balance of perspectives within the decision is applauded, while some feel it undermines the decision's argument and fails to take a hard stance on the issue.
- There is broad agreement with the BSA that public interest is present in election programmes, regardless of political affiliation.

"I think this piece is intentionally vague in what it means by the term 'gender ideology.' It's vague enough to be fairly argued that it does not amount to discrimination, particularly as it appears to refer to specific policy positions of a political party. It doesn't appear to be specifically anti-trans."

[Male, 18-25 years, Asian, Higher comfort]

"I'm disappointed at the point saying people might feel discriminated against... the actual complaint will have been politically motivated rather than anything else." [Male, 50+ years, Pākehā, Lower comfort]

"The programme did not contain any malice or condemnation. It's not aimed at anyone. It's just aimed as a general kind of policy they want to introduce... [I'm] kind of disappointed that [they acknowledged some may find it discriminatory.]"

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[Male, 26-35 years, Pasifika, Lower comfort]

Approach to gender identity issues and clarity of the decision.





New Zealanders find this decision clear and easy to understand.

- They are happy to see their thoughts mirrored by the decision summary.
- The decision clearly demonstrates the BSA's rationale behind their decision.
- The decision is balanced, while still holding a clear stance on the complaint.



There is a strong sense that gender diverse people are adequately treated in this decision, understanding that the gender diverse community was not maliciously targeted in the advertisement.

"They clearly explained the reasons why and gave evidence. And acknowledged that some people could be affected by it. But, they showed how they considered that in the decision..., I think that perhaps prevents comebacks from the whoever complained to say, 'well, they didn't even think about us'."

[Female, 50+ years, Pākehā, Lower comfort]

"They highlighted their reasonings really well. They've they've clearly written it out and why." [Female, 26-35 years, Māori, Lower comfort]

1News | Report on Kellie-Jay Keen Minshull (aka Posie Parker)

1News | Report on Kellie-Jay Keen Minshull (aka Posie Parker)

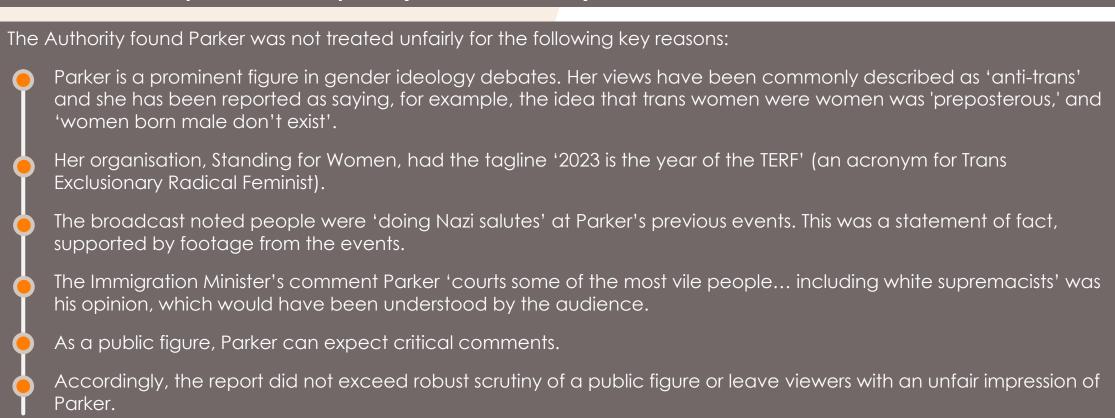
- A complaint was made about a Television New Zealand 1News segment, regarding Immigration New Zealand's decision to allow Kellie-Jay Keen-Minshull (also known as Posie Parker) into New Zealand, after an event in Melbourne was attended by 'neo-Nazis' doing Nazi salutes. It was broadcast on 22 March 2023.
- The complaint was that the item unfairly misrepresented Parker as 'an anti-trans activist rather than a pro women's spaces advocate' and unfairly linked Parker to 'neo-Nazis.'





Decision summary

The BSA did not uphold the complaint (found no breach) under the fairness standard.



1News | Report on Kellie-Jay Keen Minshull (aka Posie Parker) 🛈

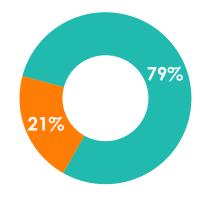


We invited 350 people to view and comment on the 1 News clip...

...their immediate reactions...

...after reading the BSA's decision...

79% agreed to view and comment on the clip*.





would have upheld the complaint

would not have upheld the complaint

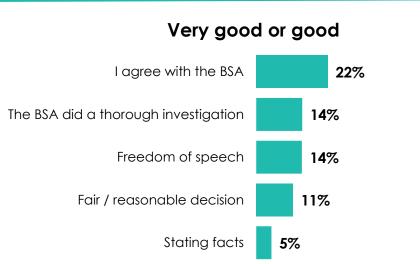


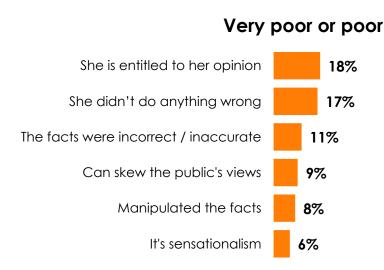
rated the BSA decision as very good, good or acceptable**

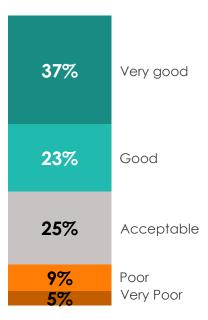


Verian

BSA Litmus Test 2024



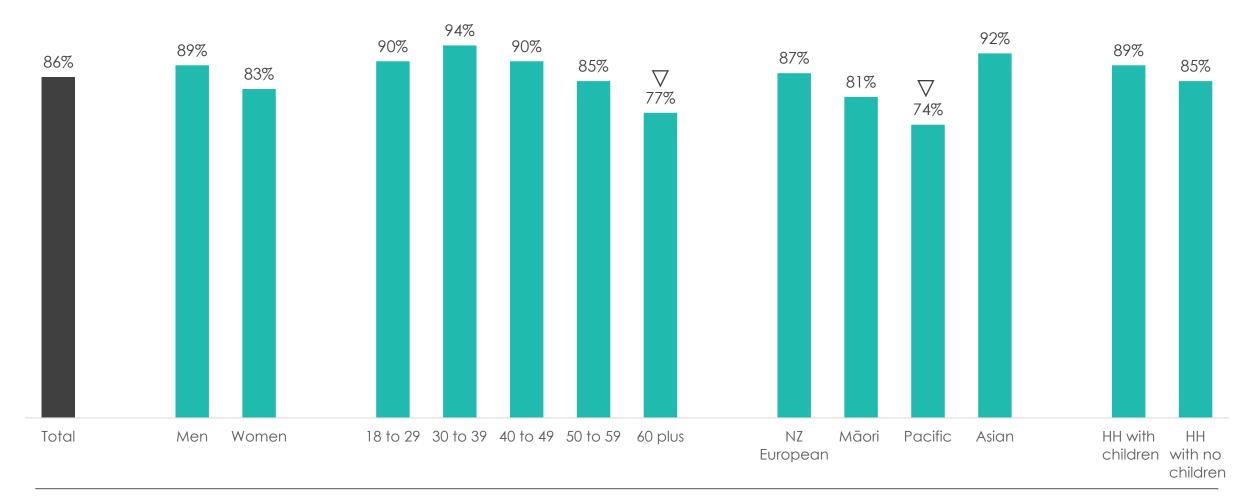




Those aged 60 plus and Pacific Peoples tend to rate the BSA's decision more poorly than average.



Demographic differences - % who rated the BSA decision as very good / good / acceptable



Prior to reading the decision, New Zealanders are unsure whether to uphold the complaint due to the various ways to interpret Parker's reputation.





Lower comfort New Zealanders are most supportive of the complaint:

- Posie Parker's freedom to express an opinion, albeit an unpopular one, is top of mind.
- There is a sense that the media sensationalised Parker, exaggerating her views, and spreading disinformation.
- There is a consensus that Parker was unfairly represented by this news item.

New Zealanders have varied perceptions of Parker based on the news item and the complaint.

- On the one hand, a strongly negative perception of Parker exists after watching the news item and reading the complaint. However, they question whether there was enough evidence to justify this negative perception, alluding to the fact that the labels placed on Parker were perhaps too strong. Without prior knowledge of Parker, many are concerned an individual could be subject to such harsh labels on a national broadcast.
- On the other hand, the purpose of Parker's visit was top of mind after watching the news item rather than an opinion of her reputation. They hypothesise that focusing on Parker's controversial views were merely a marketing choice by TVNZ to engender a negative perception of Parker.

"I had never heard of Posie Parker or her work prior to seeing this on the News at the time. As an unbiased first time watcher, I did automatically have a negative opinion towards Posie after watching the news and only saw the negatives so immediately agreed with why there had been protests and concern over her arrival into NZ. It did make me form a biased opinion." [Female, 26-35 years, Pasifika, Higher comfort]

"I thought it was unfair to label Posie Parker and create hatred towards her for expressing her own opinion. She was never violent or promoting hate speech. It was not Posie's fault that neo-Nazi's attended. There are lots of strange people or groups that attend all sorts of big-events. It does not make it representative of the masses of other people who attend. I agree that it focused on the wrong message, and should have focused on 'pro-women spaces'. The article felt like a 'we should feel sorry for the trans community', and a misrepresentation of what Posie was trying to promote." [Female, 36-50 years, Pākehā, Lower comfort]

"I didn't feel negatively about her because I was just looking at the facts and why she wanted to come in. She wasn't coming in to say she's going to protest. She's going to have a forum. She's just somebody who's coming in. They've looked at her and what happened in another countries and brought that up as the basis for why she shouldn't come in. But actually, I don't think that was relevant. I don't think you should be making an opinion of somebody based on what other people were doing." [Female, 50+ years, Māori, Higher comfort]

People see the complaint as comprising two separate issues.



Many higher comfort New Zealanders split the complaint into two elements, with differing reactions:

- The "anti-trans" issue:
 - In this case, people are on the fence. On one hand, New Zealanders sympathise with an individual labelled differently to how they may label themselves, understanding this may feel unfair. On the other hand, there is value in the news presenting an individual in line with public perception.
- The "Neo-Nazi" issue:
 - People fail to correlate Neo-Nazi sentiment to Parker, merely understanding that she is likely to attract people with those ideologies to her events. They see this as a logical fact, rather than an unfair label. They would not uphold this aspect of the complaint.

Other reasons people struggle with this clip include a lack of background knowledge about Parker, and the extent that she may or may not align herself with anti-trans sentiment.

"I agree that she is being transphobic. But, still I don't think that she is a neo-Nazi. Her views probably encourage people like that to come to her events because they probably follow some of the views, but also just have their own separate views along with being anti-trans."
[Trans male, 18-25 years, Māori]

"She seems to be attracting hate groups of all kinds, racist groups which is not okay."
[Male, 18-25 years, Māori, Higher comfort]

"Given her activism and what she pertains her actions to be, labelling as an 'anti-trans activist' seems incorrect as the producer is either using reactionary antagonism to get more interest or influencing people via injecting personal bias." [Male, 26-35 years, Asian, Higher comfort]

"The NEO Nazi showed up. I didn't read her as a neo-Nazi from that. I just think they came out and I would say the difference between anti trans activism in this specific context and pro-women's spaces is a marketing thing."
[Non-binary, 26-35 years, Pasifika]

There is general satisfaction that the decision provides valuable background on Parker and her organisation's activities.



- Once New Zealanders read the BSA's reasons for not upholding the complaint, they feel it is the correct decision to make.
 - For those who were on the fence, the comprehensive background about Parker provides the necessary clarity to agree with the BSA decision.
 - New Zealanders who lacked background knowledge about Parker were especially interested to read the decision, and feel that it highlights that the complaint lacks a strong foundation.
- However, lower comfort New Zealanders are disappointed and surprised the complaint was not upheld.
 - They feel the decision lacks impartiality and objectivity.
 - The BSA has assumed that the audience would have understood that Immigration Minister's comment about Kellie-Jay Keen Minshull was his opinion.

"With more information, it does seem like she is anti trans. When I was less knowledgeable, I thought she is a women's activist, but a lot of women activists don't include trans women as women. And that is transphobic. So, I would rate this a 5 out of 5." [Trans male, 18-25 years, Māori]

"They did elaborate the reasons why they did not uphold the complaint. Prior to reading this, I wasn't really aware of Posie Parker, so I didn't know if she's really anti trans or just pure women's rights. Now since these are elaborated then she definitely is. So that's fair that there was no breach because they were just describing her the way she is. There was no fault to that. There's no lie to that. She's really anti trans based on these elaborations." [Female, 26-35 years, Asian, Higher comfort]

"I would say it was poor. I can understand some of their reasoning, but I don't agree with it. I think they've explained why, but I don't agree with their explanation. I don't think their reasons are valid."

[Female, 36-50 years, Pākehā, Lower comfort]

Approach to gender identity issues and clarity of the decision





New Zealanders think this decision is balanced and well explained.

- The decision is well researched, clearly showing that the news item was descriptive and based on fact.
- The argument is logical and evidence-based.



However, lower comfort New Zealanders criticise the decision due to a perceived lack of balance.

- There is a strong sense that the decision fails to acknowledge the validity of diverse perspectives on gender identity issues – a sentiment shaped by lower comfort New Zealanders' overall support for the complaint and lack of comfort with gender identity issues.
- The decision fails to adequately acknowledge that Parker did not invite Neo-Nazis to her event, and as such unfairly links her to the ideology. This is felt to breach the fairness standard as Parker's perspective is perceived as opposing to Neo-Nazi views.
- The decision fails to adequately acknowledge Parker prefers to refer to herself as a pro-women's activist, rather than a TERF (despite referring to herself as one in the past).

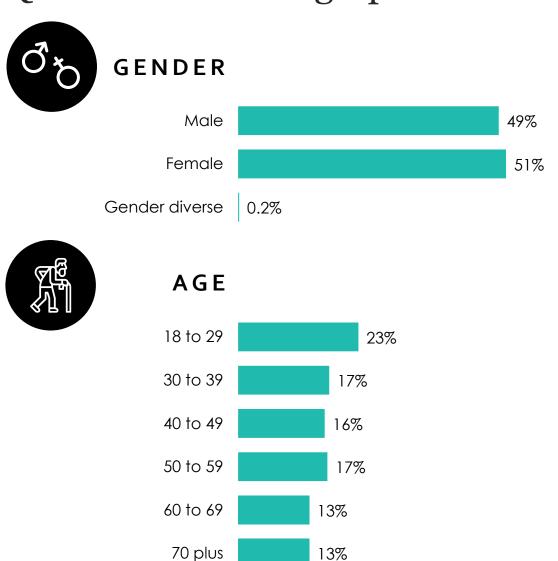
"Sure, I agree she is a prominent figure in gender ideology debates, but what they are writing here is what other people have described her as. We know that people are doing Nazi salutes, but it's not like she specifically invited them and said 'yay, good on you keep doing this."
[Female, 36-50 years, Pākehā, Lower comfort]

"It's a statement of fact, where you can see them [neo-Nazis] there in the footage, but it doesn't make any acknowledgement of it had nothing to do with her." [Female, 26-35 years, Māori, Lower comfort]

"They were doing it to get click bait, so yeah, she described herself as a woman's spaces advocate a lot more than she described herself as a TERF, but they didn't go with that because that wouldn't get as many people interested." [Non-binary, 36-50 years, Pākehā]

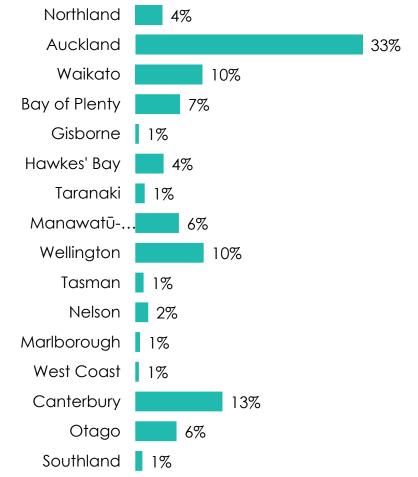
Appendix

Quantitative demographics*



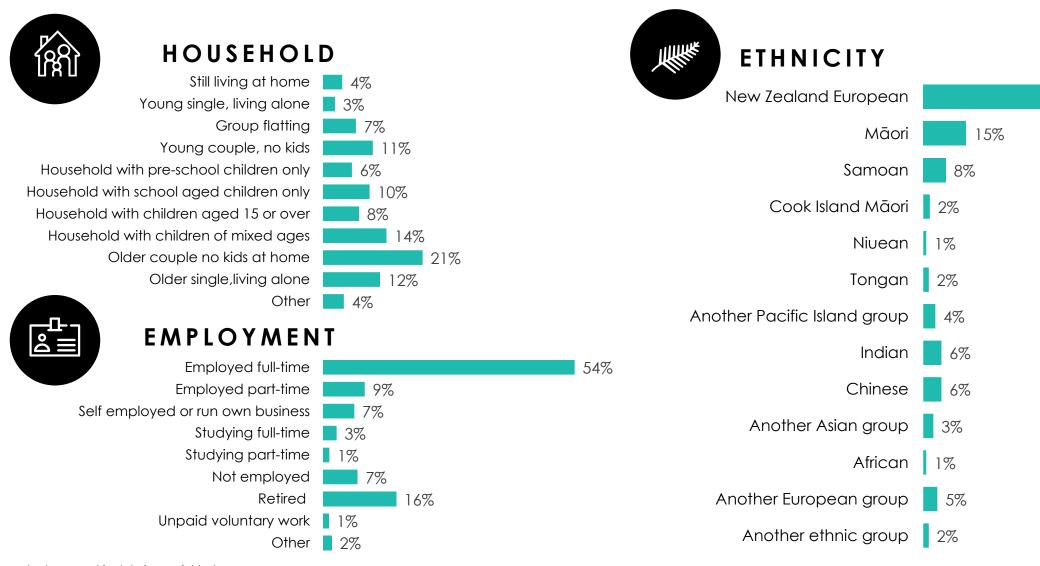






^{*}Please note demographic data is unweighted

Quantitative demographics continued*

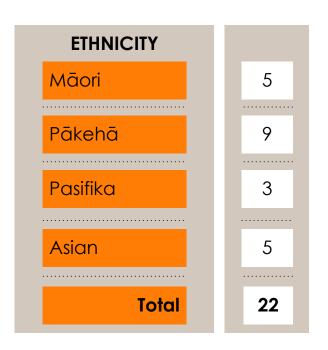


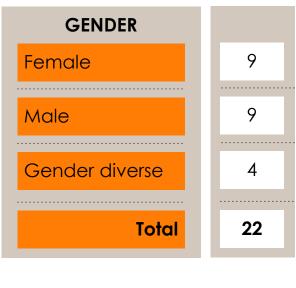
65%

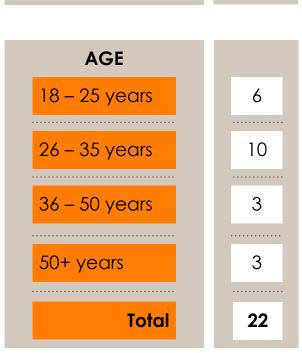
*Please note demographic data is unweighted

Qualitative demographics

We talked to a range of New Zealanders, with varied age, gender, location and ethnicity.









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