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**Pacific Islanders and Health in the
Print News Media**

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ABSTRACT

Pacific Islanders have faced discrimination in New Zealand particularly since the 1960s when members of communities, particularly from the Cook Islands, Samoa, Niue and Tonga began to be transplanted from their home nations to Aotearoa as cheap immigrant labour. Subsequently, the New Zealand vernacular has contained references to Pacific Islanders as 'overstayers', 'coconuts', 'bungas' and 'fresh off the boat' [FOB]. However, the legacy of a domineering relationship between the Palagi¹ majority group and Pacific² minorities that is captured by such derogatory terms is still evident in public forums such as the media. Using a quantitative content and qualitative narrative analysis, this first chapter documents portrayals of Pacific Islanders in New Zealand print media reports (n= 65) published over a three-month period. Findings reveal that Pacific people are predominantly portrayed as unmotivated, unhealthy and criminal others who are overly dependent on Palagi support. Consideration of this offered Pacific identity formation is explored and compared with that implied for Palagi, which is active, independent, competent and caring. Issues in coverage are discussed in relation to how Pacific Islanders are encouraged to see themselves, and the health and social consequences of dominant practices in press coverage.

The second part of this thesis will take the findings from the investigation of the characterizations of Pacific Islanders in newspaper coverage and consider audience responses to such coverage. Focus group discussions will be used to explore how different New Zealand audiences view and respond to the portrayals of Pacific Island people and health in news media. The focus on audience responses supports the development of a better understanding of how groups can internalise media portrayals and use these as anchor points for understanding their own situations. Qualitative content from the two groups of Pacific Islanders (P1, P2) and two groups of Palagi (NP1, NP2) enabled a comparative analysis of audience interpretations. Findings propose that health issues are predominantly framed from the perspective of the

¹ Palagi (pronounced Palangi) is a term used by Pacific Islanders to refer to people of European decent.

² We use the terms 'Pacific people' and 'Pacific Islanders' to denote a general social category or minority in Aotearoa used by the media. However, we need to qualify the use of these terms because their use can lead to a glossing over of the diversity in languages and cultures that exists between over 20 different Polynesian, Melanesian and Micronesian communities.

dominant social group – in the local context Palagi - often at the expense of minority groups such as Maori and Pacific peoples. In appropriating aspects of news coverage, audience members do not engage or regurgitate what they are told or shown through the media. It is a rather complex process with audience members interpreting and using fragments of what they are presented with in making sense of issues of concern in their own lives. All the participants (n= 24) were compensated for their time and travel. We offer some suggestions as to how more equitable representations of Pacific people could be fostered in news media and how changes to a more civilised media will impact Pacific health positively.

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Chapter One: General Introduction

In Aotearoa/New Zealand, Pacific people are a diverse and vastly growing population. In 1945, Pacific people comprised 0.1% of the population in New Zealand. Migration increased significantly in the 1960s during a period of high demand for labour. Pacific Islanders now comprise around 6% of the New Zealand population (approximately 250,000), and Auckland has become the largest Polynesian city in the world, with over 50% of the New Zealand Pacific population (PIMA, 2004; Statistics New Zealand, 2003). There are a range of specific cultural groups within the local Pacific community, which include Samoan (50%), Cook Islander (25.5%), Tongan (15.5%), Niuean (9%), Fijian (2%) and Tokelauan (1%). It should be noted that there are also complex overlaps between various Pacific, Maori, European, and Asian groups that contribute to a range of identity formations within New Zealand (Baumann, 1999). Many people in Aotearoa have dual or multiple ethnic allegiances and these may not necessarily remain fixed throughout a person's life (Macpherson, Spoonley & Anae, 2001). It has become a common catch and tease phrase amongst the general public that Aotearoa/New Zealand is the Polynesian capital of the world, which also has the most rapid growing population with an extremely youthful age group (Taouma, 2004). However, despite such presence, images of Pacific people in the media have often been stereotypical and confined to areas of sports, tourist attractions and crime (Macpherson, Spoonley & Anae, 2001; Taouma, 2004).

Little research has attended to the role of news coverage in the lives of Pacific Islanders. What research has been conducted has tended to focus on media representations and the ways in which minority interests in general have been ignored or poorly represented (Nairn, Pega, McCreanor, Rankine, & Barnes, 2006; Spoonley & Hirsh, 1990; Taouma, 2004). This thesis will extend research in this area through an investigation of characterizations of Pacific Islanders in newspaper coverage and consider audience responses to such coverage. The focus on print news is appropriate because only newspapers have the space and the resources to provide the variety of topics and perspectives, as well as

the depth of coverage, that many health topics deserve, providing people with a daily landscape of health information (Thorson, 2006). The focus on news coverage is necessary because media reports diagnose social relationships, characterize Pacific people, and offer prescriptions for addressing their concerns. Researchers have proposed that if we are serious about fostering social integration and justice for minority groups then we must address the power of the media to name and define communities and relationships with more socially and economically dominant groups (Couldry & Curran, 2002; Prilleltensky & Prilleltensky, 2003).

Of core consideration is the implied image of the Palagi majority in news reports and how this image seems to be defined positively in opposition to negatively framed Pacific Islanders. This brings us close to traditional social psychological work on the influence of majority perspectives on minority groups (Hodgetts & Chamberlain, 2006; Rojas, Shah & Cho, 2005). Such work is extended through the inclusion of analyses of news content (Gardikiotis, Martin & Hewstone, 2004) because the media are now central to inter-group relations, identity formation and representational politics (Maharey, 1990; Lykes, Blache & Hamber, 2003; Spoonley & Hirsh, 1990), and often function to fix boundaries of identity formation between ethnic groups in society (Anderson, 1991). The focus on audience responses supports the development of a better understanding of how groups can internalise media portrayals and use these as anchor points for understanding their own situations (Silverstone, 1999). Psychologists recognize that analyses of audience practices can provide insights into the complexities surrounding the construction and reproduction of cultural meanings circulated via the media (Livingstone, 1998).

This chapter reviews relevant literature pertaining to three core themes: health and the media, media representations of minority groups, and psychology and the audience. The first section considers the role of media as a core source of health information in contemporary society. It also introduces a broad definition of health that includes social participation and influences such as racism. The second section considers the role of media representations of minorities groups in identity construction and the relevance of news portrayals for race relations

and social participation. With respect to health and identity construction among Pacific peoples, the media is a medium where issues of concern to Pacific communities are often played out and where courses of action to address social concerns are deliberated upon. Section two also considers the role of news media in constructing and influencing inter-group relations and the distribution of power in society. The third section reviews relevant psychological research into the audience and relates social psychological concepts such as social comparison and parasocial interaction to the present study.

Health and the media

To date, the majority of research has focused on the content of news and drama across television and print media (Hodgetts & Chamberlain, 2006). Less work has focused on the production of health coverage in newsrooms and the relevance of journalistic cultures (Larsson, Oxman, Carling & Herrin, 2003). Only a handful of studies have explored audience responses to media health content (Finlay & Faulkner, 2005).

The study of health in the media has gained momentum over the last two decades. This is in part due to the growing recognition that health coverage is simultaneously a channel for the transmission of health information, a forum for the social construction of public understandings of risk, illness and service provisions, and is central to the reproduction of social relations and structures that impact health (Finlay & Faulkner, 2005; Wallack, 2003). In terms of specific content, research indicates that news coverage tends to emphasise a medical approach to health by focusing on the efforts of doctors and biomedical researchers, individual lifestyle needs and curative services (Seale, 2003). This results in the depoliticization of health as an issue of individual concern and responsibility rather than of collective concern and action (Hodgetts, Bolam & Stephens, 2005). The focus on medical services and individual lifestyles has been questioned because it downplays the role of social injustices and processes such as colonisation in health inequalities (Hodgetts & Chamberlain, 2003). Hodgetts, Masters and Robertson (2004) argue that neither individual

behaviour patterns nor medical dominated opinions can fully grasp and explain the persistent health inequalities that Maori and many other indigenous groups such as Pacific Islanders endure. Although it is important to pay attention to issues of healthy living (exercising to maintain physical wellbeing) and having access to medical treatment, it is also necessary to consider factors like community cohesion and social positioning of social groups that can impact on their health status. As Wallack (2003) writes:

The way media matter is based on how we conceptualize the nature of public health issues and hence their solutions - is often controversial. If public health problems are viewed as largely rooted in personal behaviours resulting from a lack of knowledge, then media matter because they can be a delivery mechanism for getting the right information to the right people in the right way at the right time to promote personal change. If, on the other hand, public health problems are viewed as largely rooted in social inequality resulting from the way we use politics and policy to organize our society, then media matter because they can be a vehicle for increasing participation in civic and political life and social capital to promote social change. Of course, media matter in both these ways and other ways as well (2003, p. 595).

For Wallack (2003) news media can either support or undermine wider civic processes through which Pacific people experience social and economic inclusion or exclusion. As a result, when analysing health and the media we need to look beyond stories on medical breakthroughs and programmes to address issues like obesity. Consideration also needs to be given to general reports on minority groups in the spheres of politics, sport, business and crime (Thorson, 2006).

In a review of research into health and the media, Seale (2003) proposed that news reports were one of the most influential sources of health narratives pertaining to a raft of concerns. While news content can inform the public about risks and health enhancing programmes, it is important to note that inaccurate information and stereotypical images can also undermine people's health. Nairn and colleagues (2006) propose that news media can marginalise, neglect the concerns of minority groups, and ignore positive characteristics and health enhancing aspects of particular cultures. These researchers propose that health issues are predominantly framed from the perspective of the dominant social group – in the local context Palagi - often at the expense of minority

groups such as Maori and Pacific peoples (Groot, Ngata, Hodgetts, Nikora & Karapu, 2007). An analysis of media representations is crucial for documenting the processes through which prominent social groups shape the parameters of ethnic minority groups and social issues around health.

Briefly, although mass media content around health issues are widely reported (Hodgetts & Chamberlain 2003a), this thesis will argue that it is rather restricted in scope and often ignores general health issues of core concern to Pacific Islanders. Often media portrayals of health are constructed around Palagi mainstream ideas and, therefore, tend to ignore exploration into health coverage of minority cultural health issues and explanations. In considering such issues it is important to also consider the relevance of research into media representations of minority groups, who often appear in news items on obesity, gambling and other ailments.

Media representations of minority groups and identity construction

The idea that communication provides a basis for social identities dates back to Aristotle and has been developed by philosophers such as Hegel and social scientists such as Mead (Thompson, 1995). Drawing on Hegel, one of Mead's most noted contributions to psychological and communications research was to resurrect the idea that people can only know themselves and others through communication. Today, experiences of oneself as citizen, consumer or community member are often mediated and framed in relation to outcast or deviant groups (Anderson, 2001; Baumann, 1999). Positive majority identities are constructed through perceived difference to negative 'othered' identities (Hall, 1997).

The very . . . process of self-formation is increasingly nourished by mediated symbolic materials, greatly expanding the range of options available to individuals and loosening without destroying the connection between self-formation and shared locale (Thompson, 1995, p. 207).

News reports in particular often maintain distinctions between 'us', the majority audience addressed by reports, and 'them', the minority audience reported on by the news (Adebanwi, 2004; Hall, 1997).

A core proposition underlying this thesis is that experiences of oneself as a citizen and one's relationship with others from different ethnic backgrounds is often framed in relation to media representations. As Thompson (1995) writes, the very "...process of self-formation is increasingly nourished by mediated symbolic materials, greatly expanding the range of options available to individuals and loosening – without destroying – the connection between self-formation and shared locale" (p. 207). By appropriating media images, Pacific Islanders link their own experiences and lives to wider social contexts (Bird, 2003; Giles, 2003). Such thinking requires us to consider the function of media portrayals as an important element in the social negotiation of personal identity and social relations. This necessitates consideration of the socially constructed, and somewhat fluid nature of identity constructions. Identities can be approached as more than something a person possesses and which dictates behaviour. Identities are accomplished through situated social interactions and against the backdrop of symbolic systems mediating exchanges between people. These systems include language and the content of cultural institutions such as the news media (Hodgetts & Rua, in press; Silverstone, 1999). One's sense of self can change across different situations and interactions. Research is needed to document different groups uses of media content when constructing their sense of self and participation in the wider society.

Such thinking has clear implications for community psychologists interested in issues of social fragmentation, exclusion and power (Lykes et al., 2003). It requires us to consider the function of media portrayals as one prominent basis for inter-group relations and for establishing ways in which minority groups come to see themselves. As Pietikaninen (2003) writes:

For any group, let alone a minority, news coverage is a means of gaining wider attention for their agenda, of making their voices heard, and of possibly making a difference on issues important to them. News is also a highly controlled forum of ideas and voices. It not only gives room for the flow of ideas and information, but it may also inhibit this flow (p. 583).

Whose views are privileged and whose views are restrained in media reports reveals a lot about wider power relations in a society (Hodgetts, Cullen, & Radley, 2005; Spoonley & Hirsh, 1990). The way in which the media depicts or

generally treat minority people and their issues has great influence and bearing on whether those issues are considered seriously both in the public and policy arenas (Spoonley & Hirsch, 1990). In this way, the media does more than transmit information; it shapes information and can both limit and enable the scope of minority identities (Pietikaninen, 2003) and participation in society. It is important to investigate these processes because “. . . it is through these various media that our relations with others, both neighbors and strangers, are facilitated or, indeed, denied. Relations are created and sustained. Prejudices likewise” (Silverstone & Georgiou, 2005; p. 434).

Processes involving the naming of issues and silencing of voices have very real implications for the position of ethnic minorities in society, and their associated rights and life chances (King & Wood, 2001). In the case of Pacific people in Aotearoa who are frequently identified and stereotyped by social economic factors in their lives, the implication of being insecure in their identity influences dramatically their health situation and their ability to challenge their status (Giles, 2003; Macpherson, Spoonley & Anae, 2001; Spoonley & Hirsh, 1990; Nairn et al, 2006). Social psychologists, including Campbell and Jovchelovitch (2000) have already linked positive identity formation amongst marginalized communities with increased civic participation and health gains. Likewise, poor mental health amongst ethnic minority groups can be attributed in part to people having insecure identities and being involved in unsatisfactory and domineering relationships with majority groups (Macpherson, Spoonley & Anae, 2001). Growing evidence from psychological research associates stigmatizing media representations of minority groups with higher rates of mental and physical ailments amongst these communities (Nairn et al., 2006). According to these authors negative identities offered by media outlets constitute serious public health risks and threats to the formation of positive social relations both within and beyond the borders of minority communities. It was highlighted by Spoonley and Hirsh (1990) that the power to access and exercise influence through adequate representation of Pacific Islanders and minority interests and views will determine success in many areas of the community. Therefore, deconstructing and challenging discriminatory representational practices becomes a community health promotion strategy (Wallack, 2003).

There is also a mass of interdisciplinary research, which attests to racism in the media (Cottle, 2000; Nairn et al., 2006; Van Dijk, 1984, 2000). Studies document persistent patterns in problem-orientated, stigmatizing and exclusionary depictions of various minority groups across locales (Cottle, 2000). Minority groups are underrepresented and, when they appear, are characterized as one-dimensional and inferior 'others' (Silverstone & Georgiou, 2005). Recently, such portrayals have been associated with ongoing processes of colonisation in many different countries (Adebanwi, 2004; Curnow, Hopa, & McRae, 2002; Pietikaninen, 2003; Spoonley & Hirsh, 1990). These researchers have documented how ethnic minorities are significantly disadvantaged in mainstream media coverage, which often functions to silence minority voices, while drawing on majority voices to frame issues of relevance for minority groups (Hodgetts, Masters & Robertson, 2004; Rankin & McCreanor, 2004; Thomas & Nikora, 1989).

Although the image of Palagi has diversely developed in the media, Pacific people are still captured through one-dimensional frames such as those reflecting fantasies of exotic natives for the purpose of tourist attractions and performances. This one dimensional Palagi assigned image of Pacific Island people was expressed by Taouma (2004): "...the underlying image remains the same – Polynesian women as shy alluring creatures who are sexually knowledgeable but fundamentally naïve, while the men are prone to acts of savagery but can also remain dignified, noble and wise" (p.5-6). The under-representation of minority groups like Pacific Islanders in the media may contribute to public misrepresentation based on the stereotypes (Giles, 2003; Human Rights Commission, 2004). Scarce research findings about Pacific Islanders have illustrated that they are often misrepresented with negative media coverage (Human Rights Commission, 2004; Spoonley & Hirsh, 1990; Taouma, 2004). Issues faced by Pacific Islanders concerning media representations parallel those endured by Maori. Research illustrates how both Maori and Pacific Islanders are simultaneously in negative and disparate positions (Spoonley & Hirsh, 1990). For example, it is predominantly Maori and Pacific people that appear in crime stories. In terms of health, indigenous

groups as such are regularly associated with reports around unhealthy lifestyle practices (Hodgetts, Masters & Robertson, 2004; Rankin & McCreanor, 2004; Thomas & Nikora, 1989).

Spoonley (1990) proposes that, after initially being ignored by the media in the 1960s, from the 1970s Pacific Islanders were represented as 'overstayers' and positioned as scapegoats for economic decline and rising crime rates. Further insights into the nature of media portrayals of Pacific people can be garnered from web-based forums established by Pacific media professionals and academics such as the Pacific Island Media Association (PIMA: <http://www.pima.org.nz/>) and Pacific Islanders in Communications (PIC: <http://www.piccom.org/>). Concerns raised by these community groups mirror the findings of international research on media representations of immigrant groups (King & Wood, 2001) and ethnic minorities (Cottle, 2000). Briefly, Pacific Islanders are rarely given the opportunity to frame their own experiences, actions or relationships or to speak directly through the media to the Palagi majority. Pacific people cannot locate themselves on their own terms because they are already socially positioned through the media, and are often compelled to act in accordance with the expectations of more powerful groups (Husband, 2005). Palagi exercise considerable symbolic power, the power to name and define a group or issue (Couldry & Curran, 2002). This power is often linked to economic and social privilege, which enables Palagi assumptions to shape the lives of Pacific people. Members of more affluent Palagi communities, including politicians, health professionals and government representatives, are able to access the media and identify and define issues. Conversely, economically and socially disadvantaged Pacific people are rarely afforded a voice in issues that affect their lives, and thus face both material and symbolic inequalities (Hodgetts, Masters & Robertson, 2005).

Briefly, news media have a vital and powerful influence on the social and political aspects of communities but the importance of media in identity construction is often overlooked and ignored. Media culture does not only provide interpretive frameworks for peoples understandings, it also allows for identity formation through the mediated information and resources it provides

(Livingstone, 1999). Media portrayals of identities are not always representative of their reality, especially for those of the ethnic minority and therefore as researchers have argued, media identity depictions are important to dissect (Bird, 2003; Giles, 2003). Although there is extensive international research into minority representation and identity (Couldry & Curran, 2002; Giles, 2003; Hodgetts & Chamberlain, 2003a; Livingstone, 1999), academic considerations of Pacific peoples are very limited and rare. Pacific Islanders like other minority cultural groups are further marginalized in their communities as they are identified and limited by the stereotypical media portrayals cast out and inherited by the public. While media use can socially construct identity and open up dialogue between different sectors of society we must not forget that not all communities are represented equally or have the opportunity to represent themselves on their own terms. This lack of symbolic power prevents the promotion of alternative and more felt identities outside of marginalised formats such as the Pacific oriented television show 'Tagata Pasifika'. It is useful at this point to consider conceptual issues surrounding the consumption of health content, or the audience.

Psychology and the audience

Despite current statistics (PIMA, 2004; Statistics New Zealand, 2003; Taouma, 2004) indicating that Pacific people are an increasing element of the New Zealand population, there is a remarkable lack of focus on Pacific communities in media research or audience studies. Psychologists have often speculated about the effects of media representation on to identity formation and racist behaviour. Few have actually engaged with audience responses to actual media content. Audience research would extend knowledge of the function of health coverage in the social construction of health issues of concern to Pacific Islanders.

Many psychologists have tended to see the audience as passive victims of media effects (Livingstone, 1999). Researchers often invoke the power of the media to transmit messages that negatively effect passive audiences (Giles, 2003). Audiences are often conceptualised as "...implicitly as an

undifferentiated mass, who passively receive the meanings of the media as given, and who are affected by these meanings in a similar fashion to the early 'powerful media' model..." (Livingstone, 1999, p. 18). As a result, studies have tended to analyse news reports and assume consequences for readers without considering actual audience responses (Hodgetts & Chamberlain, 2006).

Following trends in the wider social sciences, academic psychologists are beginning to accept the idea that audience members are active viewers or readers who can subject the media to interpretations according to their needs and expectations (Livingstone, 1999; Giles, 2003; Rojas et al, 2005). Correspondingly, research is increasingly focusing on people's interpretative engagements with the media, or the meanings readers negotiate when interacting with media content (Giles, 2003; Livingstone, 1999). In contrast to earlier notions of passive receivers of messages, researchers (Hodgetts, Bolam & Stephens, 2005; Livingstone, 1999) have concluded that audiences are heterogeneous and often actively involved in a complex interpretive process when making sense of what they read or watch.

When researching media representations and audience responses, there is a need to balance the idea of media power and influence with the notion of the viewer's autonomy in interpreting what the media provide (Seale, 2003; Taouma, 2004). Clearly people do not believe everything they read. However, this should not lead us to ignore the influence of dominant cultural frames or groups in setting the news agenda or what issues are identified as being important for Pacific peoples' health, how these issues are defined and what courses of action are promoted (Finlay & Faulkner, 2005).

Notions of *parasocial interaction*, *social comparison* and *audience appropriation* are useful when exploring how Pacific people interpret and make sense of representations of themselves in the media, and how members of the Palagi majority view these same representations. Parasocial interaction occurs in many forms and include situations where the audience respond to media content as though it was just another face-to-face or interpersonal interaction (Giles, 2003). The media can produce a form of parasocial relationship with its

audience who integrate mediated experiences into their live. The boundaries of what is perceived as real compared to what is presented is often blurred. In outlining parasocial interaction, an earlier study of British television audience by McQuail, Blumler and Brown (1972, in Giles, 2003) identified two essential functions; companionship and personal identity construction. These two essential functions highlighted the relationship of the audience with the media. Giles (2003) illustrated companionship and personal identity in reference to characters, figures (real and cartoon) and presenters who frequently reminded the audience of people they knew and used such characters or situations as a way of understanding their own. It is also important to note the distinction that it is possible for viewers to exercise one of the essential functions of parasocial interactions rather than both. For example, it is possible for a viewer to show companionship by interacting with a character or situation covered by the media but not necessarily identify themselves to it (Giles, 2003). In other words, parasocial interactions can be understood as the encountering relationships viewers cultivate through engagements with media texts (Giles, 2003).

Social comparisons occur when people engage with representations of characters from other social groups via media texts and compare their own situations and lives with those of the characters depicted (Comstock & Scharrer, 2005). To use a stereotypical, although somewhat prevalent example, a Palagi viewer might be left wondering why these Pacific people do not get out and exercise after viewing a news item on obesity. Conversely, a Pacific viewer may wonder why Palagi people do not take the time to support their extended families. Central to social comparison theory is the idea that people compare and contrast themselves with those from other groups when consuming media content. These comparisons help shape one's identity and the politics of distrust and antipathy associated with ingroup and outgroup dynamics (Comstock & Scharrer, 2005). I will argue that because Palagi control media production they often offer their own group members comparisons in which Palagi are compared favourably with Pacific peoples.

The concept of audience appropriation is used to explain how members of the audience draw upon and make their own aspects of news coverage

(Thompson, 1995). In appropriating aspects of news coverage, audience members, who are also engaged in other face-to-face interactions, do not simply regurgitate what they are told or shown through the media. Audience members interpret and use fragments of what they are presented with in making sense of issues of concern in their own lives (Hodgetts & Chamberlain, 2003a). This can occur on an individual basis such as when a person is watching a documentary about obesity or communally as in the case where a group of friends view and discuss the programme.

Briefly, Pacific audiences like any other social group absorb media content when making sense of issues in their own lives and as an avenue for trying to overcome the health challenges that they are faced with. Pacific people draw upon media representations of health to understand and overcome their health concerns. In the process, they may engage in parasocial interactions through which they compare their circumstances and health with those of people from other and their own social groups depicted in various news items. Research is required to document these processes and to explore the resulting interpretations regarding health. Of particular relevance in focusing on audience interpretations is the potential to generate alternative characterizations of Pacific Islanders to those often found in local print.

Chapter Summary

While news media can promote dialogue and co-operation between different sectors of society it can also fragment inter-group relations by sustaining stereotypes, misunderstandings and power differentials (Wallack, 2003). In researching the role of media coverage of health in the lives of Pacific Islanders it is essential to not forget that not all communities are portrayed or represented equally or have the opportunity to represent themselves on their own terms. The first step towards changing inequitable depictions and supporting Pacific inclusion is to document and demystify current representational politics. In considering these issues, this thesis will examine a sample of media health reports portraying Pacific people and consider the implications of these portrayals for relationships within and between Pacific and Palagi communities.

The influence of the news items will be explored through a study of both Pacific and Palagi responses to a selection of items. The thesis documents how both Pacific and Palagi audiences view, interpret and understand news reports relating to Pacific health and participation in New Zealand society. This research is important because there is more to health than the adoption of a healthy lifestyle or prompt access to medical treatment. Although these practices are clearly important, economic prosperity, housing, equality, community relations, and social capital also have a major bearing on health. These societal influences have been found to be particularly pertinent to the health of Pacific and lower socio-economic groups. The information from the analysis of news items and audience responses is used to explore both Pacific and different people's views on particular media reports concerning Pacific Island health issues.

The following chapter outlines the methodology for the study, paying particular attention to the news reports analyzed and research engagements with four audience groups. Chapter three presents the analysis of news reports in order to establish the broad symbolic context within which Pacific identities and health issues are socially constructed. Chapter four considers both Pacific and Palagi group understandings of the ways in which Pacific people are characterized in media coverage, what understandings of health are promoted in relation to such characterizations, and the groups reactions to three news items representing the range of news content. The thesis is completed with a conclusions chapter that ties the various threads of the thesis together and provides a more general commentary on the function of news media in Pacific peoples' identity constructions, health and social relations.

Chapter Two: Methodology

Previous research into media and health in the social and health sciences in general, and psychology in particular, has centered on the evaluation of public health campaigns (Hodgetts & Chamberlain, 2006). Although there is extensive research into media representations, there is a shortage of examination of media representation regarding ethnic minority groups like Pacific Islanders, and also audience responses to such particular representations. This thesis employs both quantitative and qualitative methods to analyze print news reports containing images of Pacific people, and qualitative narrative analysis to look at the ways in which these news reports are appropriated by both Pacific and Palagi people taking part in focus group discussions.

Combined, analyses of media representations and audience responses provide insights into the images that are circulated in the media and how different ethnic groups make sense of these images in relation to their cultural backgrounds. This chapter outlines the use of these methodologies including the procedures for collecting and analysing the news items and audience responses and the composition of samples. The first section focuses on the news items and the second on the audience responses.

News media representations

To look at media representations, a collection of articles was compiled of media pertaining to press representations of Pacific peoples. Specifically, a search of news index New Zealand using key words such as Pacific Island, Samoan and Tongan revealed 65 news reports published, between 1st October and 30th December, 2004. These items came from the two major national dailies and the highest circulation weekend newspaper. Of these reports 44.6 % (n = 29) came from the *New Zealand Herald*, 43.1 % (n = 28) came from the *Dominion Post*, and 12.3 % (n = 8) came from the *Sunday Star Times*. The mass media source of print news items was selected for reasons of accessibility and because print journalism is recognised as a forum for serious and objective discussions. Print

news is identified by Harawira (W. Harawira, personal communication, February 15, 2007) as a more successful way of absorbing news, as audience spend 40min on average reading a daily issue of a newspaper and an hour reading the weekend issues. Articles are longer and present a broader range of facts and views for its audience compared to other sources (W. Harawira, personal communication, February 15, 2007). The two weekly newspapers of the *New Zealand Herald* and the *Dominion Post*, and the weekend editions of *Sunday Star Times* were chosen for the reason of having high circulation.

Items were initially read from the perspective of a Samoan man interested in the images that these reports offered him and his family. The second reading of this corpus was guided by the existing literature on media images of ethnic minorities, which presents an overly negative focus on crime and disease. However, when reading the reports it was discovered that there were several examples of more positive depictions, which were not evident in previous academic reports.

To provide a background to our main analysis, I first examined the news reports for their content (Gardikiotis et al., 2004). This focused on the issues covered, attributes associated with Pacific peoples, both positive and negative, and sources used to provide commentary and expertise on Pacific matters within the reports. The specific content analysis categories were identified deductively by reading relevant literature and compiling a list of themes. Categories were also developed inductively through repetitive readings of the texts. The coding framework was finalized in which I combined the categories and refined the coding frames accordingly. To check consistency in coding, 30 randomly selected items were previously trialled before undertaking it with the rest of the articles. Intercoder reliabilities were above 85% for all categories.

Quantitative content analysis is limited in dealing with the complexities of media depictions (Ahuvia, 2001), and my main purpose was to explore how key patterns in coverage are constructed. A paradigmatic narrative analysis was conducted to unravel the complexities of press depictions of Pacific Islanders. This was appropriate because news outlets are storytelling institutions that

identify and link issues and groups in society into meaningful relationships for public consumption. News reports offer or test explanations, create narratives and characterizations, speculate and try to make a fit with what is already known (Hodgetts, Cullen & Radley, 2005). In the process, no overall message is necessarily disseminated. Audiences are provided with an ongoing narrative exploration within which various concerns are shaped and reframed, and groups are positioned socially. News also talks to the expectations and assumptions of some groups more than others. News draws upon, reframes and re-circulates tensions within society in order to construct images of Pacific people that have resonance with the wider Palagi audience. These images are not simply created in a vacuum and then injected into society, to inoculate individual readers. Coverage is constructed within the context of contemporary anxieties about social resources, crime and national direction (Silverstone, 1999; Thompson, 1995). By approaching news coverage as a serial narrative made up of regular instalments, rather than a series of distinct reports, this enabled a richer understanding of the influence of symbolic power on the framing of Pacific people. A 'text-and-context' approach was adopted (Hodgetts, Masters & Robertson, 2004), which involves moving the focus beyond the description of issues in coverage to broader observations about socio-cultural processes and relationships underlying media representations. The focus was on the ongoing negotiation of social reality through the claims that are made about Pacific people, the influence of key social actors who contribute to media deliberations, and how this relates to representational politics surrounding the ongoing negotiation of the place of Pacific peoples in Aotearoa. When conducting the narrative analysis it required reading the entire corpus again, and then re-merged issues and recontextualised some of the core ideas from the content analysis into the news narrative.

Accessing audience interpretations

For the second part of this study, insights into audience response were gained using focus group discussions (Wilkinson, 1998). These discussions were used to provide insights into how two Pacific and two Palagi audience groups interpreted media portrayals of Pacific people and their health concerns. The

discussion allowed me to document the ways in which audience members can negotiate interpretations of specific news items by offering their views to others and responding to the views of other group members (Hodgetts & Chamberlain, 2003a; 2003b). Through such interactions we can explore how participant views can be strengthened, challenged, clarified or elaborated in such a group process format, which tends to be longer and more formal (Wilkinson, 1998).

Prior to conducting focus group discussions ethical approval was gained from the Human Research Ethics Committee in the Department of Psychology at the University of Waikato. As part of the ethics application, issues that were covered included how the participants were recruited and their rights in participating. Consent forms (see Appendix A) and an information sheet (see Appendix B) covering the aims of study were distributed among networks. The focus group schedule was designed to be semi-structured with open-ended questions to allow participants to openly explore the issues raised. In addition these questions with the aid of the three newspaper articles, which were made available to the participants were posed to initiate relaxed and informal conversation about responses to issues around Pacific Island representation and health in the mass media.

In regard to the content of the three articles, the first; '*Thinner fitter runner has the last laugh*' (see Appendix C) is based on health and explores the transformation of a once obese Pacific islander to a marathon athlete. This article allowed for discussions to be directly about Pacific Island health and representation in the mass media. Audience views about health of Pacific people were openly discussed as such article covers issues like obesity, unhealthy lifestyles and the challenges around Pacific Island health. The other two articles '*Browning of kiwi sport*' (see Appendix D) and '*A matter of respect*' (see Appendix E) explored the issues around Pacific Island health at a greater depth in terms of sport, music and fashion. This allowed for wider social aspects and issues of health to be viewed and commented on by audiences. Often social health determinants like participation, racism, empowerment and civic journalism are undermined when investigating the impacts of the media. These two articles specifically address such issues regarding Pacific Island

health with coverage going beyond the common boundaries of medicine and healthy lifestyles. These articles were chosen to elicit thoughts and aid discussion and were selected from the sample of print media items that were previously collated for the media representation analyses. These news reports were used to stimulate discussion of attributes associated with Pacific people, both positive and negative, and sources used to provide commentary and expertise on Pacific matters within the reports.

All the participants in the focus groups were compensated for both their travel costs and time in participating in the research. The articles were used as a catalyst for discussion in a safe environment to openly express perspective and experiences during the conversations about Pacific Island health and representation in media coverage (Rojas et al., 2005). Participants were informed that their identity would remain anonymous and also they would be given feedback at the completion of the study.

Four focus group discussions were conducted. The first two discussions were with Pacific groups and the second two with Palagi groups. Each group contained six participants with a mixture of genders, age groups and occupations. Each of the four focus groups lasted no longer than 1hr 30mins with the shortest duration interview lasting 1hr 10mins. The two Pacific Island focus groups (P1 and P2) were facilitated by myself, whereas the two Palagi (NP1 and NP2) interviews were carried out by my research assistant and friend who is experienced in facilitating focus group discussions. My friend identifies himself as Palagi and is well rehearsed with Pacific issues and people, as he is actively involved in Pacific communities. The main decision in requiring his services were for the reasons of being able to extract information from the Palagi participants because of concern that these members might not be as open or direct with a Pacific Island researcher. An information sheet seeking volunteers was distributed amongst networks of colleagues, family, friends and associates. There were no specific requirements for participation except for the willingness to openly share thoughts, experiences, compare and contrast them, negotiate ideas and ask questions. Both Pacific and Palagi groups were pre-existing in that they knew each other and interacted on a regular basis prior to

participation in the research. Such groups are said to be more naturalistic and open to discussing potentially controversial issues.

The first Pacific Island group (P1) was made up by participants within the age range of 22 to 45 years old. They identified themselves as originating from the Solomon Islands, Tonga, Fiji and Samoa. There was only one female with five males in the group with the following as their occupations; teaching, nursing, part-time student, and one was a University lecturer. The second Pacific group (P2) was within the age range of 19 to 33 years. The group included four Samoans, one Tongan and one Fijian. Out of the six participants, three identified themselves as factory labourers and the others were a chef, supermarket supervisor and a builder. The first Palagi group (NP1) participants are employed as teachers, gardeners, housewives and as an engineer. They were slightly bunched into the age range of 23 to 30 years of age, with four out of the six being female. The final group (NP2) was aged between 23 and 67 years of age. This group was made up of four females and two males who are employed as accountant, hairdresser, advertiser and as an aid worker. Two of the participants stated they were retired.

At the beginning of each interview participants were assured of their rights and their anonymity. A protocol sheet (see Appendix F) was developed outlining such issues and also for the purpose of semi-structuring the conversation so that extracts could be compared later for analysis. Each group was initially asked a series of general questions regarding media depictions of Pacific people and the health of Pacific Islanders. The groups then discussed each of the three news reports. Near the end of the discussions participants were given the opportunity to respond to a verbal summary of what we had discussed and the key points which had arisen from the discussions and raise additional topics for discussion that we might have missed.

The discussions were analyzed with thorough attention to the 'participants talk' (Wilkinson, 1998). Particularly with analyzing 'participants talk' the language of the words and phrases they use in describing their experiences and thoughts to

the key subjects of Pacific representation and health in the media. The focus was on the *participants' own meanings*. As Wilkinson (1998) explains:

...using the term 'participants' own meanings' as a catch all phrase to encompass the crucial component of all these descriptors: that they are the understandings, concepts, representations, beliefs, etc., as developed and expressed by the participants (p.334).

The participants' own meanings derived from the discussions of the media articles provide a useful source of audience response. Analysis of the audience responses was essential for the purposes of this study. This was achieved from the collection of the participants' own meanings shared in the focus group. Same text and context approach were used to move beyond what was said to the wider socio-political processes and relations underlying audience responses.

Chapter Three: Media representations of Pacific people

Findings from the analyses of the news reports are presented in three parts. The first presents the content analysis, describing patterns across the news items and providing context for the depictions of Pacific people. The second presents the narrative analysis- exploring core oppositions between representations of Pacific and Palagi people. In this analysis particular attention is paid to issues of passivity and activity, responsibility and irresponsibility, dependence and paternalism, and positive and negative depictions. In the third section I explore a minority of more positively orientated stories and how these can reveal wider social processes surrounding social inclusion and exclusion.

Issues, attributes and the marginalization of Pacific voices

The most common approach to representing Pacific people in these newspaper reports reflects processes through which the media monitor members of marginalized social groups and gives prominence to negative constructions and deviance (Poole, 2002). Although there were a few positively framed stories, usually about sports stars and their achievements, these often made reference to a common backdrop of ill health and other social problems facing Pacific communities. Figure 1 shows the frequency of reports classified by the topic area of the report. The patterns evident in Figure 1 support our discussion below regarding the stigmatizing of Pacific communities. The vast majority of these reports were related to aspects of health. If one uses a conservative definition of health to consider these trends, there were 154 references to physical and mental illness and to health specific services. If, as recommended by Thorson (2006), one uses a wider definition to include social determinants of health, then there were a further 21 references to crime and poverty and 10 references to education. This gives a total of 184 specific instances associating Pacific Islanders with health concerns.

To explore the extent to which negative characterizations were emphasized across news items we next examined these reports for common racist

assumptions, such as Pacific Islanders being poorly educated, lazy, violent, substance abusing and economically dependent. Figure 2 presents the frequencies for the different categories of negative attributes found. The figure reveals the high prevalence of negative attributes presented, with 99 specific references characterizing Pacific Islanders as having such negative attributes. The largest category comprised 52 specific references to Pacific Islanders as unproductive foreigners or inferior others, whose place in Aotearoa is under review.

Figure 1: Issues covered in news items

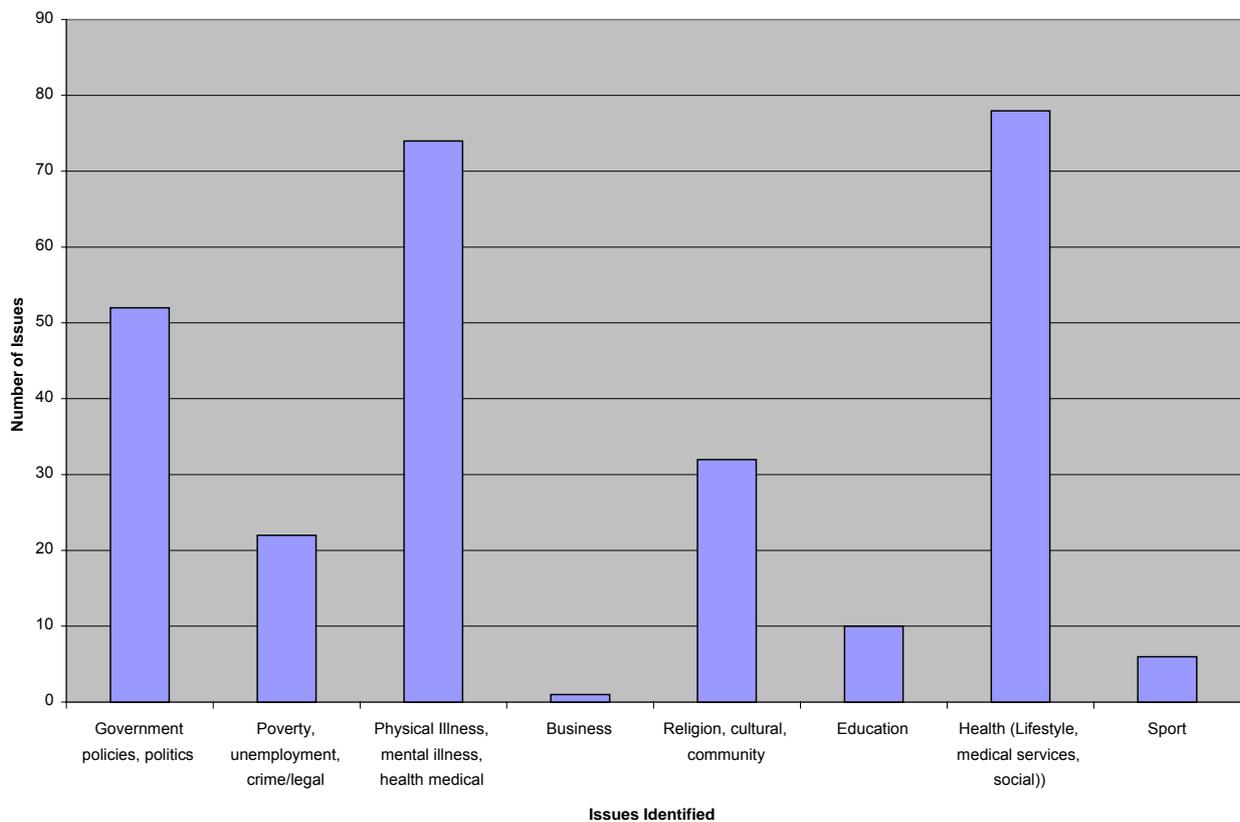
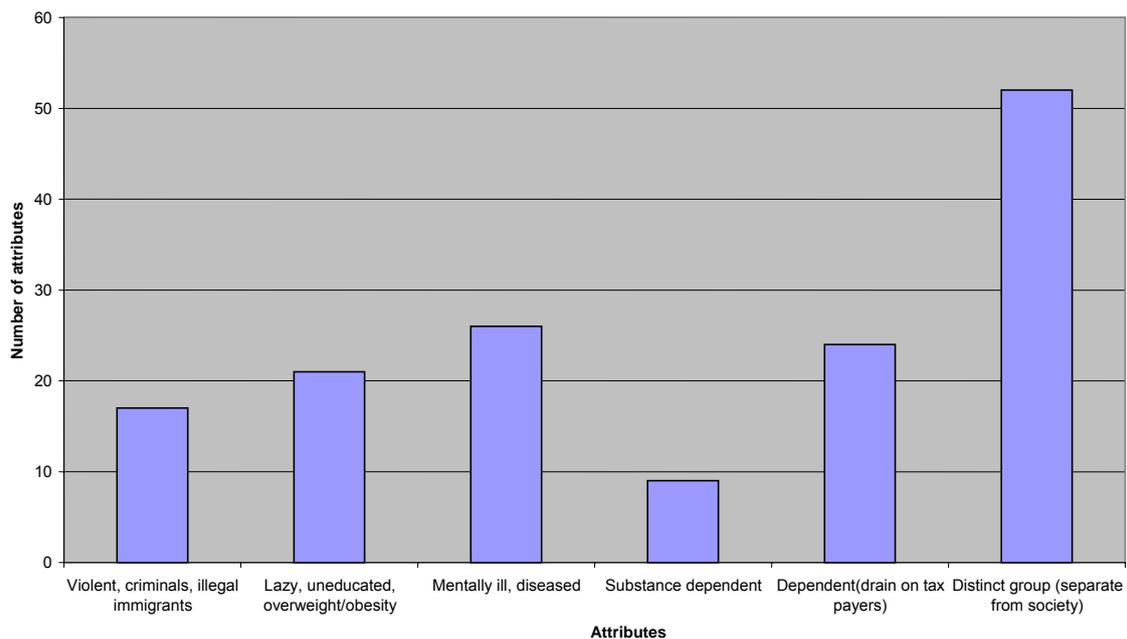
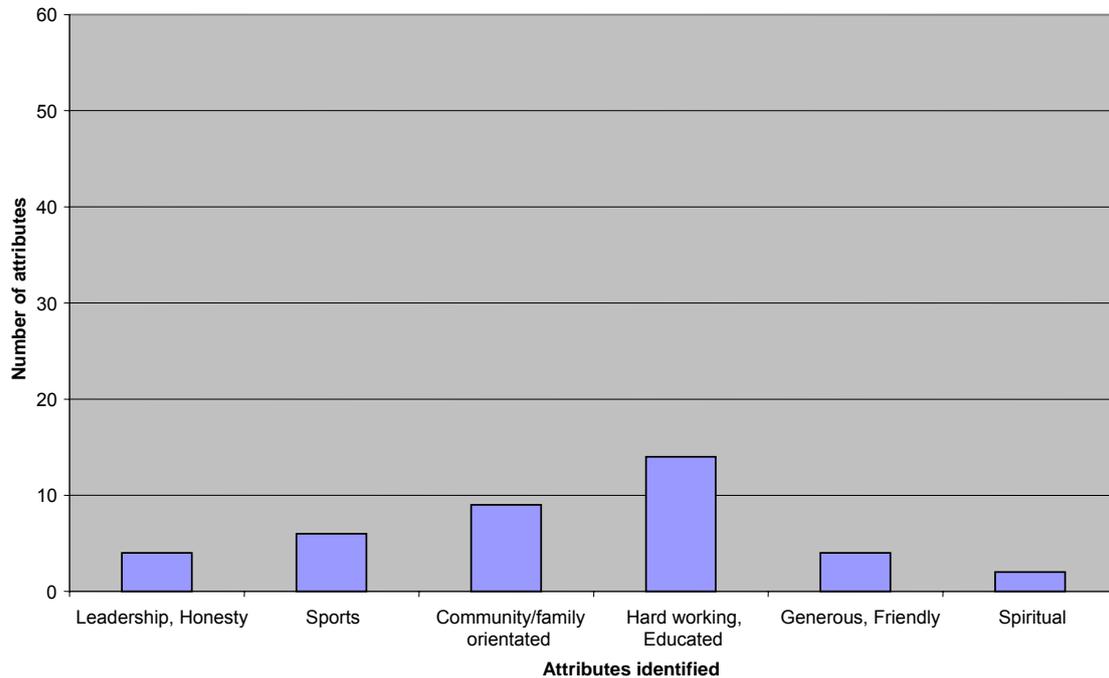


Figure 2: Negative attributes associated with Pacific people in news items



We also coded these news reports for positive attributes, such as Pacific Islanders being hardworking, generous, physically active and honest. Figure 3 presents the frequencies of these positive categories, and reveals the comparatively low frequencies for such attributes. There were only 38 specific references to Pacific Islanders as hardworking and community orientated individuals who have leadership qualities and are generous and honest people. Positive attributes were only evident in 20 (31%) of all news reports, whereas negative attributes were evident in 60 (92%) of the reports. The focus in these positive representations was on a few good individuals who are largely exceptions to the rule.

Figure 3: Positive attributes associated with Pacific people in news items

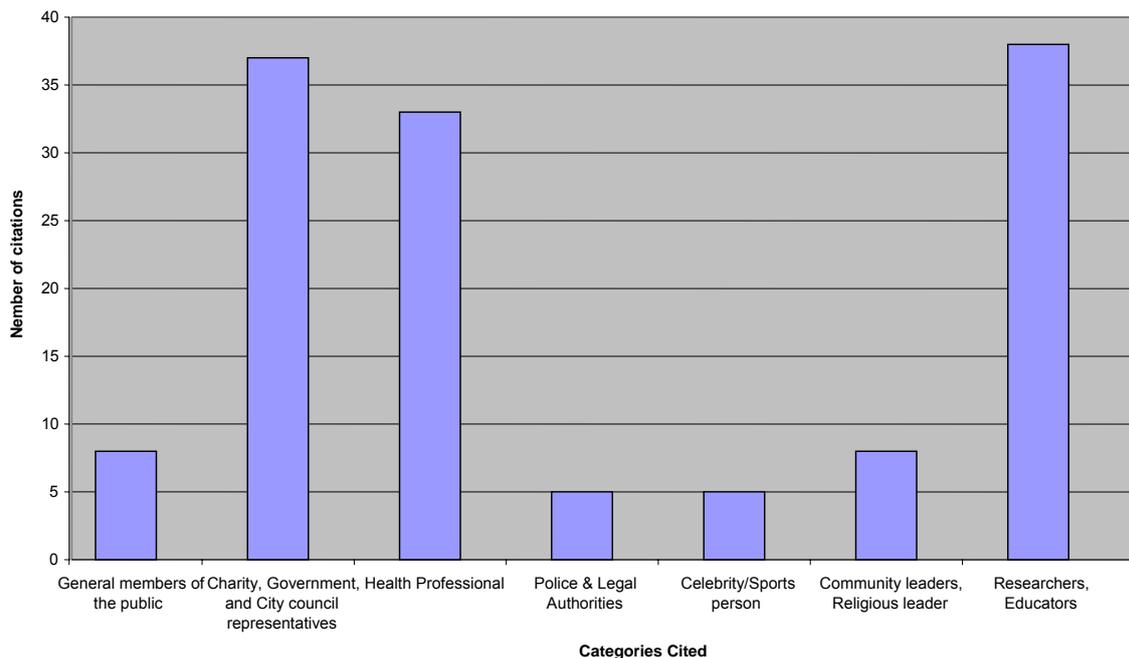


These frequencies reflect the tendency for print news to portray minority groups as inherently problematic and inferior others (Cottle, 2000). This tendency is showcased in the 57 news items (87.7%) identifying Pacific people as a distinct group that is separate from society. Evidence for such stigma was also revealed through a simple count of who is addressed, either directly as a named audience, or indirectly through the use of third person terms or out-group designators such as ‘they’, ‘those’ or ‘their’ in these items. Reports address the Palagi majority directly in 92.3% (60 items) with only 7.7% (5 items) addressing Pacific people.

We investigated issues around the power to identify and define ‘Pacific issues’, and to prescribe the nature of relations between groups in more depth, by considering who was afforded the right to speak about or define ‘the issues’ in these news reports. This involved identifying categories of key people who were given a voice in these reports. Figure 4 presents the frequencies of the different sources cited in the reports. The overwhelming majority of sources were ‘experts’ of various kinds; researchers and educators (48), government experts (37), health professionals (33) and police or lawyers (5). Reports cited

a total of 123 expert sources, accounting for 85% of all sources cited. Only one 'expert' was identified as a Pacific Islander, and only 19% of all sources (13) were Pacific people, usually sportspeople, artists and community leaders. This pattern of expertise raises the importance of symbolic power and concerns about the ability of certain groups to access the media and influence the framing of issues (Couldry & Curran, 2002).

Figure 4: Sources cited in news items



In the following sections we consider issues raised by these patterns in more depth. Before doing so it is important to briefly note the international relevance of these findings and foreshadow our consideration of their implications for the construction of relations between Pacific and Palagi people. The patterns revealed here for New Zealand print news provide further support for findings from press-based content analytic studies in other countries revealing a tendency to frame majority groups positively and minority groups negatively, such as in the British press (Gardikiotis et al., 2004). What we see in the New Zealand context is the influence of this process on the very topics through which Pacific characteristics are invoked in news stories, and the way in which Palagi sources are presented as having appropriate knowledge of a topic to

enable them to make a comment. Recourse to Palagi 'expertise' in dealing with health and social issues works to displace Pacific voices and contributes to the characterization of Pacific Islanders as overly dependent beneficiaries of state provision and Palagi philanthropy. In highlighting this issue we are not criticizing the media for drawing on professional sources to identify and address important concerns. Expert input on issues of health and community development is crucial, and many commentators from the majority ethnic group have valuable contributions to make. However, we are critical of the media for framing issues in a manner that repeatedly positions Pacific people as unhealthy, requiring surveillance and management, and needing to have programmes provided by external agencies and professionals. It appears that journalists consider majority group sources to be more reliable and knowledgeable than Pacific people themselves. This reliance on external experts may contribute to the assumption that Pacific issues are issues for the majority to regulate and deal with on behalf of Pacific Islanders, who are considered to lack the education and leadership to manage their own affairs. Although it is important that the whole society owns these issues, such positioning can limit participation by Pacific people in the public sphere, especially in relation to identifying their own concerns and formulating solutions (Pietikianen, 2003).

The small proportion of Pacific sources cited in these media reports is worrying because it enhances the framing of minority people as passive recipients of services, rather than as active citizens who should participate in the development, targeting and administration of interventions for their own people. During interviews with print, radio and television journalists conducted as part of our wider research into ethnicity, health and the media, print journalists employed by these print media outlets stated that they do not see Pacific people as part of their target audience. They write for the Palagi majority and shape their stories according to the perceived expectations and assumptions of that audience. These journalists also report having no contact with Pacific communities and offer this as a reason for why they rarely include Pacific sources in their stories.

In sum, this content analysis has established that Pacific Islanders are not central to media deliberations on issues affecting their lives and associated decision-making. This thesis goes on to document some of the paradigmatic processes central to the storying of these patterns in coverage. This enables us to illustrate how the lack of participation offered through news items can undermine Pacific leadership, making it harder for Pacific people to shape the agenda, and how they contribute to Pacific identity formations. Even when Pacific voices are evident, their roles are restrained and depoliticized.

Framing a Pacific minority in opposition to a Palagi majority

This analysis brings core oppositions underlying the content analytic patterns to life within their storied context. Here, we show how these oppositions are used in news items to characterize Pacific people as deviant from Palagi normality. This involves a series of framings; of Pacific people as passive and Palagi as active, of Pacific people as irresponsible and Palagi as responsible, of Pacific people as dependent and Palagi as independent, of Pacific people as followers and Palagi as leaders, and ultimately of Palagi as normative and Pacific people as deviant. I will conclude this section with an exploration of how these negatively skewed oppositions function to limit the potential of few positive depictions of Pacific people that were evident in these news reports.

Oppositional framings: othering and marginalization

Pacific Islanders are presented as a group to be talked about and administered, rather than communicated with or encouraged to participate in wider deliberations. This reflects processes identified by Anderson (1991), by which the press functions to imagine a nation for colonial populations through the exclusion or 'othering' of ethnic minorities. In the process distinctions between 'us' (the Palagi, the 'normal' majority) and 'them' (the Pacific, 'abnormal' minority) are used to invoke perceived differences and boundaries between these groups (Cottle, 2000). Through these patterns of representation the Palagi majority are constructed in a one-sided dialogue through which they are

defined as benevolent custodians of social resources who are working to address the failings of Pacific people (Baumann, 1999).

This can be seen in typical items such as 'Vaccination needs to be compulsory' (Editorial: New Zealand Herald, 1 October, 2004; see Appendix G). This item begins by profiling 'A vaccination programme to fight meningococcal disease started in July with the highest hopes'. It then goes on to associate the disease with 'Pacific Island families' who 'have been hit hardest by the scourge', but whose response to the programme has been 'highly disappointing'. Pacific people are depicted by the writer as apathetic. Once the situation is defined in these terms, prescriptions for action are considered because 'Clearly a change in approach is needed if acceptable numbers of those most at risk are to take advantage of the programme'. As the title for this item suggests, action from outside the Pacific communities is needed to manage the situation and reduce the risk. The need for a different strategy is reinforced with an account of how situational or poverty-related excuses are offered for non-compliance amongst minority communities. This invocation of a wider socio-political context for disease is presented as being 'flimsy' because 'South Auckland has considerable advantages for public health interventions by officials in terms of population concentration and heavy media saturation'. Any notion of taking cultural or situational considerations into account is described as being '. . . overly cautious, so much so that they fail . . .'. The writer of the editorial concludes that 'The experience in South Auckland suggests it is time for inoculation to be made compulsory'.

The use of war metaphors in such items promotes the positioning of public health programmes and their Palagi advocates as benevolent forces for good in the fight against disease. The framing of such benevolence serves to warrant compulsion where, in this case, Pacific parents should be forced to comply with the dictates of health programmes for their own good and that of their families. This framing also functions to position Pacific people as passive characters awaiting active professional guidance and intervention. These are not active citizens like the rest of 'us' who have a right to participate in decision-making processes about the availability of resources and services in their communities.

The focus on public health and the use of selected attributes to characterize Pacific peoples promotes a story context and a set of relationships in which Pacific Islanders are inactive, unhealthy people who need to be managed by Palagi.

Often, important aspects of such news items are not explicitly stated (van Dijk, 2000). For instance, implicit references to Palagi values, such as individual responsibility for health, are of central importance in understanding the wider political implications of the depictions of Pacific people. Attending to these unstated aspects of news items enables us to give coherence to the overall story being promoted through the media and how this relates to the specific characterizations of Pacific Islanders. Individual responsibility is used as devices to mark Pacific people as deviant others who must be compelled to comply with expected, implicit norms of self-reliance and self-care.

A small number of items emphasized the need for local and personal action to improve Pacific people's health, but these relied on implicit notions of passive Pacific communities. For instance, two items focused on individual Pacific Islanders actively engaged in promoting concepts of good personal health by adopting a healthy lifestyle, and thus minimizing their personal risk of disease. For example, 'Thinner, fitter runner has the last laugh' (New Zealand Herald, 30 October, 2004) focused on the case of Sam Lotu-liga. Reportedly, this man was laughed at when he first ' . . . told his friends he was entering the Auckland Marathon . . . '. The reader is informed that Mr Lotu-liga was 'severely obese', but subsequently lost ' . . . 25 kg and is proving them wrong . . . He still has a weakness for KFC [Kentucky Fried Chicken], but restricts himself to one KFC meal a week, after his Saturday run'. This man's success is made newsworthy promoting the idea that a man who epitomizes the stereotypical 'fat lazy Islander' and who 'lives on KFC' [fast food] can overcome obesity if he is motivated enough. Thus, health issues faced by Pacific people are reduced to a lack of personal motivation and responsibility, rather than to social positioning or wider socio-cultural relations. This rhetorical framing has wider political implications in terms of resource allocation and service provision.

The tendency to refer to Pacific people as sedentary or inactive repeatedly serves to warrant the proposition that 'they' are overly dependent and constitute a serious drain on the taxpayer that warrants external intervention (Spoonley, 1990). For example, 'Health board give up on \$1.6m debts' (*The Dominion Post*, 13 December, 2004; see Appendix H) presents a general story about how 'An Auckland health board has given up trying to recover \$1.6 million in bad debts owed by foreigners's ineligible for healthcare'. Readers are informed of around \$2.5 million of bad debts in a previous year that were met by central government who '. . . has progressively clamped down on providing free healthcare to foreigners'. When it comes to identifying the 'foreign' groups at fault the report reads 'Many of the patients were Pacific Islanders . . .'. The significance of this story is evident in the context of stories about the misappropriation of aid money to Pacific nations and the cost of providing health programmes to Pacific people who live unhealthy lifestyles. Such items continue a tradition of positioning Pacific people as inferior, deviant outsiders who do not belong in Aotearoa. In a wider colonial sense, such framing allows Palagi to forge a sense of belonging in Aotearoa by out casting Pacific people. This attitude, fails to acknowledge that Palagi people are themselves an immigrant group who some Maori would argue are colonizers and overstayers. Here we see how the 'othered' group is rendered central by a dominant group claiming pride of place. The symbolic relationship between Pacific and Palagi people, forged partially through such news narration, is crucial for Palagi to maintain social control (Anderson, 1991).

Items which comment on the provision of aid to Pacific nations and communities provide further evidence for the association of Pacific ethnicity with dependency and the promotion of Palagi autonomy and control. In arguably the most derogatory example from our corpus, '*Helen Hughes: More aid is no solution for Islands*' (*New Zealand Herald*, 29 December, 2004; see appendix I), this commentator discusses how Pacific nations cannot be trusted to administer aid money from New Zealand and Australia in a transparent and equitable manner. Further, aid is presented as:

. . . part of the problem rather than the solution . . . Aid makes it possible for Pacific governments to avoid economic and social reforms. The elites prosper but villagers are little better off than they were at independence.

This article then went on to associate growing health and social problems with incompetent Pacific leadership. '. . . Vanuatu arguably competes with Tonga as having the most counterproductive economic and social policies in the region. Its Government is laughing all the way to the bank as it pockets American dollars'. In the article, Professor Helen Hughes proposes that market reforms are the answer to diminishing dependency on aid. The report also infers that Pacific nations are in this situation because colonialism is no longer operating:

Australia and New Zealand are not colonial powers and cannot make Pacific Island choices or manage their economies. Colonialism is dead. But Australian and New Zealand Governments have a responsibility to their taxpayers to ensure that aid will no longer subsidize island governments that choose stagnation.

Such reports exemplify how Pacific Islanders are often depicted as recipients of assistance who are in need of both guidance from European settler communities in the Pacific region, and to have their affairs managed for them. In such discussions colonial populations are characterized as benevolent and protective forces who are taking responsibility for colonized populations (Anderson, 1991). This proposed relationship highlights how the promotion of a specific cultural identity for one group can be utilized to constitute and promote an (oppositional) identity for another group. Pacific people need to be framed as passive and irresponsible in order to justify the framing of Palagi as racist. The inference here is that colonial interference or 'management' provides more efficient 'administration of the natives'. The assertion that colonialism is dead can function to deny the legacy of colonial and historical injustices. Pacific governments and Pacific experts are not included in this mediated deliberation, nor afforded the right of reply to these harsh criticisms.

The emphasis on non-Pacific experts reflects the general lack of faith expressed in press coverage towards Pacific leaders. This is epitomized by items reporting crime. These follow trends reported in the international literature where crime reporting is found to tag offenders from minority groups by their ethnicity while comparable offenders from majority groups are seldom so

tagged (Pietkainen, 2003; Spoonley, 1990). A typical example is ‘*Samoan chief gets 14 years for sex crimes*’ (*The Dominion Post*, 6 November, 2004; see appendix J). This item begins ‘A VOLUNTARY court worker and Samoan chief has been jailed for 14 years for sex offences’. The article continues by outlining the charges and nature of the crime and how the defendant continued to deny the charges despite the evidence. Labeling offenders according to ethnicity serves to associate ethnicity with crime and social deviance (Cottle, 2000). By inference the ethnic group is positioned as socially deviant and within the sphere of crime. Pacific men are often positioned as a threat to their communities and to society at large. Items foregrounding portrayals of Pacific leaders as corrupt or abusive custodians of local power function to further warrant Palagi monitoring and management of Pacific communities. Throughout such items there is an implied proposition that ‘these people clearly cannot look after themselves’.

These examples reflect how international findings regarding print news are repeated in local contexts. Here, an immigrant minority is again positioned as a drain on the resources of the dominant group, and criticisms of dependency are extended to their countries of origin (van Dijk, 1984). In effect this universalizes the ‘problem’ of Pacific dependency across locales. It would appear that New Zealand news reporting has not developed to the point, evident in some locales such as the United Kingdom, where positive aspects of immigration by minority groups are included in mediated deliberations of such issues (King & Wood, 2001). Much of the focus in New Zealand coverage promotes an image of Pacific leaders as at best ‘incompetent’ and at worst ‘corrupt’ and ‘exploitative’. In a new twist on this old storyline, some reports suggested that participation from Pacific people is not only financially costly to society but it also results in reduced educational standards for everyone. ‘*Illiterate scholars*’ (*The Dominion Post*, 6 December, 2004; see appendix K) explores the general assertion that university literacy standards are dropping, and that students entering university today have lower literacy skills. Research is cited to legitimate these concerns and then attention turns to possible explanations. It is in this context that Pacific people are mentioned:

. . . The Social Development Ministry puts level three literacy—defined as ‘a suitable minimum for coping with the demands of everyday life and work in a complex, advanced society’—in New Zealand at around 50 per cent in the three types of literacy measured. Maori and Pacific Islanders, in particular, score poorly.

At a time when Pacific students are entering tertiary education in greater numbers, the association of concerns about falling standards with Pacific participation encourages the readership to question the public provision of support for such participation.

Positive exceptions to the rule: The politics of inclusion and exclusion

When advancing the argument that discriminatory practices shape print news portrayals of Pacific Islanders, it is important to also consider the ways in which constructions of Pacific people in news stories are not always overtly negative. Some news items reveal the potential for the news media to present alternative images of Pacific people and to contest traditional stereotypes. These are worthy of note because they are often held up by media professionals as proof of balance and absence of bias in reporting. A small number of reports in the sample presented more positive representations, using individual successes in the arts and sport. Such items contrast with those discussed above because they present more active and independent characterizations of Pacific people. In the following discussions, this thesis will consider the politics of restricting positive portrayals to ‘exceptional individuals’ and the spheres of sport and art, and how this ultimately works negatively to position Pacific Islanders as ‘exotic others’ who perform creatively on the sports field, in the arts, or during cultural festivals.

Social spaces such as that of professional sport have produced opportunities to redefine what it is to be a Pacific Islander (Macpherson et al., 2001). An overt example of success in this domain is the All Black captain, Tana Umaga, who is Samoan (*‘Umaga awarded top honour’*, *New Zealand Herald*, 11 December 2004; see appendix L). Umaga is often presented as an example of ‘The browning of kiwi sport’ (*The Dominion Post*, 9 November, 2004), raising

possibilities of social integration, and supporting the myths relating to 'the level playing field'. This article on kiwi sport reviews a television documentary investigation of the contribution of Maori and Pacific men to rugby. Early in the piece it is asserted that sport provides a forum for breaking through racial barriers. A quote from former All Black Chris Laidlaw states:

I don't think there's a single factor that has been as important as the browning of New Zealand sport in terms of generating better relationships, broader relationships, deeper relationships and a better understanding of where the other guy comes from . . .

Undoubtedly having different ethnic groups working together for a common goal in a team environment can be a good thing. However, such reports may present over-romanticized accounts of the level of understanding and integration between team members or the opportunities that sport provides for Pacific men. After all, participation is conducted on Palagi terms and involves playing an English game, which does not require any understanding of cultural difference. Further, not all sports have been so receptive to Pacific participation. Major sports in New Zealand such as cricket, soccer, athletics and rowing remain largely Palagi domains. The report itself highlights certain limits to the assertion that sport is a level playing field for the advancement of different groups in Aotearoa, where although:

. . . Pacific Islanders have excelled on the field there is still room to achieve in sports administration. Says sports radio host Martin Devlin, 'It's a hard subject to get around when you consider the hierarchies: the coaches, the management, the administration; they're all white faces and they are continuing to be white faces. You're allowed to play but you're not allowed to run the game, I mean how does that work?'

The writer of the article goes on to mention the negative impact of professionalism for Pacific national teams, whose players have been appropriated to play for better money for teams in larger nation states such as New Zealand and Australia. Although this item demonstrates the positive potential of press coverage to explore race relations differently, it also perpetuates a stereotypical view of the 'brown man' as the 'good sports man'. Not all Pacific men aspire to playing rugby, and we can question why no items represented the 'brown man' as the 'good manager' or 'business administrator'.

The cultural domain and the creative arts appear to provide other spheres where more balanced and complex portrayals can be represented; areas which actually include Pacific voices. Two items outlined issues surrounding representational politics and Pacific identities. In 'A *matter of respect*' (*Dominion Post*, 16 Dec 2004) 'Fashion writer Carolyn Enting delves into the underground world of hip-hop style that is influencing mainstream fashion trends'. This item outlines links between local Pacific creativity in fashion and global hip-hop trends.

US artist Missy Elliott's new RESPECT ME range carries a message of being positive and empowerment. Wellington hip-hop artist Bill Urale (aka King Kapsi) draws on his Samoan roots for his urban streetwear range Overstayer, that 'aims to empower the wearer', while the clothing label of South Auckland's Dawn Raid aims to 'inspire and introduce an indigenous South Pacific lifestyle to the world stage of fashion'.

However, a significant transition in focus occurs early in this newspaper article, and functions to contain any consideration of the politics of such alternative products. The focus is shifted from empowerment as an unspecified aim of clothing production to an account of Pacific brands as inspirational sources for New Zealand fashion. The reader is not presented with any information on why these youth need 'empowerment' or why these labels attempt to reclaim racist terms such as 'overstayer'. The reader is informed that this is 'all about funk' and combining clothing style with rap music and graffiti art forms. The reporter outlines how clothing trends in Pacific communities are being taken seriously by designers from other ethnic groups where a ' . . . university graduate Sandra Chin made an impact at the fashion school's recent end-of-year show with a collection of fabulous pin-tucked hoodies modelled and MCed by Wellington hip-hop trio GND'. This designer is reported as stating that: 'What we have done is girlify it and add class and sophistication'. This item exemplifies the 'taken for granted' nature of processes of cultural appropriation whereby the creative products of Pacific designers are taken and depoliticized as sources of inspiration for members of more economically dominant groups.

The positive elements of such items include the presentation of Pacific people as productive members of society who can succeed in the fashion industry. This item reflects how voices from minority groups can break through into news

coverage and so present potential challenges to existing conventions and symbolic power (Couldry & Curran, 2002). The item invokes the production of resistive signs on T-shirts and caps designed to promote alternative and more respectful images of Pacific people. These artifacts involve poaching (Thompson, 1995) derogatory terms, such as 'overstayer', 'bunga' and 'coconut' from the Palagi vernacular. The politics of resistance through the claiming of derogatory terms and of accusations around place are nullified and depoliticized in the report by stripping these artifacts of their socio-historical contexts. Hence, for the dominant group these expressions of resistance are transformed into 'ethnic art' or 'creative Pacifika fashion' to be assimilated into a more generalized national New Zealand identity. In this way, assertions of agency and proud difference are transformed into mere fashion products. This process of assimilation is visible in the article in the use of a quote from a non-Pacific design student who added 'class and sophistication' to Pacific urban trends. This infers that the work of Pacific designers lacked such elements.

One item that showed particular promise in terms of extending the issue of identity politics into press coverage was '*A question of identity*' (*New Zealand Herald*, 6 October, 2004; see appendix M). This report introduced notions of the fluidity of ethnic-based identities and constituted a rare attempt by the media to consider such issues. In order to explore the work of local Pacific artists, the report began by referring to an early 'exotica boom' exemplified by the work of Vladimir Tretchikoff, who painted mysterious oriental women against the backdrop of Bali Hai sunsets. The reader is then informed that a local artist Nanette Lela'ulu has used this template to image ' . . . Polynesian princesses in rural Auckland landscapes'. Nanette is then quoted as follows:

I've always been fascinated by Tretchikoff. The paintings are so commercial, they are everywhere and lots of young Pacific Island people have them in their homes.

I have always been interested in taking things which have been done before and putting a Pacific Island flavour into them. The difference in this lot is I have given them a New Zealand base, which I have not done before.

At this point the journalist states 'Ask Lela'ulu if she is a 'Pacific Island painter' and she will deny it, but questions of identity permeate her work'. The reader is

informed that the artist has dual heritage with a Palagi mother and a Samoan father, whose family she spent a lot of time with. 'You are never Samoan because you are white and you are never white because you are too Samoan . . .' she says. The article goes on to propose that the artist's early work focused on tensions between these two ethnic identities. Subsequently, the report turns to the work of Andy Leleisi'uao and his exploration of the struggles of Samoan immigrant families. This effectively broadens consideration of issues of identity beyond one artist's reflections. The item concludes with comments from an Auckland curator who is familiar with the work of both artists.

Auckland City Art Gallery senior curator Ron Brownson says Lela'ulu and Leleisi'uao are important members of the emerging Pacific renaissance. 'Nanette has shown year after year, with her work just getting stronger,' says Brownson. Andy has had more than 20 solo shows, and is known for expressing issues very much at the core of the first generation of immigrant artists. 'He is looking at what happened in the 1950s and 1960s when Pacific people came here to work, bringing their island's ethics and morality, and the tensions that brings with New Zealand and with their children'.

This item contrasts with the bulk of coverage because it includes Pacific perspectives. However, the extent to which these artists are allowed to define the intent and significance of their work or identities is contained by recourse to the expert testimony of a Palagi curator, who provides an account of the significance of their work. The item does not take up the opportunity to explore the complex overlaps between various Pacific, European, Asian, and locational or socio-economically based identities that may contribute to this work. In limiting the voice given to these artists the report constitutes a denial of Pacific contributions to hybrid notions of New Zealand-ness.

It is important to acknowledge those press reports that appear to promote more complex and positively orientated portrayals, such as one that questioned the rhetorical positioning of Pacific Islanders as 'overstayers' who do not belong in Aotearoa. However, such items are much less prevalent than the discriminatory portrayals, and were confined to the sports and light entertainment pages. Elsewhere, it has been suggested that media coverage is changing and that new complexities around the imaging of minority groups are increasingly entering coverage (Cottle, 2000). Our findings suggest that the inclusion of a

more positive focus that involves 'success stories' tends to reflect processes of cultural assimilation, where Pacific people can be reported as successful if they conform to Palagi norms, or if their creativity can be assimilated into the dominant culture. These more positive images, contextualized by sport and art, appear to reflect what has been called 'enlightened racism' in television characterizations of minority groups (Cottle, 2000), where the focus is on successful individuals but coverage omits mention of structural inequalities and exclusionary practices that prevent more success. In the context of the tendency for print news to focus largely on problems, positive cases can function merely to reinforce the perception that Pacific people have only themselves to blame for not measuring up or taking advantage of their opportunities.

Chapter Summary

Previous research highlights how the positive achievements of minority groups are downplayed or ignored in mainstream media, and how their 'problems' direct the attention of coverage (Nairn et al., 2006). However, this is only partially supported by the analysis presented here, as we find that positive representations of Pacific success also occur in New Zealand print news. In spite of this, the examples discussed above reflect how these positive representations promote exceptions to the rule, presenting individuals who are newsworthy because they have succeeded within the Palagi world of sport, fashion and the arts (Macpherson, et al., 2001). Although alluding to a politics of difference, these items do not explore the marginalization of immigrant groups or consider its impact on people's lives. These items remain part of dominant representational practices that often work to censor and marginalize minority groups (Lykes et al., 2003). What we need are more complex portrayals of Pacific people engaged, as they are, in a wider range of occupational and social spheres, and representations that allow better understandings of Pacific perspectives.

Internationally, researchers have criticized news portrayals for depicting minority groups as ill-informed, overly dependent, and out of place (Adebanwi,

2004; Hodgetts, Masters & Robertson, 2004; Kernot, 1990; Pietikaninen, 2003; van Dijk, 2000). These studies have documented how news reports are predominantly framed through the prejudices of majority groups, representing minorities within the context of social problems such as illness, crime and poverty. While it is necessary for the media to raise health and social concerns for public consideration, the representation of minority groups in this way is of concern. Prominent trends in coverage, including those identified in this thesis, facilitate fundamentally constrained and domineering relationships between social groups. The reliance on one-dimensional characterizations of Pacific people effectively reduces the claims of Pacific Islanders for public attention to their problems (Hodgetts, Cullen & Radley, 2005). A particularly worrying finding from the analyses of print news coverage is the lack of space for Pacific people to speak for themselves beyond quite restrictive roles, and the displacement of Pacific Islanders from their own stories. The failure of print outlets to engage with Pacific people on their own terms raises questions as to whose needs are being met by media coverage. Our findings suggest that coverage currently serves the need for positive self-identity of the Palagi majority. This invokes concerns about who gets to speak, for whom, and to whom. At present it would appear that Palagi professionals and journalists are speaking on behalf of Pacific people to a Palagi public. This constitutes a serious barrier to the liberatory goals of community psychology (Lykes et al., 2003) because Pacific people' participation in society requires the involvement of Pacific communities in sharing the common cultural forums provided by mass media with Palagi communities. This enables cross-community dialogue and all groups to be heard (Silverstone & Georgiou, 2005). Although the analysis presented in this chapter highlights important communication elements such as the potential influence of the framing of issues within health coverage on audience interpretations, it cannot answer questions about what viewers actually do with such coverage. Such questions need to be explored through reception research.

Chapter Four: Audience responses

The impetus for conducting the focus group discussions for this thesis was to explore how different New Zealand audiences viewed and responded to the portrayals of Pacific Island people and health in print news media. As has been argued in previous chapters, there is limited research into media and Pacific peoples. What this chapter provides is an exploration into a minority group that is often ignored in terms of audience responses as to how they are portrayed. To allow for a more in-depth look into the media's role in defining and depicting Pacific people, two groups of Pacific Islanders (P1, P2) and two groups of Palagi (NP1, NP2) were organised so as to enable a comparative analysis of their interpretations. The first section of the focus group discussions was designed to access participant views regarding media images and depictions of Pacific people and then specifically in terms of health. This material forms the first analysis section. Section 2 explores each of the three media examples selected from the sample analysed in the previous chapter, and which were interpreted by focus group participants. These examples were selected so as to reflect prominent trends identified in news coverage. Section three provides a chapter summary that links key findings from all the previous sections and are discussed in context to audience research theories.

Discussions of media characterisations of Pacific Islanders and representations of health

This first section is presented in two parts. The first explores participant views regarding the depiction of Pacific Islanders in the media. The second discusses these depictions further in terms of ramifications for Pacific peoples' health. Three main themes emerged across both parts. First, the prominent association of Pacific people with sports and entertainment. Second, the tensions between the negative and positive portrayals of Pacific peoples. Third, the complexities surrounding health images and the differences in response across groups stemming from cultural understandings unique to Pacific and Palagi peoples.

Representations of Pacific people in the media

In relation to media depictions of Pacific people that participants encounter in their daily lives, both Pacific and Palagi groups tended to highlight prominent current events. All groups invoked the examples like the portrayal of Beatrice Faumuina (New Zealand and former World discus champion) as a contestant during the 'Dancing with the Stars' television series. Chelsea in the NP1 group mentioned that:

Chelsea: She was portrayed as being very elegant, beautiful and graceful even though her size was talked about a lot, she still came across in a real positive light, especially after the games (Commonwealth games) with her poor performance.

Such positive portrayals of Beatrice were also seen and commented on in a similar light by participants in NP2:

Rachel: Beatrice in Dancing with the Stars and yeah I thought that it was a good portrayal of Pacific Islanders for getting out there and giving it a go and there was a lot of support behind her in terms of the country...(NP2)

Filipo: With Faumuina, the way I look at is that Pacific Islanders can do anything. They are competent in those levels in terms of professionals as she can throw a shot putt and she can also dance. So the whole of New Zealand is looking at somebody who is a Pacific Islander or Pacific origin so, I mean she's big but she can do it. So yes I take that as a positive image (P2).

In this extract Beatrice is invoked as the personification of positive Pacific role models who contribute to New Zealand society. The construction of Beatrice is anchored in a previous 'Girls can do anything' campaign, which ran in New Zealand a few years ago in an attempt to encourage women to engage in traditionally male occupations. This extract shows how audience often draw upon common reference points in media coverage when conveying their views on coverage in general (Kitzinger, 2000).

Another similar television show that was heavily featured and praised in terms of the conversation around Pacific people was the television programme, *New Zealand Idol*, and its Pacific Island contestants. Prominent throughout both of the Pacific Island focus groups were considerations of how all competition

winners have been Pacific Islanders. The following dialogue between members of the P2 focus group highlights such case:

Teuila: The New Zealand Idol, both Indira and Saunoa. I think the image that he (New Zealand Idol winner Matt Saunoa) was almost eliminated you know at the first audition and he believed that he can deliver and yet to come up as top and Indira as runner up...And so for me, as a Pacific Islander to look at them, let alone they have to sing in English and to bear with the makeup and also with the image that is required to be displayed, so I think there is a lot they have conquered to come that far and in a way it shows to our kids because they enjoy music as an encouragement giving some positives.

Tani: I just want to add to what she was saying about Indira and the way it showed who we are and where we come from through her music and more too that is the fact that we can do anything we want to do. Part of her personality showing of how she enjoyed her music is part of who we are too.

Anelu: To add also on to what Teuila was saying, the last two NZ Idols were of Pacific Island origin, so you got a repetition of something that is already happening, which is good and not only good for them, but also for all of us as Pacific Island people.

Other images discussed included coverage around the passing of both Maori and Tongan monarchs, All Black rugby players, television series and film producers the 'Naked Samoans', particularly Oscar Kightley. All these images were very positive and characterised Pacific people as sporty, elegant and talented. These general statements and depictions of Pacific Island people were predictable and are often representative of what is dominating the media at the time. The images identified in the conversations are predominantly around the perceived notion of Pacific people as sports athletes and entertainers. Overall, these individuals are constructed as positive role models.

The limited scope of dialogue when Pacific people are depicted merely as athletes and entertainment providers is similar to previous research findings in which the writers have claimed that media coverage around the representation of non-dominant cultural groups like Pacific Islanders are often limited and restricted (Macpherson et al, 2001; Taouma, 2004). This was demonstrated during the discussions when commentaries between the two groups were compared. It was stunningly obvious that the Pacific focus group had more of a diverse range of Pacific Island images and characters. As well as identifying the

common image of Pacific people as sports stars and entertainers, they also brought up the images of Pacific Islanders as family proud, religiously orientated and very talented. This is a point of contrast between the audience groups. The over-representation of Pacific people in socially deviant spheres is important to understanding this point of difference. The images that Palagi participants, who have less knowledge about Pacific issues, are more often likely to be adopted from media coverage. Also, the Palagi readers or viewers tend to form their opinion by making a comparison between their own social group and those of the Pacific Islanders appearing in coverage. Members of the Palagi focus group discussed the idea that Pacific images in the media tended to be about violence, alcohol abuse and unhealthy lifestyles. The excessive association of media representation of Pacific people with such socially deviant images is emphasised by the following passage in a conversation between Stanley and Stevo from the P2 focus group:

Stanley: ...I think it is also pretty obvious to me that when Polynesian people are talked about in the media, particularly the print media, the media sensationalise on the bad things and not on the good things.

Stevo: Especially with all the crime that's on the news at the moment. But I wonder if that's just who they are though? I remember the incident with the Warriors player Tavita Latu beating up some women and all this portrayal is about violence.

Stanley: ...I've been to Tonga a couple of times and I have seen quite a bit of life up there... All you hear about is what Stevo said about someone beating up some women or somebody is fat and is trying to lose weight but I mean when you see this...something like this is what sticks out for me and this is in the media.

Stevo: I've noticed it a lot as well that most of the problems or most of the bad stuff I've seen about Polynesians has had something to do with alcohol. There's more Warriors stories like Sione Faumauina, he had a lot of trouble with alcohol and he's been in the news a couple of times lately, and the other thing also, they are talking a lot about gang violence at the moment, and I think they've mentioned that quite a large amount of people in gangs and stuff are Polynesians as well or maybe I'm just assuming that, I don't know... The ads that I can remember when they're trying to encourage Pacific Islanders to exercise and stuff like that, I don't think they're trying to say that all Polynesians are overweight, but when you're watching the ad you're not really paying too much attention and you just, it just comes naturally to you that you take it that all Polynesians are overweight.

Stanley: Yeah, but obesity is not the only health problem they've got. Respiratory problems, diabetes, they're pretty serious too...really unhealthy to be honest.

In addition to the association with crime, violence, alcohol and unhealthy lifestyles, Pacific people were viewed as members of society that are unemployed and dependent, lazy, jokers and gamblers who are fascinated with fast food. Extracts from both the Palagi focus groups express such opinions. These groups frame Pacific Islanders as somewhat strange and undisciplined in that they let their emotions and desires dictate their behaviour.

Pacific audience groups did not identify such negative media images of themselves to such an extent. They were well aware of such representation. Why this is the case for the Pacific audience is summed up by the following statement from Finau (P1):

...yep we know there are lots of negative media images out there about us but if you think about it Rob why dwell on it when we know that, that is not the whole heart of a Pacific Islander... We shouldn't waste our time dwelling on the negatives, but celebrate the positives.... There is negative stuff about Palagi people, but we don't assume that they are all bad, course not, because we have Palagi family members and friends that are good. I think they should not over represent the crime and bad things to mean all of us... That's not fair.

This extract relies on a social comparison between Pacific people and Palagi, while invoking the grey area between the two groups. Finau invokes complexities in and between groups in order to create critical distance from and relativise media portrayals in terms of her own life and the majority of people of Pacific descent. This sub-section has highlighted the positive potential of coverage and the ways in which all groups are aware of prominent trends in media characterisations of Pacific people. Although there are negative portrayals Pacific people in the media, the extracts illustrate that this is often balanced with positive portrayals too. Although there is a sense that there is a diverse portrayal of Pacific people, often these images are of the extreme and stereotypical case of sports and entertainment stars at one end, compared to criminal associates and unhealthy characters on the other. These extracts highlight the complexities and differences in audience views and the following

sections will explore how such views are negotiated and constructed as a reflection of print media coverage.

Pacific health and the media

The second part of this analysis section explores audience interpretations with direct reference to health. The essential focus is on the way the audiences draw upon their existing views on health and aspects of the media to make sense of Pacific Island health portrayals, issues and concerns.

From the P1 and P2 focus groups the messages that appeared to Palagi mainstream media audiences regarding Pacific Islanders are that Pacific Islanders are at risk of obesity, diabetes, smoking and dialysis. It was strongly conveyed through the conversations that the perception non-Pacific people obtained from the media about Pacific people, apart from being subjected to illness and medical health issues, is that they are usually poor, live in overcrowded housing and live unhealthy lifestyles. The stereotypical image reproduced through the media is that of the jovial, poor and sick native. This was accentuated by a catalogue of Palagi comments from the two interview groups (P1 & P2):

Sarah: Yeah I reckon they are happy, but poor and unhealthy...

Jane: ...it's about them getting help with paying the mortgage...and was about addressing the need particularly in Auckland where you have a lot of overcrowding in suburbs and poor suburbs, especially around the predominantly Pacific dominated side of Auckland-South Auckland.

Sue: ...smoking and diabetes and obesity are also major ones. You go into a doctor's surgery and there is a poster there of a brown person. These posters and messages are guaranteed to be adverts targeting Pacific Islanders and that they get checks and suggesting eating healthy food.

These particular comments were indicative of the type of dialogue that dominated discussions in terms of the ways Pacific health is reported in the mass media. Group discussions often gave weight to the research finding that the media influence how minority groups are perceived by the wider public, which also illustrates that notions of individual behaviour is a core determinant

of health (Giles, 2003; Hodgetts, Cullen & Radley, 2005; Spoonley & Hirsh, 1990).

It is important to note that Pacific audiences when reflecting solely on the images that were portrayed in the media proposed that they were presented in a negative stereotypical light. Where their comments differed from the members of the Palagi groups was in terms of the extent and depth of the discussion that the Pacific participants engaged in to deconstruct such ideas. The Pacific groups invoked the notion that Palagi often have a different perspective and definition of health. Palagi audiences continuously framed health in terms of factors such as living free of pain, access to medication resources, living a healthy lifestyle with reference to exercising and eating right. They generally saw health in terms of the biomedical structures which tend to dominate media coverage. These audience responses reflect Wallack's (2003) claim that the media reflects aspects of the medical, lifestyle and socio-structural approaches prevailing in the general community and monitored by the state. The Palagi comments contrasted with the views of the Pacific participants, who had different interpretations of what a healthy size was and factors that made up a person living a healthy lifestyle. Opposing interpretations of Pacific health issues between Pacific and Palagi audiences was highlighted by one of the P1 participant's comments:

Niko: Can I just make a comment here in terms of perceptions? Bodily wise we are huge, we tend to be big in size, but when you put that in a modern [Western] context where slim bodies are celebrated, so immediately in terms of appearance only, there is already a contradiction. So when you begin to talk about health and you relate it to the body, the conclusions are already drawn. That's one aspect of it; the other side of it...is the transition that some of us find very hard to make in moving from the islands to New Zealand. The life here is conditioned or patterned on pace, it's fast. There is also a celebration of excessiveness, there is wide availability of goods and as well as food, so when we move here we are very tempted to try and catch up and to consume. And because speed and excess are part of the idea of a luxurious life, an easy lifestyle that is a mindset that I think we associate with development and New Zealand as a developed country so to speak, so when you move here you want to fit into that rhythm. The genetics of the body are to some extent conditioned by an island environment. When you move to a country such as New Zealand although part of the Pacific but geographically to the South, the physical environment is one thing but the social cultural environment is the other and I think to some

extent a lot of Pacific Islanders haven't quite made the transition. And obsession with fast food in particular becomes one thing and it impacts on the body and those are the things the media portrays...who controls, who has the authority and power to determine and control what is articulated, what is presented and we become players in New Zealand society.

The mainstream views indoctrinated through mediation emphasise the benefits of a healthy lifestyle and the ramifications of unhealthy behaviour as associated with Pacific people. With Palagi health paradigms in the media stipulating medical and lifestyle views, it is these same frameworks that are used to conceptualise Pacific Island health to a point. This participant raises wider contextual factors such as moving from one society to another. The extract also invokes contradictions in consumerism and the power to name and define.

A further divergence in the interpretations was the noted omission of relational dimensions, such as family support having a major bearing on health by Palagi audiences, which Pacific people defined as fundamental to a healthy existence. Pacific participants raised the idea that Palagi people viewed themselves as individuals when considering health, whereas Pacific people thought of themselves as a part of wider familial and community groupings. This idea of individuality verses family was conveyed by Niko in the P1 focus group:

Niko: I think for me one of the things that doesn't always come through, you get glimpses of it; is that they are portrayed as individuals in their own right and that is the mainstream definition of the person. Individuality is given prominence, but we all know that one's success is the family and group success. That doesn't often come through, as a Pacific Islander you can imply a non-Pacific Islander because it's not explicit assumes that the person's success is just their own, in some respects it is, but the individual I am sure in their part know that their success is also part of the wider family groups. So that communal sense I think is not very explicit in the media.

This extract exemplifies the idea among many Pacific Island people that one's sense of self, health and successes are inherently relational and need to be understood in the context of family. This perspective is used as a basis for raising the limitations of the Palagi perspectives, which dominate the framing of health news. The participant openly questions the absence of such Pacific perspectives in media coverage.

Although there are similarities and overlaps of conversations around health concerning the media and Pacific people, Pacific participants were more knowledgeable, indicated by the depth and the thoroughness of their explanations about their own health issues. This raises issues of power, influence and the ability of the Palagi majority to voice minority health concerns. The reported information about minority or Pacific views for interpreting their own health adversities is overcome by more mainstream explanations and paradigms. These popular mediated frameworks for health are absorbed and soaked up and internalised by mainstream audiences and are used to also interpret minority health issues. In regards to Pacific health, the viewpoint prominent among the Palagi participants' focuses on individual health, whereas Pacific voices and alternatives are ignored. Such views mirror the concerns of those scholars who have argued that the Palagi dominance of the media enables the use of their power and social privilege to shape and define ethnic cultural issues and ultimately deny Pacific people the opportunity to voice and interpret their own matters (Couldry & Curran, 2002; Silverstone & Georgiou, 2005; Spoonley & Hirsh, 1990). Even more of a concern was the fact that Pacific people were aware and also concerned, that the way in which the media portrayed them would lead to the fixed stereotypes that threatened to be internalised by members of the general public. This concern about the stigmatising depictions in the media, and the lack of acknowledgement to address their own situations is illustrated by the following extracts from the P1 and P2 focus groups:

Siaosi: ...Rob, the media goes hand in hand with health. We are talking about influence of media depiction and to be honest you are naïve to think that the media depiction of our people is not important and influential. The major concern I think we all have is that Palagi people think that we are everything they see on TV...everything the news shows is not a fair view of us and it stigmatises us. I mean for example...like what we have here is the KFC stigma. They all think we love KFC and attached to that is all the negative stuff of being obese and unhealthy...

Niko: Media representation for us Pacific people extends beyond the effects on health. It has an effect on our status as in areas of political influence...

Teuila: we are over-powered by Palagi mainstream opinions...like our people we have our ways of doing things back home but when we move here we forget about our fa'a Samoa ways or any ways and that is

because we have to follow the Palagi way and I feel that is our fault and we should take it on ourselves. I like how we talked about it before and I think its true that media is power and influence but we need to get in there and it's only a matter of time for our people... (P1).

Being labelled as unhealthy results in more severe consequences than public scrutiny, that of racist attitudes developing as a result of the constant repetition of such imagery. Similarly, Wallack (2003) proposes that adverse media depictions of minority groups can contribute to negative group relations, prejudices, and discrimination. These factors are associated with poorer health for depicted groups.

In summary of the first sub-sections around reporting their views of the depiction of Pacific people in the media, participants consistently referred to television shows with Pacific Island figures that were highly publicised at the time. Audience conversation, particularly those by Palagi participants were rather restricted to the areas of entertainment and sport, which supported claims by Macpherson et al, (2001) and Taouma (2004) suggesting that the media often confined minority groups within fixed boundaries. In comparison to the Pacific participants, there were a more diverse range of characters and acknowledgement of Pacific participation in communities outside the more publicised areas of sport and entertainment. This finding in relation to media characterisation is similar to those in the second part of the discussions about health in the media. The images that dominated the Palagi discussions about Pacific health reflected findings from Chapter three pertaining to unhealthy images and negative stereotypes. In contrast, Pacific people acknowledge that there was need to focus on more aspects of their health other than those offered by the Palagi mainstream and also emphasised the importance of recognizing that differences in culture constitute also differences in health. The Pacific people's accounts regarding their own health differed from the media images and also to the consistent images of healthy living and medical definition of health. Pacific views reflected the findings by Wallack (2003) that we need to attain and represent a wider notion of health to include aspects of life such as levels of social participation and racism. Overall the contrasts highlighted from these two subsections illustrate that audiences have different

knowledge bases, cultural backgrounds and group affiliation (in-group/out group), which impact on their depth of explanation.

Interpretations of specific media items

The second section of this analysis draws on the focus group responses to explore the ways in which participants interpret and make sense of three print news articles depicting Pacific Island people. Each of the items was selected as a reflection of the prominent trends identified in the news coverage from the media analysis presented in Chapter three. The first media example '*Thinner, fitter runner has the last laugh*' purposefully focuses on health. I reflect on the portrayal of a Pacific Island man overcoming obesity. The second article '*The browning of Kiwi sport*' discusses the triumphs, challenges and general issues around the politics of rugby with a focus of Pacific Island representation. The third article '*A matter of respect*' reports on the input and contribution of Pacific people into the hip-hop music and fashion industry. This is also integrated with stories of empowerment and the renegotiating of meanings to previously stigmatising images to produce successful business outcomes. These news print articles will enhance our understanding of the public framing of Pacific health issues and the place of Pacific peoples in Aotearoa by examining audience responses. An analysis of news representations and audience commentary is used to extend our understanding of how social power relations beyond the borders of specific communities can support or undermine these communities (Hodgetts et al., 2005).

Example 1: Thinner, fitter runner has the last laugh

The dialogue collated from the responses to this article illustrates how the accounts of participants in the Pacific focus groups (P1, P2) differed from those of the Palagi groups (NP1, NP2). This first article functioned to stimulate an extended discussion of Pacific Island health, and its portrayal in the media. Three prominent issues were identified from the conversations about this extract. One of the main issues raised was about challenging and validating the content of news articles. The second issue was based on the different

negotiations regarding body shape and stereotypes between cultural groups. The third prominent issue relates to the differences in response to the question of *'what is missing from the article?'*.

One of the interesting debates to rise within the Palagi focus group about this extract was whether it would have made the news had the core character been a Palagi man. The article was littered with imagery and stereotypes of Pacific people as unhealthy, fat, KFC and fast food indulgers who live an unhealthy lifestyle. This was explicitly talked about by NP2 participants:

Alice: I thought it was horrible. Pretty much it says one he is overweight, he's Pacific Island, which we get hammered with in the news all the time and on TV, that he eats KFC a hell of a lot. But now because he has lost weight he just limits it to once a week, which I thought it just added to the whole fat Pacific Island thing. Um, and they have just kind of got little bits out of here out of the whole thing that pretty much I guess says or puts across the opinion that Pacific Island people are over weight, they don't know how to look after themselves and just stuff like that...I don't know...I didn't like it...I mean if they go for a run its OK to eat KFC.

Stanley: ...they have used the imagery of KFC three times in two sentences...

Participants propose that the article perpetrates stereotypical ideas regarding Pacific Island health. The interpretation is subsequently extended to include a consideration of whether the same impact would have been made if it were a non-Pacific subject:

Rachel: But if it were me that was over weight, I would not get in the newspaper if I were to do the exact same thing.

Alice: If it were a Pakeha, there would be no way it would have made the paper.

Stanley: So the assumption is then is that for the article to work the assumption is that Pacific Islanders are over weight.

Common assumptions and fixed categorisations of Pacific Islanders, prominent in media reports, are questioned. It has been proposed that the media sensationalises with such particular imagery and apart from assisting its production it also aids in residing such coverage in the minds of New Zealanders (Samasoni, 1990). More specifically, Samasoni (1990) argues that the media often presents the public with material that is entertaining and

attracts viewers, but always from a monocultural Palagi context. However it is important to be cautious about such general statements of media effect. This interaction illustrates how such content can be drawn upon and questioned by Palagi participants for being somewhat discriminatory and stereotypical.

A further issue to accentuate from this first article is the idea that Pacific people have body shapes that diverge from Palagi ideals:

Chelsea: I think the statement there 'you're not exactly built for it', has a suggestion there of that's just your shape and size and that's just the shape Polynesians come in as opposed to I think, like say an over weight white person said I'm gonna get fit and run a marathon, people would go "cool". So that statement is an interesting one with assumptions around the expected shapes of Polynesian people.

This statement is extended into a dialogue regarding how Pacific and other minority groups are expected to conform to ideals for body size shaped according to Palagi norms (Macpherson et al, 2001; Taouma, 2004). In this scenario the fixed boundaries are in terms of an ideal shape and size, which has been predetermined and controlled by Palagi public and health professionals. The mainstream communities in which Pacific people live is influenced by Palagi ideals, which can conflict with minority group norms (Samasoni, 1990). In addition to the weight and cultural defining issues, the contrast in shape and sizes was highlighted and challenged:

Tani: The main message for me as a Pacific Islander is that you are healthy depending on the way you look at it. Look at Tialata (current All Black Prop) he is about a 120kg and he is the strongest guy in the All Blacks at the moment. I think that you can be 50 or 60kg you can be fit and strong and a Pacific Islander can be 120kg like Jonah Lomu probably and still be the same (P 1).

There is a contrast in terms of an ideal image of body shape and health in general between the two groups. Although there is an over representation of Pacific people in negative media coverage concerning their health status, it is often at the hands of who defines and how they limit the space for such groups to develop and assert themselves. The concerns raised generally by the Pacific Island participants are parallel to previous researches (Giles, 2003; Human Rights Commission, 2004; Samasoni, 1990). Samasoni (1990) and Taouma (2004) have commented about how the media is riddled with misconceptions of

non-dominant groups like Pacific Islanders as reiterated by journalists. Furthermore the stigma that is aligned with such negative portrayals has very serious implications for the wellbeing of those people who are under scrutiny.

The third issue to arise from the conversations about this article is in relation to the contrasting and interesting responses when participants were asked, '*what is missing from the article?*' During the two discussions in the Palagi focus groups (P1 and P2) this question elicited frowns and puzzled looks, and nodding heads. The following statement by Stanley from the NP2 is an example of a particular response:

Stanley: Umm...No I don't know. That's all really. We've pretty much covered it.

Although none of the Palagi participants responded with any idea of what might be missing from the article, Pacific group responses were spontaneous and extensive. These participants immediately referred to the absence of family support structures and community. This is explicit in the conversation between Teuila and Niko from the P1 focus group:

Teuila: ...there we are talking again about Pacific Island characteristics of what makes a Pacific Islander healthy with ideas of family and support. This article is blind to that and the writer has written it without any intentions of touching on those sorts of things and issues. We know as Pacific people that this guys success is not his own but it is his whole family too. They help him and guide him because these things are not easy on an individual and his success is a reflection and shared amongst his family.

Niko: ...Individuality is given prominence, but we all know that for one's success is the family and group success. That doesn't often come through ...in some respects it is but the individual I am sure in their part know that their success is also part of the wider whanau or family grouping. So that communal sense I think is not very explicit in the media.

The definition of health issues and the consideration of facets that are important for health differed between groups. Although critical of portrayals of Pacific people as having unhealthy lifestyles, Palagi participants did not invoke alternative explanations or images. Pacific participants did have a broader perspective of health. This reflects the work of Wallack (2003) who argues that although lifestyle practices are clearly important, economic prosperity, housing,

equality, community relations, and social capital also bear on health. There is more to health than what such news items propose, such as the adoption of a healthy lifestyle or prompt access to medical treatment. Societal or relational influences have been found to be particularly pertinent to the health of Pacific and lower socio-economic groups (Hodgetts & Chamberlain, 2006).

In sum, from the dialogue analysed regarding this article there are differences in how media health content is interpreted and understood by different groups. Overall trends include differences in the perception of health in terms of body shape, what constitutes health factors and also the stereotyping of Pacific Island health in the media. Although health is portrayed in terms of an individual's perspective, audience members can resist and critique dominant messages. More broadly, analysis of responses to such items can be used to extract key issues used to exemplify the ways aspects of health coverage are integrated into specific media news articles. The following article exemplifies the portrayal of Pacific people with a broader focus on social participation and mobility through sport and celebrity.

Example 2: The browning of Kiwi Sport

In relation to the second article I explore media depictions of Pacific people in the context of sport and how different audiences understand such article. Attention is given to whether the politics and issues associated with rugby are linked to health. From the focus group interviews, there were four main themes that developed in the discussions. The first related to participation, race relations, power, and racism. The second issue is the influence of journalists and the media on race relations. The third is contrasting responses to the question '*how some of these issues in this article will impact on Pacific Island health?*' The final issue from the discussions is the different interpretations resulting from in-group and out-group affiliations and comparisons. This analysis will exemplify an interpretation of the complexities involved in the way views based on sport and health related issues are negotiated.

The article invokes issues of participation, race relations, power, influence and racism. Although both Pacific and Palagi groups agreed that the article was positive in the way it represented the achievement and acknowledgement of the contribution of Pacific Islanders in New Zealand, they differed in their explanation in terms of why there is a lack of Pacific Island representation in the administrative or managerial positions. For the Palagi audiences, responses varied with some participants making comparisons to the women's movement and with the idea that it would be only a matter of time that changes will occur. Others argued that rugby is political and highlighted the notion of 'old school' tactics as preventing the influx of Pacific people to decision-making positions.

Stanley: But we want them [players of Pacific descent] here because they're gonna win, we don't want them in management at the moment because there's no acknowledgement that they can do the job as good as who ever is in there now. (NP2).

Stevo: ...it shows Polynesians in a positive way in contributing to rugby but I don't like how the article makes the accusation that they are not on top making the decisions. I think they are complaining about nothing. I think they should just wait as it's only a matter of time... Back in the old days they didn't have brown faces, but look at it now as time has developed it has reversed... So don't complain and give it time. I think it definitely comes across like Polynesians are bitching about the All Blacks taking their players. It annoys me hearing this kind of stuff too. I know it's kind of true, but...also this article doesn't show any evidence to support the claims made. I mean how do we know that they are not applying for the jobs. Maybe it is true that they are not the best people for the position because to be honest the qualifications, education and status needed for this job is not what the media associates with Polynesians (NP2).

Rachel: ...I see the article portraying positive and successful sporting rugby images of Polynesians...I agree with Stevo that time is the key factor here. There is a breakdown of race because of rugby and for me it reminds me of the Women's movement. It didn't happen straight away and we still see inequalities but over time it will develop and change. (NP2).

Stanley: ...There always will be a bit of old school in rugby but unless you put yourself forward for these positions you can't be appointed or selected. I think that it's going to change because you look at the line up of our national rugby team now, there are only about 4 white faces in it. All the administrators tend to be ex-players. So as we move through the years hopefully we will see a few more. I think what players have to realise is that we are in a very commercial world now and it's all about money. (NP2).

Although there was often discussion around the idea of 'Old school tactics' and racism, Palagi participants also challenged the capability of Pacific people to function in managerial roles. Empathy was expressed towards Pacific Islanders, but it was often undermined by depictions of Pacific Island character as complainers. There was an assumption that the article needed to show evidence that Pacific Islanders were applying for managerial jobs and were educated enough for these positions. This extract reflects how participants often present themselves as critical readers who can step outside of the message offered by a news item and actively negotiate their own interpretation.

The second theme is the media's role in helping or hindering good race relations and in facilitating social participation for Pacific people (Campbell & Jovchelovitch, 2000; Giles, 2003; Piettkaninen, 2003). Pacific participants were very knowledgeable about how their success in sports was confined to the playing fields and for the purpose of entertaining (Macpherson, Spoonley & Anae, 2001; Taouma, 2004). There were criticisms of the media's role in framing representations of Pacific people in a manner impacting on race relations, on the issue of access to power, and the nature of participation in society (Campbell & Jovchelovitch, 2000; Giles, 2003; Piettkaninen, 2003). In the following statement by Pacific participants of both P1 and P2 focus groups a plea is made for acceptance and the acknowledgement of positive contributions to society made by Pacific people.

Niko: ...just the title of the article itself again to me if you put it in the wider context perhaps is a recognition that New Zealand ought to recognise that they are part of the Pacific and that they're not a European state. If that understanding filters through to the wider population perhaps it will be more accommodating of Pacific Islanders and perhaps they could also influence the way media begins to treat us in all spheres, not just sport but health as well or even crime for that matter... (P2).

Sione: Yeah this article portrays a different message to what it would to us though aye. I mean what it's trying to assume or a hidden assumption for me is that, you know, we as Pacific Islanders are talented people especially in sports, but just not knowledgeable and educated enough to run the admin stuff. Just at the level of entertainment of running the ball, the Palagi's will sort out the cash haha. (P1).

Sofia: ...So we bring the talent, but New Zealand benefits but they don't acknowledge. That is a contribution Islanders make here, but very often we are being treated as recipients, dependent, dumb, poor whatever the negative stereotypes. But when you look at it sport in NZ thrives on PI. Some of them are born here some are brought from the islands, that is a contribution which they have not quantified and so maybe PI should give a dollar sign to those contributions and we can say this is what we put into this economy.

Although sports have been an area for positive portrayals and have led to diminishing of race issues, the Pacific participants' comments reveal limits on participation. Participation from the perspective of Pacific Islanders is controlled by Palagi. The views expressed in the above extracts are similar to the concerns raised by Samasoni (1990) who insisted that for any group to feel truly accepted in their community, there is a need to see themselves actively participating in a range of spheres and not just entertaining the majority group.

The third main theme to emerge from the discussions continues on from the previous theme and is related to the contrasting responses to the question, '*how some of these issues in this article will impact on Pacific island health?*' Issues of race relations, racism, power and influence, and participation, which are proposed in the article as affecting Pacific people were not fully comprehended by the Palagi audiences. Palagi members discussed health in terms of physical fitness and stress release:

Stevo: I think one of the aspects of health is physical strength and speed, to be physically healthy. And the fact that they're saying that Maori and PI perform so well, rugby and rugby league, they are implying that they are strong, fast and skilful so they are physically healthy.

Rachel: Yes I agree with that. I struggle to see how health comes into this apart from being physically strong.

Alice: Yes physical health as Rachel and Stevo said, but to add to that it also changes their mental health...no stress (NP2).

This Palagi perspective differed from that of Pacific participants who were sceptical about the media's role in relation to issues of health because of influences on Pacific peoples' status and participation in society. The position of Pacific people in the media is often symbolic of their status as a minority and the influential and political power of a group (Hodgetts & Chamberlain, 2006).

Pacific participants proposed that the framing of who they are in the media overflows into areas of health, politics, education and crime. This was significant in the following extracts from the P1 focus group discussions:

Tavita: I've experienced it in some funny ways. For example, when I first went out with my Palagi girlfriend we used to go for lunch and we always went to KFC and to the rugby games... she told me later that she just knew as part of common sense and knowledge that we like KFC and rugby.

Hine: That's what we are always associated with. What people see us from the news and television programmes is what they take for granted and generalise as all of us as being...really annoys and aggravates me.

Iorana: ...that sums up exactly how people think of us...we are all in the low areas like crime, education, politics at the moment with the Taito Philip stuff at the moment, and this shows that we are also in health... This is what Palagi think who we are and it's a shame because it's a wrong impression, but for most people they will never know until they go to the Islands or meet a Pacific Islander...

Responses to the news article lead to dialogue regarding Pacific people's lifestyles and place in society. Participants propose that the coverage only provides a partial account or stereotypical image of Pacific Islanders. Participants, especially those of the Pacific group, link limitations in coverage to wider socio-political contexts. Invoked is the idea that media reports mirror and provide Pacific people with a window through which they can observe Palagi perspectives.

The final issue for this article is interpretations made from either a position of an in-group or out-group. In examining the depth of conversation in which the four groups explored the issues of the article, it was apparent that knowledge and experience of the issues depends on whether participants share a relationship with the groups depicted (Rojas et al, 2005). The implication for decision-making processes by out-group people about matters that do not directly impact on them can lead to further disparities for minority groups (Rojas et al, 2005). The way people interpret news items reflects their wider societal beliefs, values and biographies. The following extracts are from the two Pacific focus group (P1, P2) discussions:

Vale: I quite liked the article aye. The article brought up a lot of issues in terms of the rugby and also all the power and political games and structures, you know, that happen in New Zealand...all the political power and stuff is in the hands of Palagi and this is affecting who we are and also our health.

Valea: ...Yeah initially what the article goes on about Pacific Islanders being dominant figures in sports is positive, but on the other side of the seesaw is that we are not in the control or high positions and we don't have control over the running business side of the game...we don't have control in rugby, which we excel at than what makes you think that we can't control our health (P1).

Niko: In rugby we are players but we don't have the power to say and control things in the board and that is the same for us in health we don't get positive images about our health and we don't get to define what health is for us. We are in terms stereotyped and classified as unhealthy compared to the Palagi ways and we don't have the control to define ourselves in terms of our cultural ways.

Anelu: ...its all those things and more. We value a lot more and although we have different views on some health stuff like, for example, we need our communities and family because they are our main support and that is the big factor for our health. We are very religious people and with our faith, family and community that is what is also our health and what is important to our people... (P2).

Overall these two extracts exemplify the way that participants initiate their exploration of various issues regarding depictions of Pacific sports stars and health. As the discussion develops, it is evident that participants introduce a number of considerations not originally explored in the article. These extracts and media health coverage in general may not provide the whole extensive picture, but it does however allow for symbolic resources on which participants may draw to assist them to construct a more socially critical interpretation.

In summary this section has highlighted the issues of race relations and power influence, participation, media influence and also the concept of lay views, which dominated audience interpretations. Overall, these audience discussions provide insights into some of the ways in which participants can work together to make sense of news items and the implications of media framing for Pacific peoples. The following article '*A matter of respect*' explores the hip-hop music and fashion industries, focusing on Pacific peoples' socio-economic participation in society.

Example 3: A matter of respect

The discussion of the third article provides for an even broader focus. The article allows for wider interpretations of health issues surrounding economic participation and inclusion. The article allows for wider interpretations of health issues surrounding economic participation and inclusion. The main themes to develop from the discussions based on this article are about the conflicting views about Pacific Island street culture as linked to negative or positive images and contestation around Pacific success. Other main issues to emerge are concerned with the more extensive interpretations by Pacific participants, compared to briefer Palagi accounts which rely more on the media texts. All these themes are debated and highlighted by the in-depth discussions regarding the content of this article.

An image of hip-hop, constructed by Palagi participants was not positive and these groups tended to link it with Pacific people and crime (Samasoni, 1990; Taouma, 2004). Pacific audiences were alert to this classification and casting of hip-hop as an underground street development, which could be defined as socially deviant:

Anelu: Because it is a sub-cultural thing that is separate from mainstream and that it is viewed as not necessarily positive they have assigned it as firstly a Pacific Island thing with the naming of people like King Kapisi as Pacific Island, but had this been a more mainstream and more positive from a white perspective they would have called them New Zealand. This is the flip side to that rugby article. I mean you always hear the Pacific Islanders in the All Blacks as New Zealanders so why is it not the same for Bill Urale AKA King Kapisi.

Rather than celebrate the positives of Pacific Island success in both the music and fashion arenas, Palagi participants discussed hip-hop as a negative Pacific phenomenon:

Alice: Negative, for the fact that they feel they have to design these clothes for empowerment, saying, “respect me”, it’s like they are lacking that power so they have to say that through their clothing. They want that empowerment. They are a minority group so they have to put it out there.

Stanley: ...I think the article shows that they are disrespectful to themselves because of the labels they give to themselves. They joke about issues like overstayers, which are serious, and therefore if that is what they identify themselves as, than that's what they will be known as...

Alice: ...the whole hip-hop scene is fluctuated with imagery of gangs, crime, sex and illegal cars and all sorts of things. All these are an adoption of the gangster and black urban street stuff in America...

Other comments to arise in the conversation was the fact that Palagi people lack perspective of Pacific Island history and, therefore, lack the knowledge of what the hip hop labels mean. It was obvious that the Palagi participants lacked the historical knowledge of issues and events in which terms like 'Overstayer' and 'Dawnraid' originated. The conversation between Alice and Stanley from the Palagi focus group P2 showed the lack of historical knowledge. There is a need for the media to educate the broader public about issues that are important to the identities and experiences of Pacific people in Aotearoa. Palagi participants in their everyday life seldom experience the social exclusion and harassment that overstaying laws in the last few decades, experienced by many Pacific families.

One of the key contrasts between the two groups was in reference to comments about what positive themes were being promoted in the article. Astonishingly there were no responses given by the Palagi group, as they tended to concentrate on how the labels were negative and they saw hip-hop as a sub-group derived from the U.S.A, and often associated with street crime. On the other hand, Pacific participants tended to reflect on the success and achievements of the Pacific artist and attributed their success to their families:

Vale: I find it quite hard to pinpoint a single main message aye. I think that the overall message was about the success of these people and how a Pacific Island history, which is one that we will never forget, but New Zealanders don't seem to know about, because my Palagi friends don't even know how and where these terms Dawnraid and Overstayer come from. But turning something that is historically part of us, which is viewed, as negative to become something of a positive and empowering message is great for us Pacific Islanders. There's a lot of hidden little messages in there like we said of role models and us being able to achieve also about recognition and also stuff about image and

empowerment of restoring pride and power images back into our people. (P2).

Valea: Oh yeah those two industries of music and fashion are difficult to be successful and to make it in but these Pacific Islanders figures have overcome that and have shown all that we as Pacific Island people can do anything. This is contrast to the rugby article but it should remove any thoughts that people of mainstream may have of us as Pacific Islanders not being able and qualified to make it to the top. Although the article was probably written for the young ones I thought it was positive overall and we should celebrate the achievements of these brothers and sisters I mean that music scene is dominated by our people. (P2).

Niko: The fashion writer here I think makes a good point about how although it's a sub-culture it is having a influence on the fashion industry. So in that respect if they are Pacific Islanders doing things which are having a positive influence then it's something to celebrate something to be happy about and not be seen as a negative sub-culture, but as something influencing the mainstream fashion industry. (P1).

Teuila: I like what they are telling because definitely the future of this place is dependent on our children and the youth and this article targeting like that you know. It gives that opportunity hopefully to get our children to come through and not face what we did in these labels and maybe our children will be managers in sport or have their own design or might run TVONE or TV3 and writers in the paper. So I look at this basically since it's on hip-hop and think that if really you know our children like to imitate and be like other Pacific Islanders and I look beyond today and on the future aspects...I also think that our people need to be in these positions so we can change what the media and mainstream think of us...we are not all that we are in the media and we need to change this by being in those roles like reporters, TV presenters and CEO's of big companies... (P1).

The transformation of previously negative images of Pacific people into a thriving fashion and music industry by depoliticising such negative terms was regarded as highly positive. The common Pacific vision of more positive changes through participation in pivotal roles in our communities is a reflection of reality. There is often the view and chant by participants calling for the need of more Pacific faces in media roles. The importance of the media being more critical of itself and the need for a more civic way of journalism has been discussed previously (Wallack, 2003; Hodgetts & Chamberlain, 2003a). This is often linked to the reality of there being over 3000 journalists in New Zealand, of which it is estimated that Maori comprised less than 1% in print, radio and TV, with Pacific people making up even less (1%) than this (W. Harawira,

personal communication, February 15, 2007). From the article, Pacific members of the groups saw these artists as role models and examples for Pacific Island children to follow and saw their development in such an industry as empowering the overall status of Pacific Island people. Pacific Islanders invoke Palagi negative perceptions as a background against which they construct their own more positive perceptions.

Chapter Summary

The discussion in this chapter has focused on the relationship between media portrayals and audience constructions of Pacific people. In exploring participants' responses to coverage in general and the three items in particular, I have highlighted similarities and differences in peoples' interpretations of media depictions. There were particular trends highlighted in the first section of the discussions around Pacific Island images in the media and the ramifications of this for their health status. Both Pacific (P1, P2) and Palagi (NP1, NP2) focus groups tended to identify and comment on reality television shows like 'Dancing with the Stars' and 'New Zealand Idol', which were dominating the headlines at the present time and featured Pacific people. Although comments on the portrayals in these particular shows were positive, the responses and coverage identified reiterated research findings by Macpherson et al (2001), Spoonley & Hirsh (1990), and Taouma (2004) who concluded that the media predominantly stereotyped Pacific people and confined them within the boundaries of entertainment in areas of sports and music.

The first section of this analysis also found that there were both negative and positive images of Pacific Islanders across the groups. Although there were excessive accounts of negative associations with Pacific Island images around violence, alcohol and unhealthy lifestyles by Palagi participants, Pacific participants took a contrasting approach in viewing themselves more positively. Pacific people were aware of negative portrayals, but focused on positive Pacific contributions and identities. They assumed that their counterparts (Palagi groups) would have highlighted negative attributes and used their own discussions to highlight Pacific Island achievements and successes. In

reference to audience responses on the impact of media coverage on health it was apparent that issues and complexities around media constructed images of health were divergent between the two cultural groups. In terms of negotiating meanings and understandings around health, the audience's cultural perspectives played an influential role. The views of the participant were a combination of the media coverage and personal experiences. This was illustrated in this first section where Palagi focus groups tended to concentrate on medical and lifestyle factors, while Pacific audiences reflected on the more personal and social contexts of health. It is important to note that the meanings or interpretations people assign to health are not miraculously invented by individuals on the spur of the moment. Rather, they reflect a combination of complex symbolic systems relating to concepts of appropriate personal lifestyles, biological processes, general societal relationships and belief systems (Stainton Rogers, 1991). The differences between the focus groups' interpretations for each discussion echo the diverse nature amongst factors of the cultural experiences and belief systems of the Pacific and Palagi participants.

The second section of the analysis explored the ways in which participants make sense of each of the three newsprint articles, providing insights into the public framing of Pacific health issues and of the place of Pacific peoples in Aotearoa. The first media article example '*Thinner, fitter runner has the last laugh*, showed that media depictions of non-dominant members of cultures has practical outcomes on the way Palagi groups understand and interpret Pacific people and their health. The underlying associations of Pacific Islanders with imagery of unhealthy lifestyles, was identified by some of the participants, with Pacific Island people largely linked to obesity and fast food. When interpreting portrayals of Pacific people and their health through an engagement with the three items, Palagi audiences relied more on surface messages of these items. Although meanings are negotiated amongst members of the focus group, media influence still prevailed on these groups' construction of ideas about Pacific Islanders because they had little by way of alternative experiences or explanations to use as a basis for deconstructing the items. As described by Hodgetts and Chamberlain (2006) the media becomes a substitute as source of

not only information, but also as a site for experiencing other people or facets of life that one may never otherwise experience. This is relative to the trend noted by Livingstone (1998) in her research. She argued that the media play a restructuring role for audiences' understandings. Although the audience is not completely passive to the reception of media coverage, there are areas where social knowledge is missing. In the case of Pacific Island health, people accept knowledge and information gained from media representation (Livingstone, 1998; Giles, 2003). Pacific participants had more social knowledge about their own health concerns than did the media and were more holistic with their interpretations, touching on the personal, societal and structural components of health.

Another central theme to arise from the focus group conversations concerning this first article related to the contrasting of the meanings and definitions of health by the Pacific and Palagi participants. It was apparent from the content of the discussions on health that the two groups had differences in interpretations of factors that were important to health. For example, the two groups had different ideas of what constituted the ideal body weight and size, and the importance of body shape for health.

Discussions of the second article, *'The browning of Kiwi sport'*, invoked challenges to depictions of Pacific people and general issues around the politics of participation. From the outset, the discussions demonstrated the complex processes involved in the way views based on sport and health related issues are negotiated. Although both Pacific and Palagi groups agreed that the article was positive in the way it represented the achievement and success of Pacific people within sports like rugby, they proposed that the article was rather limited. A prominent aspect of the conversation across the groups was in regard to the 'old school tactics' or racism within rugby, which can lead to discrimination and exclusion. This is parallel to thoughts by Samasoni (1990) who vividly argued that Pacific Islanders and Maori had no image appeal as a class of people who could administer rugby or their own health. Although they are very talented entertainers, the media portrayed them as incompetent and uneducated people who would be exhausted by the skills and knowledge

required for administration (Samasoni, 1990). Overall, the conversations illustrated the implications and issues faced by Pacific people and other minority cultures within the dimensions of sport, and which were applicable to those social issues endured within health. In sum, the focus groups emphasized the lack of acknowledgement of the contribution of Pacific people to society and often the regular questioning or the challenging of the ability of Pacific people to fulfil the capacity and requirements of higher positions. Pacific participants asserted that the news media play an integral role in regarding the way in which race relation issues are depicted and conceived by their audience, and the maintenance of the wellbeing of Pacific people within their own communities (Giles, 2003; Livingstone, 1998).

The discussions of the third article, '*A matter of respect*', considered the participation and success of Pacific people within the hip-hop music and fashion industries. In responding to the article, wider interpretations of health issues are considered and the understandings audiences assign to interpreting such media extracts is explored. Like the previous print article there are also social issues interwoven into the conversations on the stigmatising and empowerment that are related to Pacific people. The only similarity to emerge from the focus group interviews concerning this article was about the difficult nature of reading and understanding the hip-hop jargon incorporated in the text. The contrasting views expressed by the groups in interpreting the issues of this report were interesting. Palagi participants noted that the hip-hop image is an imported phenomenon from the U.S.A and associated it with gangs and violence as portrayed by the media. There was explicit reference of identifying the hip-hop scene as an outsider or sub-cultural group in which Pacific Islanders participated and which existed beyond mainstream society. The article highlighted the important issue of understanding the perspective and social knowledge which audiences have to enable them to interpret such items. The hip-hop imagery was viewed as a "Polynesian thing" with negative connotations by Palagi participants. Pacific people viewed hip-hop as empowering them and giving voice to our frustrations and concerns. This contrast reveals that different cultural perspectives and social knowledge are an important factor as to how issues are interpreted and understood by audiences.

This was particularly apparent in the different responses about the use of terms like 'Dawnraid' and 'Overstayer' as clothing and music labels. Palagi people viewed the adoption of such labels as Pacific Islanders mocking themselves, whereas Pacific Islanders believed it as using negative historical event to empower Pacific Island people.

In previous audience research, there has been tendency to categorise reader responses to be the more dominant, oppositional, negotiated, resistive or as other such reading categories (Livingstone, 1998). However, as demonstrated in the responses analysed in this chapter, participants often refer to both positive and negative coverage at the same time as they value the articles presented to them as a catalyst for discussion. The flexibility and diverse nature of negotiation of views is captured by Liebes and Katz (1990) who confirmed that, "for better or for worse, real readers insist on behaving more ambiguously than the roles that theory assigns them" (p. 145). Participant's interpretations of news items are not one-dimensional and are more complex than the acceptance, partial acceptance or rejection of the mediated coverage. Therefore it appears that the media may not have a direct effect on audiences. However, there is evidence from the conversations in the focus groups, which suggest that the media does exert an influence over how people negotiate from their views (Livingstone, 1998; Tulloch & Lupton, 1997). News media do appear to function as a primary source of social information that people integrate into their everyday lives, and use to interpret and understand their community (Giles, 2003). Although the media is an important component of society through which information and explanations are circulated, elaborated, challenged and used for making sense of health, audiences also draw on lay views that have been influenced by past interactions and relationships to address public issues. This is important and provides the justification to review the media's role in depicting minority people like Pacific Islanders and its implications in relation to an undermining of their health and existence in their community (Hodgetts & Chamberlain, 2003b; Samasoni, 1990; Taouma, 2004; Wallick, 2003).

Briefly, the analysis presented in this chapter has focused on the processes through which media portrayals of Pacific people are socially negotiated. In

giving an overview in this chapter of each of the focus group conversations, the core finding to emerge was that mass media coverage does indeed “speak” to Palagi about Pacific people. Both Pacific Island and Palagi audiences recognize this framing in coverage. However, Pacific peoples’ interpretations and renegotiations of meanings presented by news coverage are more extensive and critical than those of Palagi groups. This difference emerges from the wider experiences of these issues that Pacific people possess as a consequence of their social positioning and cultural backgrounds.

Chapter Five: Conclusion

Research into the representation of social groups has shown that the media is an important site for collective sense-making practices (Borchard, 2000; Buck, Toro & Ramos, 2004). As previously highlighted, there is a lack of research into media representations of Pacific people in New Zealand and this is also reflected in the representation of Pacific audiences in the media's reporting of health research. Investigations of the function of news media in characterising Pacific people are important because within contemporary society the majority of people consume media content or at the very least regularly interact with people who do consume media content (Hodgetts & Chamberlain, 2006). This thesis has explored the media representation of Pacific people in print news and audience responses to such coverage. A focus has been on constructions of Pacific peoples' health and the social implications that media depictions have for race relations and participation in society. I have documented how Pacific and Palagi audience groups negotiate their views on Pacific people and health through media consumption.

The influence of media on the social construction of minority groups is the subject of considerable academic attention (Adebanwi, 2004; Hall, 1997). My findings support those of previous researchers into media representations of Pacific Peoples in negative and stereotypical ways that are likely to contribute to social and economic marginalisation and negative health outcomes (Macpherson, et al, 2001; Spoonley & Hirsh, 1990). We are often represented as being obese, dependent and unhealthy natives. Concerns around the media in relation to the health of particular cultural groups mirror findings of international researches on media representations of immigrant groups and ethnic minorities (Silverstone & Georgiou, 2005). The news media constitute a shared symbolic resource for establishing who Pacific people are, what strengths and weaknesses they have, who the experts are, and who should decide these issues. Although researchers (Giles, 2003; Taouma, 2004) reveal that minority groups tend to have less representation and are displaced from their own stories, one of the more worrying findings from the media analysis is

that there is a lack of space for Pacific people to frame and speak out or challenge the restrictive media depictions of themselves. Pacific Islanders are rarely given the opportunity to frame their own experiences, actions or relationships, or to research these processes (Hodgetts & Chamberlain, 2006). This raises issues regarding the engagement of the media with audiences in terms of who gets to speak, for whom and to whom. Palagi media outlets appear to frame and speak about Pacific Islanders without consultation with Pacific people about their own situations, understandings, needs and desires for action. The prominent trends that media coverage associates with such groups as identified in the newspapers can affect the relationships between social groups. Palagi views of Pacific Islanders are often taken from these one-dimensional portrayals. The social comparison evident in the coverage is vertical in the sense of Palagi looking down at and elevating themselves through restricted portrayals of Pacific people (Comstock & Scharrer, 2005).

In regards to audience responses, there have been numerous studies (McLeod, Scheufle, & Moy, 1999) investigating the influence of media content on audience understandings (Livingstone, 1998; Silverstone, 1998). The research for this thesis confirms that both Pacific and Palagi participants are highly skilled at negotiating between media and interpersonal sources of information to interpret and make sense of both their own and those of other social groups (Comstock & Scharrer, 2005). Social comparisons occurred when Palagi engaged with representations of Pacific people and used their own group as the normative basis for comparison. Such comparisons also occurred when the Pacific participants deconstructed the ways in which they were being depicted and considered how the Palagi audience would interpret such media portrayals. Both the Pacific and Palagi participants appear to be drawing and integrating mediated, constructed information into their conversations and use them for making sense of framing Pacific Island identity and health. Thus, a primary finding from the audience analysis is that media coverage does talk to Palagi audiences about Pacific people in a stereotypical manner. In terms of responses to the articles, it was evident from the findings that Pacific people disputed the coverage more than their Palagi counterparts. Findings suggest that although people do not passively reproduce news messages, coverage

provides understandings that often frame participant accounts (Hodgetts et al., 2005; Livingstone, 1998). As can be seen from the discussion extracts, Pacific and Palagi people differed in their scope explanations. It was noticeable that participant's socio-cultural backgrounds shaped their depth of knowledge and ultimately their response. Palagi focus groups often used and regurgitated views from the media. Conversely, although Pacific focus group members were alert of such media coverage, they also disputed and offered alternative explanations as a reflection on their own views. In addition to media coverage, the responses collated support previous research findings that proposed that the audiences draw not only on the mass media and their existing views in complex ways when renegotiating understandings within their groups (Giles, 2003; Hodgetts & Chamberlain, 2003a; Liebes & Katz, 1990; Livingstone, 1998).

In raising concerns regarding negative media portrayals and potential influences on different audiences, one might conclude that it is time to follow trends in Europe (Husband, 2005) and develop more specialist Pacific media outlets. This could easily occur, and go beyond the existing Pacific language newspapers and community radio stations, so that Pacific people can better represent themselves on their own terms in sites that have relevance to Palagi. Although I support this idea in principle, more is required if Palagi people are to be presented with alternative representations of Pacific people. After all, Pacific Islanders do not simply consume their own media and often shift between local community media and generic national outlets. If changes in representational practices are to occur at a societal level it will be necessary for Pacific people to participate more in media production within mainstream outlets.

In the case of Pacific people, the community activism that is central to such civic journalism projects does not have to be manufactured by journalists from outside local community settings. For instance, in their 2004 strategic plan, the Pacific Island Media Association (PIMA) points out that Pacific people are under-represented in all aspects of civic participation and governance. PIMA aims to respond to negative media production by monitoring media coverage and lobbying for fair representations that foster strong and positive Pacific

identities. Such initiatives include the promotion of scholarships for Pacific people to attend journalism schools and the hosting of conferences to organize media monitoring and advocacy work (see www.geekmedia.org/piccom/scholarship/).

As community psychologists we need to remind ourselves that such efforts aimed at enhancing civic participation through the media are not solely the responsibility of Pacific communities. Discrimination is a problem owned by entire societies, and it requires citizens to work together to support change and challenge discriminatory practices. Currently, we are networking with, and offering our support to, groups such as PIMA who are working to foster a morally and politically literate public whose deliberations are informed by more than the common sense views of a dominant group. This involves a domain of practice in which we work with and assist those challenging symbolic power (Couldry & Curran, 2002) by promoting formerly marginalized perspectives in media coverage about social and health concerns. This paper contributes to this agenda by documenting the limitations of current coverage in print news portrayals of Pacific people and by providing a basis for dialogue with Pacific media activists and professionals.

Limitations and recommendations

The findings of this thesis show that there are cultural differences in media representation and interpretation of Pacific coverage. The small sample size of four focus groups identified such key differences and I have only briefly glossed over these diversities. In addition, I have only addressed and simplified these cultural differences in terms of Pacific and Palagi people. It is naïve to assume that all members of ethnic communities living under the Pacific umbrella are identical as well as proposing that all Europeans are the same and can be simply classified as Palagi. This limitation could be minimized with the recommendation for future research to increase the number of focus groups and also to investigate potential divergence between individual cultural groups amongst Pacific and Palagi groups like Samoans and Australians.

We live in a media saturated society with people daily engaging in a media nexus. This leads to the limitation of this research in primarily focusing on print media coverage for a relatively short period of three months. Despite the diverse media offerings consumed by people through television, radio, mobile phones and the internet to name a few, I have settled on investigating the newsprint media for the reasons of funding, resources, accessibility and time. Therefore I recommend that future research in this area incorporate and investigate a wider range of media outlets for a longer period. This could potentially produce a greater range and depth of data.

For the audience interpretation analysis, this thesis primarily concentrated on viewing the selected news items from the perspective of Pacific and Palagi self-identified people. This process is limited in that, as a multi-cultural society, New Zealand incorporates a more diverse and sophisticated population, within which Pacific and Palagi people exist. I recommend that researchers scope a wider audience, which could lead to more rounded findings representative of the New Zealand population. For example, future research of such nature should also integrate audience responses and interpretations of Asian and Maori people.

One of the aims of this research was to establish a networking relationship with media journalists. A strategy of working with the media will enable civic reporting by encouraging participation and addressing issues that affect the health wellbeing of our communities like discrimination and racism. One of the key points that this thesis invokes is the need to view critically the professional practice of media reporting. But I feel that we as researchers need to go beyond the point of looking at the media from the reception level, and need to explore and understand its operation at the production level (Barnett, 2006). This brings about the recommendation for future researchers not to only investigate but also work with media journalists at the production level. This research only browses through the media and does not look at the media from the insider's perspective. Insight into the production level is important as we can gain a better understanding of the type of regulation and bureaucracy involved in such profession.

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APPENDIX A

FOCUS GROUP CONSENT FORM



THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

PARTICIPANT'S COPY

Research Project: **Pacific Islanders and health in the print news media**

Name of Researcher: **Robert Loto**

I have received an information sheet about this research project or the researcher has explained the study to me. I have had the chance to ask any questions and discuss my participation with other people. Any questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

I agree to participate in this research project and I understand that I may withdraw at any time. If I have any concerns about this project, I may contact the convenor of the Research and Ethics Committee.

Participant's

Name: _____ Signature: _____ Date: _____

University of Waikato
Psychology Department
CONSENT FORM

RESEARCHER'S COPY

Research Project: **Pacific Islanders and health in the print news media**

Name of Researcher: **Robert Loto**

I have received an information sheet about this research project or the researcher has explained the study to me. I have had the chance to ask any questions and discuss my participation with other people. Any questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

I agree to participate in this research project and I understand that I may withdraw at any time. If I have any concerns about this project, I may contact the convenor of the Research and Ethics Committee.

Participant's Name: _____ Signature: _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX B

INFORMATION SHEET

Pacific Islanders and Health in the Print News Media

Who can I speak with about my participation in this project?

The project is being conducted by Robert Loto as part of his thesis and is supervised by Darrin Hodgetts. If you have any questions or concerns about the project, please contact either Robert or Darrin. Their contact details are as follow:

Robert Loto

Phone: 021 0348252

Email: rl27@waikato.ac.nz

Darrin Hodgetts

Department of Psychology, University of
Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton.

Email: dhodgetts@waikato.ac.nz

What is this study about?

This project aims to enhance our understanding of the public framing of Pacific health issues and the place of Pacific peoples in Aotearoa by examining the role of television and print news media. We are interested in talking to people such as yourself about media reporting of Pacific health issues.

What am I being asked to do?

As part of the research aim, I am interested in how Pacific people themselves and other groups in New Zealand interpret media reports on Pacific health issues. In achieving this, four focus group discussions will be carried out. We would like you to take part in one of these discussions. The focus group will involve approximately six participants and will be organised at a time and place that is suitable for all in the group. You will be asked to discuss your views on particular media reports that are presented before the group. The group discussion will be audio-recorded but all participants have the free right to request for the recorder to be turned off at any stage during the conversation. To cover your travel expenses you will receive \$20.00 and an additional \$20.00 will also be given to compensate for your time.

What will happen to my information?

The information from the focus group discussions will be used to explore different people's views on particular media reports concerning Pacific health issues. Be assured that your anonymity will be protected as no one will be able to identify you in the material used, although we may use some brief quotations from the discussions to illustrate and emphasise certain ideas. At the conclusion of this thesis project, all recorded focus group interviews and transcripts will be destroyed.

What can I expect from the researchers?

If you decide to participate in this project, the research team will respect your right to:

- ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;
- decline to discuss any particular issue in the focus group;
- withdraw from the study up to the end of the focus group discussion;
- provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used;
- ask for the audio-recording to be turned off at any time during the discussion.

APPENDIX C

The New Zealand Herald

New Zealand Herald — news — general — Oct 30 2004 5:00AM

Thinner, fitter runner has the last laugh

By AINSLEY THOMSON

When Sam Lotu-Iiga told his friends he was entering the Auckland marathon they laughed.

"You're not exactly built for it, mate," they said.

Mr Lotu-Iiga weighed 126kg and had a body mass index of 38.5 (considered severely obese).

Ten months later, the 33-year-old Auckland businessman is proving them wrong, and tomorrow he plans to run the full 42km marathon.

Not only is he fit, he has also lost 25kg.

Mr Lotu-Iiga, who works in the health industry, said he wanted his fitness and weight loss to be an example for other Pacific Islanders who were overweight.

A big part of his fitness programme has been nutrition.

"You have to change the way you eat," he says. "I eat more vegetables and fruit and I have become aware of my health."

Mr Lotu-Iiga intends to maintain his fitness after the marathon.

He has another incentive to get him across the line tomorrow. He is being sponsored by World Vision and hopes to raise \$5000 for it.

He still has a weakness for KFC, but restricts himself to one KFC meal a week, after his Saturday run.

Tomorrow, he says, he is looking forward to a KFC ultimate quarter pack. After all, he will have earned it.

* The Auckland Marathon and Half Marathon start at 6.30 tomorrow morning in King Edward Parade, Devonport, and finish at Victoria Park.

APPENDIX D

THE DOMINION POST, 9 NOV 2004, Edition 2, Page 5.

The browning of kiwi sport

THE Brown Factor investigates why Maori and Pacific Islanders perform so well in our main sporting codes of rugby and rugby league and looks at the history of Maori and Pacific Island participation in these sports.

The documentary features interviews with players, coaches, administrators and commentators including former All Black Chris Laidlaw, who believes that sport has had a major impact on race relations.

"I don't think there's a single other factor that has been as important as the browning of New Zealand sport in terms of generating better relationships, broader relationships, deeper relationships and a better understanding of where the other guy comes from," he says.

Auckland barrister Kahungunu Barron-Afeaki, who is a dual Tongan and New Zealand citizen, agrees.

"Sport, particularly professional sport, has broken down more racial barriers than anything else put together: music, Waitangi Tribunal, you name it. The power of sport in the modern 21st century is where it's at."

Former MP Willie Jackson believes that Maori have been so successful on the sports field because, historically, they were barred from achieving in other areas.

"Maori suffered racial discrimination in terms of our language and in terms of our culture and there weren't many avenues where we were able to express ourselves; but the rugby field was one of them," he says.

But though Maori and Pacific Islanders have excelled on the field there is still room to achieve in sports administration.

Says sports radio host Martin Devlin, "It's a hard subject to get around when you consider the hierarchies: the coaches, the management, the administration; they're all white faces and they are continuing to be white faces. You're allowed to play but you're not allowed to run the game, I mean how does that work?"

The documentary also examines the impact of professionalism on small Pacific Island national teams. Barron-Afeaki feels that the Pacific Island nations are getting a raw deal in the face of big money.

"What I say to Kiwis is, 'How would you feel if your top 12 first selection to the All Blacks were not available?' You would feel outraged I think. Well, that's the feeling that the Polynesians have about their teams."

Says Michael Jones, "Obviously in a commercial world where bums on seats are the bottom line, you can understand the thinking. But I think the Pacific Islanders deserve better. I think there is a moral obligation for us as New Zealanders towards our little brothers." *

CAPTION:

Big brother: How the success of players like Michael Jones in professional rugby has helped break down racial barriers is examined in *The Brown Factor*.

Part: TV
Section: FEATURES
Sub-Section: ENTERTAINMENT
Topics: TELEVISION ENTERTAINMENT

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APPENDIX E

THE DOMINION POST, 16 DEC 2004, Edition 2, Page 1.

A matter of respect

By: ENTING Carolyn

Fashion writer Carolyn Enting delves into the underground world of hip-hop style that is influencing mainstream fashion trends.

THE 80s embraced power dressing, the 90s minimalism, and now thanks to the global phenomenon of hip-hop we have a positive mix of the two -- empowerment dressing.

Until recently it was a style that had been largely misunderstood by the mainstream due to the fact that it grew out of the ghettos of New York in the 1980s, but, unlike shoulder pads, hip-hop style has endured not just because the clothes are super cool but for what it stands for.

"Empowerment" is the thread that runs through the inspiration of hip-hop artists with clothing labels to their name.

US artist Missy Elliott's new RESPECT Me range carries a message of positivity and empowerment.

Wellington hip-hop artist Bill Urale (aka King Kapisi) draws on his Samoan roots for his urban streetwear range, Overstayer, that "aims to empower the wearer", while the clothing label of South Auckland's Dawn Raid aims to "inspire and introduce an indigenous South Pacific lifestyle to the world stage of fashion".

Style wars are also an everyday occurrence in the world of hip hop, but in a good way. We are talking healthy competition, about bettering one's own performance and that of one's compatriots.

At Air New Zealand Fashion Week in October, King Kapisi and Danny Leasavaii (aka Brotha D) of Dawn Raid battled it out on the mic and the runway.

Since then a new challenge has been laid by Wellington hip-hop aerosol artists Andrew Wright (aka Kerb) and Bryan Visala (aka Juse) with the launch of their clothing range Top Shelf, and Ellis Aranga (aka Reakt) with his line of Urban Hori tees.

The clothing lines are independent, but Kerb, Juse, and Reakt are all part of Wellington's aerosol art collective Triple SSS, whose art graces the walls of Chaffers Park and who are regulars at the annual Aotearoa Hip-Hop Summit.

Top Shelf's trucker caps are the first step in the development of the label inspired by the hip-hop pioneers of New York who created personalised trucker hats to stand out in the crowd.

The label is among the first to offer customised hats in New Zealand, personalising hats with any chosen name or word in aerosol art font.

Urban Hori's tees feature original "wild style" designs by Reakt, who is also a student at the Bowerman School of Design.

To understand hip-hop style, it helps to understand the culture.

"It is all about funk. There is a lot of funk in the style. The fashion of hip-hop is a big thing in the lifestyle. Generally, by looking at someone you can tell they are doing one of the elements by how they dress," Reakt says.

As a general rule clothing for men and women is baggy and colour coordinated -- laces match tops, and caps match jeans.

The clothes and dancing as seen on music videos are not part of the core elements of hip hop but by-products or expressions of the culture that is made up of four core elements -- writing (aerosol art), DJ, MCing (rapping), and B Boy/B Girl (break dancing).

One of the biggest misconceptions is the use of the word graffiti. The correct terms are "writing or aerosol art".

"Graffiti is an etching on a wall. Aerosol art is a highly skilled art form," Reakt says.

However, it is not just MCs and writers who are turning their hand to fashion design for the scene.

Massey University graduate Sandra Chin made an impact at the fashion school's recent end-of-year show with a collection of fabulous pin-tucked hoodies modelled and MCed by Wellington hip-hop trio GND.

Wellington high fashion label Laurie Foon has also gone in this direction for winter 2005 with Pretty City -- a fun collection of girly city styles inspired by the urban culture of hip-hop and B Boys, which will hit stores in February.

The collection features tag embroidery, vivid colours and bright highlights against dark tones, mixing classic and hip styles with sexy hoodies and easy to wear skirts and trousers with elasticised waists.

"What we have done is girlyfy it and add class and sophistication," Foon says.

Dunedin attitudinal fashion label Nom'D's current summer 2004/05 collection Bored Games, shown as part of New York Fashion Week, is the high fashion equivalent of hip-hop style perfection.

The label is a favourite of artist Scribe who attended the presentation of Nom'D's winter 2005 collection at Air New Zealand Fashion Week. Also conspicuous in the front row was Dawn Raid's Brotha D and Andy Murnane.

For Brotha D, whose label is now available in 37 streetwear stores throughout New Zealand and Australia, New Zealand Fashion Week was a "celebration".

"With every event that comes in life you have to celebrate it and that is what fashion week is for me. It is a celebration of everyone's hard work," Brotha D says.

"Fashion is what you like to wear, what you are comfortable in and this is us. If anyone knows Dawn Raid we always come out loud and proud and why wouldn't we?"

Respect

Missy Elliott's new line, right, available from Karen Walker. Above, Dawn Raid winter 2005 available from Fusion, Lifestyle Sports, and Banks Shoes in February Picture: Claire De Barr

Part: D
Section: FEATURES
Sub-Section: GENERAL
Column: FEAST
Topics: FASHIONS ; MUSIC

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APPENDIX F

Focus Group Protocol

Pacific Islanders and health in the print news media

Introduction

- Welcome the participants

Greetings everyone. My name is Rob/Campbell etc (Brief Intro).

Talk with participants and break the ice:

- Relax this is an informal discussion

The focus group conversation today is part of my thesis which looks at understanding the public framing of Pacific health issues and the place of Pacific peoples in New Zealand by examining the role of media.

I am interested in your general views about Pacific people and the health images in the media and we will go through some news examples to further discuss these. But before beginning I have got a few points that I would like you to keep in mind:

- * There are no right or wrong answers
- * Feel free to respond to others but try not to interrupt
- * When making a point think about including examples
- * If you have any questions feel free to ask them at any time
- * It would be appreciated if no-one discusses what others say outside the context of the group session

During this period: Talk about the issues covered in the information sheet of anonymity and respect of people's privacy. Also cover off on the points about feedback after the interview is transcribed and assure them of their anonymity (they will not be specifically identified in the thesis). Collect peoples consent forms and provide an opportunity for people to voice any concerns.

Overall, just want all of you to relax and let's all just have an easy going informal conversation.

Section 1: General discussion of PI and health images in the media

Can you think back to the last image of a pacific person you came across in the media? [Sports/music/video/crime/dance festival]

Explain the character?

Thinking about media images, what sort of portrayals of Pacific people do you think are generally circulated in the media? [Sports, music etc]

Are these images positive or negative?

Are these images realistic / balanced?

Engage with them regarding what images aren't there

Can you identify with these images of Pacific people?

In terms of health, what messages appear in the media regarding Pacific people?

What specific issues?

What do you think most people would consider being the main issues dealt with?

What do you think was most important?

What about crime, unemployment and housing?

Are Pacific people generally portrayed as being healthy or unhealthy?

What solutions are offered for dealing with PI health issues?

Section 2: Discussion of 3 media examples

Example 1: Thinner, fitter runner has the last laugh

What do you think of the item?

What is the main message?

Positive or negative?

Is it accurate or inaccurate? [What ways]

What does it assume about Pacific people and their health?

What is missing?

Example 2: The browning of Kiwi sport

What do you think of the item?

What is the main message?

Positive or negative?

Is it accurate or inaccurate? [What ways]

What does it assume about Pacific people and their health?

What is missing?

What about issues around PI participation in the broader society/community?

[inclusion stuff]

Example 3: A matter of respect

What do you think of the item?

What is the main message?

Positive or negative?

Is it accurate or inaccurate? [What ways]

What does it assume about Pacific people and their health across these items?

What is missing?

What about issues around PI participation in the broader society/community?
[inclusion stuff]

What is the general image / message regarding who PI are and their health?

Section 3: Closing off the discussion

Summarise the main points from the discussion and encourage further input from participants. [cover section 1 & examples from section 2 in turn]

1. Has anyone got any other points they would like to raise?
2. How did you find the session?
3. Do you have any questions for me?

Secondary Prompts:

1. Who else has had a similar experience?
2. What do you think about that idea?
3. Can you talk about this a little more?

Allow an opportunity for any final comments.

Thank the Participants

APPENDIX G

The New Zealand Herald

New Zealand Herald — news — dialogue — Oct 1 2004 4:56AM

Editorial: Vaccination needs to be compulsory

COMMENT

A vaccination programme to fight meningococcal disease started in July with the highest of hopes. Fresh in the mind were two distressing cases. A 90 per cent target immunisation rate seemed a reasonable ambition. The reality has proved much different. In South Auckland, the area selected as first port of call for the programme because low-income Maori and Pacific Island families have been hit hardest by the scourge, the response has been highly disappointing. Only 51 per cent of Maori preschool children have taken part in the first phase. Clearly a change of approach is needed if acceptable numbers of those most at risk are to take advantage of the programme.

It might be hoped that further evidence of the disease would trigger a greater vaccination uptake. Almost on cue, this has been provided by the confirmation of three cases of potentially fatal meningococcal septicaemia in children who attended the same Whangarei preschool centre. But on the evidence of the well-publicised mid-year cases, recalcitrant parents are not about to suddenly see the wisdom of vaccinating their children.

A reassessment of the programme should not be necessary. The excuses given for the slow response by Maori - a lack of transport and poverty - are flimsy. Responsible parents would make every effort to have their children immunised. They would find a means of getting to their GP clinic, rather than expect the programme to come to them. That this has not so far occurred in adequate numbers bodes ill for the programme's progressive rollout.

South Auckland has considerable advantages for public health officials in terms of population concentration and heavy media saturation. A lot of money was poured into a public awareness campaign, which failed to deliver the message effectively. It is reasonable to conclude that the task will be more difficult in areas such as Northland, where the Maori population is more dispersed and newspapers and the like thinner on the ground. Not that this has prevented Northland Health from proclaiming confidence in its ability to reach people by other devices, and to obtain a 90 per cent uptake of the vaccine.

It appears that the Northland approach will be more community-based, and include the use of mobile caravans or temporary clinics. The region's medical officer of health talks of finding alternative venues for administering the vaccine, including marae and kohanga reo. Officials in South Auckland appeared wary of going out into the

community because of safety aspects related to inoculation. According to them, the risk of a severe reaction meant resuscitation equipment had to be on hand. Additionally, inoculation in a GP clinic was thought preferable because of the desirability of the same health professional delivering all three doses of the vaccine.

In an ideal world these would be valid concerns. But the officials in South Auckland seem to have been overly cautious, so much so that they failed, initially at least, to come up with the most appropriate approaches to inoculation. The disappointing uptake suggests that, with adequate safeguards, an attempt should be made to take the programme out into the community.

This represents the best chance to catch even the most irresponsible of parents. Others, on the grounds of personal belief, will refuse to have their children vaccinated. Given the ordeal of those stricken by meningococcal disease, the ease of its transmission and the greater public interest in eradicating it, that should not be an option. The experience in South Auckland suggests it is time for inoculation to be made compulsory. Annette King, the Minister of Health, seems unconvinced. "That is not the way it's done in New Zealand," she has said. Given the sluggish progress of this \$200 million project, and the prospect of even greater difficulties ahead, she might care to think again.

SubjectDetail: none (Ref: 3596332)

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APPENDIX H

The New Zealand Herald

New Zealand Herald — news — general — Dec 13 2004 5:00AM

Health board gives up on \$1.6m debts

An Auckland health board has given up trying to recover \$1.6 million in bad debts owed by foreigners ineligible for healthcare.

Counties Manukau board chief executive Stephen McKernan said yesterday that its bad debts from foreigners reached \$2 million to \$2.5 million a year.

The Health Ministry covered the losses so they arguably did not directly eat into the funding allocated for Counties Manukau people, but they did cut into the Government's total health budget, he said.

In the year to June 30, the ministry gave \$9 million to district health boards nationally to compensate for bad debts.

The Government has progressively clamped down on providing free healthcare to foreigners.

Mr McKernan said only about 20 per cent of the cost of treating ineligible foreign patients was repaid by the patients.

"Sometimes people will pay back over a number of years. They pay back \$50 a fortnight [for instance]."

Many of the patients were Pacific Islanders, but there were also Asians, Europeans and Americans.

They sought help for a range of conditions, but the largest number were women giving birth.

Non-resident women coming to the country to give birth have been charged since September last year.

The Counties Manukau board, which runs Middlemore Hospital, services a population of 390,000 within its region.

SubjectDetail: none (Ref: 9002927)

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APPENDIX I

The New Zealand Herald

New Zealand Herald — news — world — Dec 29 2004 4:57AM

Helen Hughes: More aid is no solution for Islands

Australians and New Zealanders pride themselves on giving the Pacific a helping hand. Yet the Pacific economies have not grown appreciably faster than the population for the 30th successive year.

The Pacific has lost a whole generation to stagnation and most of the islands - Samoa is an exception - are losing another. The \$1.5 billion in aid that the Pacific receives each year - the highest aid a head in the world - is part of the problem rather than the solution.

Aid makes it possible for Pacific governments to avoid economic and social reforms. The elites prosper but villagers are little better off than they were at independence.

Infant and child mortality and maternal deaths are on a par with sub-Saharan Africa and, for women, the Middle East.

An HIV/Aids epidemic is developing. Only half of the children in the larger Pacific states are at school. Those at school are not learning anything because the Pacific has become a victim of post-modern imperialism so that children do not learn to read, write or do mathematics.

Women work hard to provide enough food for the growing population, but boys grow into men without ever having an opportunity to earn an income.

This is why crime and civil conflicts are endemic. The few islanders who have prospered are emigrants. Their island families live on remittances.

The international financial institutions' internal documents agree that they have nothing to show for their efforts. The World Bank and the Asian Development Bank have yet to admit that their Band-Aid millennium development goals, devised to appease their non-government organisation critics, have no application to the Pacific. Because they focus on distribution rather than production, they undermine the agricultural productivity and jobs without which the Pacific has no future.

The United States Millennium Challenge Corporation has selected Vanuatu to be the first recipient in the Pacific of its aid for countries with a well-defined path to development.

But Vanuatu arguably competes with Tonga as having the most counterproductive economic and social policies in the region. Its Government is laughing all the way to the bank as it pockets American dollars.

Australia and New Zealand are on their own in the Pacific. They will be judged internationally by how the Pacific performs. The Australian Government took the lead in organising the regional assistance mission to the Solomon Islands, in mounting the enhanced police and legal mentoring aid programme for Papua New Guinea, and in recent discussions with Vanuatu, to fulfil its obligations to Australian taxpayers by ensuring that aid had a mutual obligation context.

The Pacific islands have a litany of excuses for their poor economic performance. Distance, topography and tribalism are blamed. Some New Zealanders have lent their support to this clamour for aid in perpetuity.

But the Pacific is near the world's most rapidly growing markets in Asia. The islands are beautiful and rich in agricultural land, minerals, timber and fish. The cost of transport and communications has fallen. All countries had to overcome tribalism and learn an international lingua franca.

If the Pacific islands abandon their excuses and adopt policies suited to their endowments, each island could grow at 7 per cent a year and more, and in a generation achieve such high living standards as that of Taiwan, a developing country rapidly catching up to industrial countries.

The Pacific is grossly over-governed. It has 733 legislators - with the number of voters for each parliamentarian ranging from 11 in Tokelau to 25,360 in Papua New Guinea - 209 cabinet members and commensurately swollen public services.

Pacific islands belong to up to 40 international organisations. Politicians and public servants are so busy travelling to meetings and conferences and the Pacific is so awash with international bureaucrats that no one has time for pressing domestic problems.

Australia and New Zealand are not colonial powers and cannot make Pacific island choices or manage their economies. Colonialism is dead. But Australian and New Zealand Governments have a responsibility to their taxpayers to ensure that aid will no longer subsidise island governments that choose stagnation.

Papua New Guinea's press is airing a reform debate, but the citizens of repressive states such as Vanuatu and Tonga depend on journals such as the Times of Tonga and the internet for reports on what is going on in their own countries.

The media in Australia were key to informing voters in the Nauru election.

Australian and New Zealand media thus not only have a role to play in fostering the debate that will ensure that sensible aid policies help rather than harm the Pacific but also in making information about the Pacific available to the islanders.

* Emeritus Professor Helen Hughes is a senior fellow at the Australian Centre for Independent Studies. This is based on her report *The Pacific is Viable*.

SubjectDetail: none (Ref: 9004833) © The New Zealand Herald, nzherald.co.nz

APPENDIX J

THE DOMINION POST, 6 NOV 2004, Edition 2, Page 3.

Samoa chief gets 14 years for sex crimes

A VOLUNTARY court worker and Samoan chief has been jailed for 14 years for sex offences.

Pio Vise, 53, had helped Samoans at Wellington District Court since 1998 but he was in the dock in the High Court yesterday.

Justice Ron Young said Vise maintained his innocence in the face of overwhelming evidence.

A jury last month found him guilty of six charges of rape, four of sexual violation by unlawful sexual connection, three of indecent assault and two of inducing a girl to perform an indecent act.

Only his contribution to the Samoan community, through voluntary work and on the Samoan Advisory Council -- and his position as a matai reduced what would otherwise have been a 15-year jail term, the judge said.

He ordered Vise to serve at least eight years of the 14-year jail term.

The first assault took place in Samoa in 1996 when the victim was nine. The abuse continued the following year when Vise and the girl both arrived in New Zealand. As well as the sexual abuse, Vise was also violent toward his wife, but she sided with him when the girl accused him, Justice Young said.

Vise had threatened the girl and tried to stop her giving evidence, the judge said.

Vise still faces a charge of attempting to pervert the course of justice.

Part: A
Section: NEWS
Sub-Section: NATIONAL
Topics: CHILDREN ; SEXUAL ASSAULT

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APPENDIX K

THE DOMINION POST, 6 DEC 2004, Edition 2, Page 4.

Illiterate scholars

IT IS traditional for the older generation to lament the educational standards of the younger and claim that they are falling. In that light, it would be tempting to dismiss two reports from Canterbury University as educational shroud waving. That would be a mistake.

The first report, from the university's education department, claimed that many of its first-year students struggled to write an adequate sentence, and had limited general knowledge. In its submission to a select committee into teacher education, the department added that many of its students "do not have the basic numeracy skills needed to manage the demands of our papers" and that the students who failed had either not been able to understand the course content or, more often, and more worryingly, had produced work which was unintelligible.

That report was followed a few days later by another from the university showing that fewer than a quarter of first-year physics, computer science and engineering students had passed a basic literacy and academic skills test given at the start of the year. Students, it noted, were not understanding what was being said in lectures, were unable to communicate with lecturers, tutors and others students, were unable to write correctly or clearly, and were having problems understanding what was expected of them.

The problem clearly goes beyond misplaced apostrophes to the point where the very purpose of language -- to allow humans to understand each other -- is in peril.

Concern over the reports' content is only heightened by the knowledge that both are measuring the abilities of what must be presumed to be the top achievers in the school system. The Social Development Ministry puts level three literacy -- defined as "a suitable minimum for coping with the demands of everyday life and work in a complex, advanced society" -- in New Zealand at around 50 per cent in the three types of literacy measured. Maori and Pacific Islanders, in particular, score poorly.

Though New Zealand is by no means bottom of the literacy stakes in the OECD, it is nowhere near the top either. Even if it were, that outcome is simply not acceptable in a country that prides itself on its egalitarianism and on being a participatory democracy, and which seeks to become a high-wage, high-skill economy. Near-universal literacy at a level that enables people to function as full members of society is needed to achieve those goals, and it is clear New Zealand does not have that.

The easy course to take is to put all the blame on the teachers and the education system, and there is a hint of that in Canterbury University's asking: "Why are students who have apparently worked their way through the entire New Zealand school system

entering university with inadequate skills in communication and thinking?" Certainly, it is a common belief that schools spend too much time on the frills and not enough on the basics, and it must be drilled into trainee teachers that unless they are producing literate, numerate students, they are producing failures.

However, schools can only do so much. The reality is that the best way for children to grow up literate is to have a home environment where literacy is prized more than digital dexterity on the PlayStation.

Part: B

Section: FEATURES

Sub-Section: EDITORIAL

Topics: EDUCATION ADMINISTRATION ; STUDENTS ; TERTIARY EDUCATION

Sub-Topics: MID CANTERBURY-BANKS PENINSULA

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APPENDIX L

The New Zealand Herald

New Zealand Herald — sport — general — Dec 11 2004 5:00AM

Umaga awarded top honour

All Black captain Tana Umaga took out the top prize in last night's Samoan Sports Awards in Auckland.

Umaga edged out boxer Maselino Masoe and softballers Taifau Matai, Roman Gabriel and Heine Shannon to win the senior sportsman of the year award before claiming the overall prize.

Silver Fern Sheryl Scanlan, who was named the player of the series in New Zealand's 3-0 whitewash over Australia in July, beat Monalisa Codling (rugby), Regina Sheck (rugby), Justine Lavea (rugby) and Temepara Clark (netball) to win the sportswoman of the year award.

Mike Forsyth clinched the coach of the year award after guiding the Samoan softball side to a fifth placing in their first world championship.

Kiwi league player Sonny Bill Williams won the junior sportsman of the year award and New Zealand under-21 netballer Solonaima Maria Tutaia took out the junior sportswoman's prize.

THE FINALISTS WERE

JUNIOR SPORTSMAN: Thomas Leuluai (league), Junior Maninoa (athletics), Alvin Matavao (athletics, league), Sonny Bill Williams (league), Leo Taliu (rugby).

JUNIOR SPORTSWOMAN: Solonaima Maria Tutaia (netball), Valuese Sao-Taliu (rugby), Billy-Jean Ale (wrestling, league, touch, netball, athletics, rugby), Virginia Inivale (touch, volleyball).

SENIOR SPORTSMAN: Tana Umaga (rugby), Taifau Matai (softball), Roman Gabriel (softball), Maselino Masoe (boxing), Heine Shannon (softball).

SENIOR SPORTSWOMAN: Monalisa Codling (rugby), Regina Sheck (rugby), Sheryl Scanlan (netball), Temepara Clark (netball), Justine Lavea (rugby).

COACH: Iusi Tony Ligaliga (bodybuilding), Pulemagafa Pava Saifoloi (rugby), Mike Forsyth (softball).

SubjectDetail: none (Ref: 9002645)

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APPENDIX M

The New Zealand Herald

New Zealand Herald — entertainment — arts — Oct 6 2004 1:00PM

A question of identity

By ADAM GIFFORD

In the post-World War II exotica boom, Vladimir Tretchikoff's paintings of mysterious oriental beauties shared lounge space with tiki torches and Bali Hai sunsets.

For her latest show, *Fatu i le ele'ele - Seed of the Earth*, at the relocated Whitespace gallery in Crummer Rd, Tuakau artist Nanette Lela'ulu has taken the Tretchikoff template, substituted Polynesian princesses, and plonked them in rural Auckland landscapes.

So is it ironic appropriation or serious homage?

"I'm not sure. I use it as a source rather than a base. It's loose," says Lela'ulu.

"I've always been fascinated by Tretchikoff. The paintings are so commercial, they are everywhere and lots of young Pacific Island people have them in their homes.

"I have always been interested in taking things which have been done before and putting a Pacific Island flavour into them. The difference in this lot is I have given them a New Zealand base, which I have not done before."

Ask Lela'ulu if she is a "Pacific Island painter" and she will deny it, but questions of identity permeate her work.

In part it may be the difference between growing up in what seemed like the only brown family in Howick, but having more contact with her father's large Samoan family than her mother's palagi kin.

"You are never Samoan because you are white and you are never white because you are too Samoan, but all of a sudden, when you do something successful, you are Samoan," she says.

Her early work dwelt on the struggle between Samoan and New Zealand cultures.

But a break from painting, and a move from the inner city to Tuakau, has given her a new appreciation of landscape.

The works at Whitespace, their internal spaces established by the flat planes of weatherboard white buildings against raw hills and big skies, echo the explorations of earlier generations of painters such as Robin White and Rita Angus.

In one work she leaves the figure out and tries to record the architectural details of a colonial hall at Awhitu, white light, warm breeze, perhaps the sound of cicadas. In another, she captures the full moon struggling through a roiling black cloud above the hillside behind her house.

Lela'ulu's cool south of Auckland visions contrast strongly with the South Auckland heat of Andy Leleisi'uao, who takes up the rest of the gallery with his series The Ballad of Tinouamea and Pepe.

Strong pinks, lurid plastic tiki green and the bright red of seed pod necklaces give his paintings a reckless energy as he documents the struggles of a Samoan immigrant couple making a life in this country.

The couple try to make sense of a Rubik cube containing the letters not found in the Samoan alphabet, or drag crosses through the landscape.

"I have heard the stories of that generation in words, but not visually. I think it is important there is some visual document," says Leleisi'uao, a self-taught artist who emerged from Mangere more than a decade ago to international acclaim.

While the show returns to some of the themes of earlier paintings, Leleisi'uao says there is a difference.

"The first time I did them I was angry. The second time the trick is to do it poetically."

Auckland City Art Gallery senior curator Ron Brownson says Lela'ulu and Leleisi'uao are important members of the emerging Pacific renaissance.

"Nanette has shown year after year, with her work just getting stronger," says Brownson.

"Andy has had more than 20 solo shows, and is known for expressing issues very much at the core of the first generation of immigrant artists.

"He is looking at what happened in the 1950s and 1960s when Pacific people came here to work, bringing their island's ethics and morality, and the tensions that brings with New Zealand and with their children."

Exhibition

*Who: Nanette Lela'ulu, Andy Leleisi'uao

*Where and when: Whitespace,

12 Crummer Rd, Grey Lynn, to Oct 21

SubjectDetail: general (Ref: 3597718)

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