

***News values in three Pacific nations: A case study in
development journalism and the reporting of the Pacific
Islands Forum in Fiji, Vanuatu and New Zealand***



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Title

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Abstract

The term “development journalism” has been used for four decades in Asia, but in the Pacific and even more so in Western countries such as New Zealand and Australia, the term is met with scepticism, particularly from working journalists. There is extensive debate in the Pacific about the role of development journalism, but little consensus on what it actually means. Some have called for a “unique Pacific approach” to the media but many share concerns that such an undefined approach is simply a veiled capitulation to state censorship (Dixit, 2010; Hanitzsch, 2007; Obijiofor & Hanusch, 2011; Papatsouki & Harris, 2008; Romano, 2010; Seward, 1999; Singh & Prasad, 2008; Robie, 2004, 2014). With the evolution of Pacific journalism academia, and the perennial global discussion about how much advocacy there can be in a fair, balanced and accurate journalistic work, this thesis examines whether there is a model of development journalism practised in the Pacific, and whether “development” is a news value for the Pacific, as distinct from developed countries. It also examines what Pacific newsrooms need to do in a development communication context. Through a case study comparing the approach of Fiji, Vanuatu and New Zealand newspapers in their coverage of the 2011 Pacific Islands Forum (PIF) in Auckland, a content analysis reveals a range of distinct approaches and priorities. What emerges is an argument that greater analysis is required in Pacific reporting and a greater reliance on Pacific authorship of that analysis, in order to realise an effective brand of development journalism.

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Attestation of Authorship

I, Alex Perrottet, hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

Signed:



Date: 4 March, 2015

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Abbreviations and acronyms

ADB, or AsDB	Asian Development Bank
AFP	Agence France Presse
AAP	Australian Associated Press
AP	Associated Press
AusAID	Australian Agency for International Development
DAC	OECD Development Assistance Committee
EPA	Economic Partnership Agreement
EU	European Union
IFC	International Finance Corporation
INTV	Vanuatu Technical Institute
IPDC	International Program for Development Communication
IPS	Inter Press Service
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
MAV	Media Association blong Vanuatu
MFAT	New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade
MSG	Melanesian Spearhead Group
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
NWICO	New World Information and Communication Order
NZAID	New Zealand Aid Programme
OCTA	Office of the Chief Trade Adviser (to PIC)
Pacific ACP	African, Caribbean and Pacific group of states
PCF	Pacific Co-operation Foundation
PIC	Pacific Island Country
PICTA	Pacific Island Countries Trade Agreement
PIF	Pacific Islands Forum
PINA	Pacific Islands News Association
PMC	Pacific Media Centre
PMW	Pacific Media Watch
RSE	Recognised Seasonal Employer scheme
SOPAC	Secretariat of the Pacific Community Applied Geoscience Division
SPREP	Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme
RA	Radio Australia
RNZI	Radio New Zealand International
SPC	Secretariat of the Pacific Community
USP	University of the South Pacific
UN	United Nations

UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UPI	United Press International (of the United States)
WHO	World Health Organisation
WPNC	West Papua National Coalition for Liberation

Chapter 1

Introduction

This thesis aims to make sense of the term “development journalism” in a Pacific context and contribute to the growing body of research on the subject in an expanding field of journalism studies. Journalism studies is the academic discipline involving the history and sociology of the media, international comparative studies and journalism typologies.

While it might not be on the radars of many Western journalists, “development journalism” has been used as a term for the best part of a half-century. The opening chapter traces the history of the term and its usage, and explores how it has been applied and in some places and times, manipulated by political powers. The chapter also deals with the perceived scepticism towards the term, but ultimately shows there is academic consensus that criticism of development journalism is misguided and perhaps simply criticism of a the corrupt application of the term. Through a summary of perspectives of development journalism from around the globe, and an analysis of the Asian approach to development journalism, the focus of the chapter narrows to observe the Pacific. Taking those arguments into account, a concise definition for development journalism for the Pacific is arrived at and is used to later test whether a selection of Pacific newspapers indeed practise development journalism. Thus the first research question can be answered: Is development journalism practised in the Pacific?

If journalism covers the popular and important events of each day in each place, then certainly the issues of development should be a concern for journalists who cover the Pacific. This thesis is specifically dedicated to the Pacific media, and has grown out of research papers and reports on Pacific media undertaken through the Pacific Media Centre at Auckland University of Technology. Development is a key issue in the Pacific and in one way or another, each day’s news touches on development. Chapter Three examines the state of development in the Pacific through the lens of the United Nations and the Millennium Development Goals, which were due to be realised in 2015. The region of Oceania comes under scrutiny for not being on track to achieve most of the core goals, and in some fields, is the worst performer, on a par with Sub-Saharan Africa. The role of media

in “nation-building” is discussed, and a range of arguments about what type of approach is relevant for developing countries. In this way, the second research question is posed: Does “development” constitute a specific “news value” more relevant to the Pacific than some traditional Western values? Without discrediting the Western approach, there are many arguments in favour of a different approach in developing countries.

This thesis argues that there may be some specific news values that apply to the Pacific as opposed to Western liberal democracies such as Australia and New Zealand. The discussion is not an attempt to compare the media industries of those nations, but to ascertain whether the media in the Pacific has a different agenda, driven by a different stage of progress and a different culture. Apart from some essential news values, that are global, there is consensus that several media outlets do follow different criteria and observe what could be described as Pacific news values, which includes “development”.

As a case study, Chapters Five and Six provide a content analysis of five different newspapers; four of which are based in the Pacific. Two newspapers each from Fiji and Vanuatu were chosen for the case study, and a detailed background of the media climate in those countries is provided. The specific event and time frame for the analysis is the Pacific Islands Forum Leaders Meeting, in September 2011, in Auckland. The event was attended by leaders of 14 countries and territories spread across the Pacific Ocean, from French Polynesia to Papua New Guinea, and many development issues and challenges were on the agenda.

The time frame is two months of reports: August to September 2011. Number, typology, and the source of reports are the main categories of analysis. Each newspaper’s reports are analysed and categorised in tables and figures to illustrate its focus and priorities, as well as its sources of information and analysis. The thesis seeks to ascertain whether each sample newspaper is practising development journalism, and where they arguably need to do more.

The research for this thesis involved extensive interviews with editors of the Pacific newspapers. These were undertaken in accordance with AUT Ethics Committee protocols and with approval (code number 12/89). The editors were asked a range of questions, and they completed written questionnaires, which are included in the appendices. The interviews were undertaken in 2012, in the months after the Pacific Islands Forum Leaders

Meeting. Quotes from interviews provide a practical perspective from working editors and newsrooms, which contributes to the discussion on development journalism and provides insights alongside the data collected in the content analysis.

Depending on the answers to the two research questions, the conclusion deals with what might need to be done to ensure development is covered more, or better.

It is finally emphasised that this thesis in no way constitutes a value judgment on any particular newspaper or publication. This thesis should be read with a view to obtaining a more nuanced notion of what development journalism may entail for the Pacific, how some Pacific newspapers are reporting development, and what they consider important as they make their daily editorial decisions and face their many constraints.

Chapter 2

Development Journalism

A Literature Review and Definition of Development Journalism for the Pacific.

The origins of the term

'Development Journalism' is a term that emerged in the late 1960s and peaked as a discussion point in the following decades, mainly within the communications academia and among non-government organisations concerned about developing countries and what the communications industry could do to help them. Xu Xiaoge (2009) accounts for the origins of development journalism at a Philippine workshop in the 1960s, where veteran journalist Alan Chalkley "told participants that journalists should alert news audiences to developmental problems and open their eyes to possible solutions (Chalkley, 1968)." Angela Romano (2005) confirms it was during a conference for finance journalists, organised by the Press Foundation of Asia. There is a broader term – development communication. Pannu and Tomar (2010, p. 50) note that "the rise of the communication sciences in the 1950s saw recognition of the field [of development communication] as an academic discipline, with Daniel Lerner, Wilbur Schramm and Everett Rogers being the earliest influential advocates". Development communication also received attention in the Philippines in the 1970s, with Nora C. Quebral respected as an early proponent who defined it in 1972 as:

The art and science of human communication linked to a society's planned transformation from a state of poverty to one of dynamic socio-economic growth that makes for greater equity and the larger unfolding of individual potential.

This thesis will not deal with the differences between Development Communication and Development Journalism, other to say that the former is clearly more focused on the specific field of the media, within the broader communications field. However, Quebral's definition is instructive for providing the purpose or motivation behind such an approach, and indeed this study - the improvement of under-developed, or developing societies "from a state of poverty to one of dynamic socio-economic growth".

International debates in the 1970s and the growing concern of inequality - rapid development in some countries at the same time as a growing awareness in those countries of the 'Third World' - gave rise to a UNESCO-sponsored 'new order' of seeing communications. Padovani (2008) writes that there were "aspirations of many countries in the Global South to democratise the international communication system and rebalance information flows worldwide." The so-called New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) was partly motivated by the Third World "to argue for a more positive portrayal of developing countries by Western news organisations such as Associated Press (AP), United Press International (UPI) of the United States, France's Agence France-Presse and Reuters of the United Kingdom." (Robie 2013, p. 90)

UNESCO encouraged the discussion by setting up an independent commission, chaired by the Irish diplomat, Director of Amnesty International and Nobel Peace laureate, Sean MacBride. The MacBride Report, entitled *Many Voices, One World*, (UNESCO, 1980), which summarised the concerns of the 16 participating countries and made recommendations, was then tabled at the twenty-first general conference of UNESCO in Belgrade, in 1980. It was adopted by the General Conference with Resolution 4/19. Padovani (2008) argues that it "still remains a milestone in the history of global debates around communication issues."

The NWICO could be said to have failed in its efforts, particularly in trying to bring together such a broad range of countries to achieve such a demanding ideal. Richard Vincent (1997) writes the Commission's report was criticised for being too theoretical and trying to find consensus in areas where there was intense media debate. Although a "significant outcome" of the Belgrade Conference was the International Program for Development Communication (IPDC), which was designed to implement many of the objectives of the NWICO in a practical manner, Vincent notes there was too much Western negativity towards the initiative. He writes: "once the definition of what was practical became the subject of competing definitions, opposition among many of the Western backers arose." Ultimately, he observes that due to funding issues as well as ethical and cultural discrepancies between nations, the initiative resulted in an anti-UNESCO attitude or even campaign, led by the USA (Vincent 1997, p. 381).

Yet the effort poured into Commission provides a solid basis for the ideals behind what could be described as a “movement” of development journalism. As a basis for the NWICO, there were three major platforms – firstly, to strive for the “elimination of the imbalances and inequalities” (UNESCO, 1980) in a global context, to which the communications industry was perceived to be contributing. The second, to observe the principles of international law, and third, to find “diverse solutions to information and communication problems” because “social, political, cultural and economic problems differ from one country to another and, within a given country, from one group to another” (MacBride Commission, 1980).

This thesis will extract three major tenets or purposes from the NWICO platform – to help form the basis of a definition of development journalism.

- a) Development (from “elimination of imbalances and inequalities”);
- b) Finding “diverse solutions”; and
- c) Tailoring the solutions / communications to each country.

Among others, the MacBride Report noted the following aspirations that were hoped to turn around the ‘unequal’ or ‘underdeveloped’ situation:

- i. removal of the internal and external obstacles to a free flow and wider and better balanced dissemination of information and ideas;*
- ii. plurality of sources and channels of information;*
- iii. freedom of the press and information;*
- iv. the freedom of journalists and all professionals in the communication media, a freedom inseparable from responsibility;*
- v. the capacity of developing countries to achieve improvement of their own situations, notably by providing their own equipment, by training their personnel, by improving their infrastructures and by making their information and communication media suitable to their needs and aspirations;*
- vi. the sincere will of developed countries to help them attain these objectives;*
- vii. respect for each people's cultural identity and for the right of each nation to inform the world public about its interests, its aspirations and its social and cultural values;*

- viii. *respect for the right of all peoples to participate in international exchanges of information on the basis of equality, justice and mutual benefit;*
 - ix. *respect for the right of the public, of ethnic and social groups and of individuals to have access to information sources and to participate actively in the communication process*
- (MacBride Commission, 1980)

What can be seen is a general concern not just due to a lack of development, but that there was too much Western influence in even the benevolent assistance that was being provided to bring countries out of the Third World. And specifically in the field of communications, that the vehicles of information were driving in one direction, inevitably carrying with them a dominant culture, without concern for how developing countries themselves preferred to be assisted. It was this concern that also led the British journalist Derek Ingram to found the *Gemini News Service*, in 1967. A major purpose of the service was to feature stories from developing countries, particularly in the Commonwealth. *Gemini* would purchase news features from correspondents working in third or developing world countries and distribute them to news media organisations around the world. Although it closed in 2002, the Centre for Media and Transitional Societies at Carleton University, Canada, secured the rights to the name and, with a grant from the International Development Research Centre, has launched its project to expand sources of information development in Africa. The motivation for founding the original project was to provide an “alternative” brand of news from within developing countries, and news outlets in the Pacific would subscribe to the airmailed service before the availability of internet access (Bourne, 1995).

‘Top-down’ and ‘bottom-up’

Caught up with theories on development journalism, are the modernisation theories, dealt with by Romano (2005) and Xu (2009), which tend to concur that the downside of globalisation is that dominant, wealthy cultures impose their own structures and systems on poorer, less developed ones. Romano (2005, p. 3) observes that this situation lends itself to “hierarchical communication” where information is given by the authorities and taken in by the masses. With a lack of resources and access to information, the “authorities” are the Western, dominant donor partners (including developed countries, and non-government

organisations), providing information to the leaders of developing countries, who are then duty bound to pass it down the chain to their citizens.

Romano notes that by the 1970s, the modernisation theorists had “changed their tone and recognised the failures of their top-down approach” (Romano, 2005, p. 3). Aaron English (2007) also observes that the movement “has in the last few decades moved from the earlier models of top-down, sender-to-receiver flows of information where the mass media were seen as performing the educator function to the more recent approaches to communication, which see the media as informing for empowerment to achieve changed social values and beliefs” (p. 37). Thus information as “empowerment” is a crucial element of communication, and while it has to be provided by those who know, Romano appears to argue that those who know need to also listen, confer and collaborate with the ordinary people. She writes that “top down communications are still considered necessary and important, but greater emphasis is placed on enhancing bottom-up information flows from citizens and communities to leaders” (Romano 2005, p. 7).

The picture painted of global communication problems has highlighted the fact that Western, dominant cultures need to be careful not to assume their methods are appropriate for the Third World. However, Western countries could also learn from developing countries vital skills in communications that could assist their own societies and newsrooms. Romano notes that the Western approach, dominated by an “individualistic” outlook rather than a community-based one, makes “few references to the value and influence on the vast pools of knowledge, the cooperative socio-economic systems, the complex power structures, and the communications hierarchies that exist within traditional communities” (Romano 2005, p. 3). Thus the “bottom-up” approach is seen as something that developed countries also need to pay heed to, and could benefit from.

The ‘ordinary people’

A prominent news value in the West is *elite persons* and there is consensus that this is not as crucial in developing countries. “Bottom-up” approaches go against the trend for the ordinary citizens to hear about the “elite” - including celebrities, political or other types of rulers, etc. Xu writes that without claiming to be “a new kind of journalism”, development

journalism represented “a new attitude towards the treatment of certain subjects” in relation to development. It was designed to serve the “ordinary people”, not the elite (Chalkley 1980, p .215). He argues that some other aspects of Western media are simply irrelevant to developing countries. Quoting Kokkeong Wong, (2004), Xu asserts that the developing world doesn’t match the “Western practice of emphasising sensationalism and commercialism, which produced little coverage of socially important news about the ordinary people, community projects, rural developments, and efforts to address poverty (Wong, 2004).” Thus, there is a strong body of opinion that many Western notions are not appropriate in the developing world. So strong is the opinion that Hermant Shah (1996), no opponent of press freedom, recommended in 1996 that “efforts at reforming journalism practice ought to avoid being structured around Western notions of press freedom, which diverted attention from how journalism could contribute to participatory democracy, security, peace and other humanistic values” (p. 160). Indeed, the evidence shows that press freedom has not been respected in many developing countries, but what Shah alludes to is that there are actually other developmental steps to achieve before a country is in a position to embrace the Western-style of press freedom, and even then, there are cultural considerations that do cast doubt that the Western model, with all its elements, will ever be appropriate.

The Asian experience

There is certainly more research about development journalism in Asia than in the Pacific, particularly in the decades following the NWICO debate. Xiaoge Xu (2009, p. 359) notes that it emerged “out of the urgent need for social, economic and political development in Asia in the “chaotic aftermath of the Pacific War and colonialism in many Asian countries.”

Journalism, as an academic discipline, is far less developed in the Pacific, where university journalism schools were set up much later. The schools are fewer and with fewer students, and hence less research, with academics focusing on vocational training and practical skills. The status of Pacific journalism education can be gleaned from the Pacific Media Assistance Scheme, or PACMAS reports from 2012 and 2013 (PACMAS, 2013 & Skuse, 2012). This thesis aims to contribute to how development journalism might be applied in a Pacific context, but it must include a discussion on how it was used and even manipulated in Asia. Crucial to the building of a nation is the dissemination of information, and the communications and media

industry was seen as an important catalyst for the development of Asian nations in the twentieth century. Xu (2009) writes about building national development and “such a belief and expectation constituted the driving forces behind the rising popularity of development journalism among developing nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America. And it remains vital and vibrant as a journalism practice despite criticisms and prejudices.”

Some of these prejudices around the term development communication can only be understood with a summary of how the concept was implemented and, according to critics, manipulated in Asia.

A ‘suspicious’ term

It is understandable that the term development journalism has at times been misunderstood as simply a pro-government approach suited to nations that exert a level of censorship on their media, as the practice of the brand grew along with the impetus of governments to coerce the media into promoting their developmental work. Dinesh Sharma notes that in some times and places development journalism has been used by the political power to use the media as their own instrument, as “a tool in the hands of authoritative regimes in Asia, especially in periods of national emergencies and press clampdowns.” Romano (2005) notes the political powers of developing Asian countries had different ideas from journalists and media academics, “with each theory based on very different assumptions about democracy and the role of journalism within democracy” (p. 2). What is clear is that due to the fluidity of terms and the various definitions that might be placed on a concept over time, autocratic governments that seek to direct the press and exert control, and their communications staff, jump at the opportunity to hijack a term, and put a positive spin on their actions. As Nepalese journalist and editor Kunda Dixit describes the trends:

In the 1990’s newly affluent East Asian countries became more assertive and less tolerant of criticism of their societies by Western correspondents and media. They expelled, sued, threatened or banned reporters and periodicals writing nasty things about them. Asian leaders like Singapore’s Lee Kuan Yew and Malaysia’s Mahathir Mohamad were proponents of “Asian values”, where the media played less an adversarial role, but “What is undeniable though is that the term “Asian values” has

also become the catch slogan for authoritarian rulers in the region to keep the lid on the press (Dixit 2010, p. 67-68).

When political power sees development journalism as a model strictly designed to serve them, who represent the powerful nation-builders of the country, the result is too often a censored press. Romano notes that in Malaysia, the then deputy Prime Minister, Anwar Ibrahim (now the Opposition Leader serving time in prison following another politically-charged high-profile criminal proceeding¹), supported a free press, and noted that development journalism had been carried to its extreme, “so much so that even mild criticism of the ruling elite and a critical attitude is viewed with fear, suspicion and sometimes contempt” (Anwar, 1995, p. 42) in Romano (2005, p. 5). Xu (2009) also noted the same problem occurred in the Philippines: “Development journalism did not enhance the press’s watchdog function but resulted in the press being the tool of the authoritarian Marcos government.” He notes, however that it remains a vibrant element of journalism training in the country, and he remains positive about the contribution it can make, while being a tainted term.

But Dixit, who was the regional director for Asia-Pacific of the Inter Press Service (IPS) news agency from 1991 to 1997, does not only blame authoritative governments for the apparent “bad name” characterising development journalism. He has criticised those who practised development journalism poorly and indulged in self-censorship. He says this has prompted academics to choose new terms to avoid their theories being likened to the tainted definitions:

Development journalism has been done so sloppily for so long by so many people that when you mention development journalism, their eyes glaze over. One thing you don’t say these days when you introduce IPS (Inter Press Service) is that we specialise in development journalism. The concept and need for development journalism is still valid. Unfortunately the phrase is tattered and hackneyed because it has been sabotaged by violently unreadable writers (Seneviratne, 2008, p. 231).

¹ The former deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia (1993-1998) has been the uniting force of the opposition parties since being removed by the Prime Minister and jailed for sodomy. He was released in 2004 but again convicted in 2014 on a further sodomy charge. The five-year sentence was upheld in 2015.

With regard to Malaysia, Xu refers to Kokkeong Wong's 2004 study of three major Malay newspapers covering the 1999 election, which he wrote, "could hardly be described as free and independent" and "calling into question the legitimacy of Malaysia's Asian-based development journalism" (Wong, 2004, p. 37).

Such was the threat or fear that development journalism constituted some form of state control or self-censorship, that Romano (2005, p. 1) notes there was "bitter contestation" over "the exact definition of what development journalism should involve". And as early as 1982, Ogen (1982) noted "because there is so much fear and suspicion concerning the motives involved in the use of development journalism, the discussion of the topic often disintegrates into an exchange of inflammatory rhetoric."

As a result of these cases of development journalism either being hijacked by political powers or by "sloppy" journalists giving it a bad name, scepticism about the term has grown. A Malaysian media academic who settled in Australia, Eric Loo, writes "development journalism was understood and linked by Western journalists to a biased reporting approach focused on positive developments as opposed to the conventional focus on conflict, such as failed government projects and policies" (Loo, 1994, p. 2).

The correlation between a nation in a developmental stage and its authorities wanting to control the media certainly makes it hard for these terms to survive unscathed. But what emerges from this situation is an unfortunate false dichotomy – whereby development journalism is seen as something specifically for developing countries and suited to jurisdictions that do not enjoy full freedom of the press, but seen as something totally irrelevant for Western democracies that already have a free press and are already "developed". However, Robie (2012) says "critics of development journalism—mostly from Western countries—actually criticise a distortion of it—the co-opting of this media term by politicians seeking self-interested goal" (Robie 2012, p. 224). Papoutsaki (2008) argues that "the model though was not well-received by Western media, journalists and academics, dismissing it as subjective, 'government say-so journalism' out of fear that freedom of expression and other civic liberties would lose their significance in the name of development" (p. 33). Yet, the paranoia of losing media freedom can hardly be justified in

most Western countries. Indeed, as Singh and Prakash note, it is a widely-held belief that Western media are “motivated more by market considerations rather than any notions of government control” (Singh & Prakash, 2008, p. 130). And furthermore, the pressure of market-driven consumerism is not the only factor, with Romano observing “given the deadline-driven nature of journalistic work, many journalists may find that the art of listening to public conversation contradicts their most deeply ingrained customs, habits and reflexes”. But journalism in the West has a great tradition of telling stories, and there is scope to be able to “provide an overview not just of problems but of their roots, their potential trajectory into the future, and the implications of these” (Romano, 2010, p. 63). Finally, urging Pacific journalists not to abandon the practice, Singh and Prakash warn of falling prey to the false dichotomy, and treating all Western journalism as inappropriate for the Pacific and other developing regions:

It would be a mistake, however, to dismiss out of hand the so-called form “Westernised Journalism”. This brand of journalism may not be all good, and unpalatable for some. But it has some key strengths. Discarding it as totally unsuitable for Pacific island situations would be committing the same mistake the Western media did when it threw out the baby with the bathwater in rejecting development journalism as a viable journalistic practice (Singh & Prakash, 2008, p. 130).

Indeed, the motivation for the dissent about the term can hardly, in the West, be narrowed down to concerns over media freedom. In fact, Loo argues that Western journalists can learn much from the theory. He argues that Western journalists ought to “explore ways of combining their privilege of free comment with respect for minorities and the integrity of public discourse” and that this is no threat to media freedom, nor is it self-censorship. The ultimate ethic in taking this approach, as unrealistic as it might be to Western news organisations, is “to consider the alternative development journalism approach to reporting, in which the social and cultural cohesion of the people takes priority over news commercialism” (Loo, 1994, p. 5). However, Western news structure, with commercialism the underpinning principle of its financial viability, is a constant barrier to journalists who might be willing to implement this “alternate” model. “This style of journalism stands in stark contrast to mainstream Western-style reporting, which has been criticised for its focus

on ‘spot’ news and crisis reporting rather than coverage of changing patterns within developing nations” (Romano, 2010, p. 25).

Within the Pacific context, Singh and Prakash do make clear that governments are often not benign to the press, and the Fijian experience is a well-documented history of censorship even in the last decade. “The reality in the Pacific,” they argue, “is that culture and tradition are often used by politicians and leaders to abuse their power, exploit their people and hide their activities” (Singh & Prakash, 2008, p. 130). Having made that clear, they write that development journalism has not received the same treatment as Asian governments gave it. They describe the concerns of the West as “a perceived fear of governments influencing and controlling news”, and argue development journalism can be constructive and effective, and claims of susceptibility to government infiltration may have been premature” (Singh & Prakash, 2008, p. 130). Finally, Papoutsaki agrees that “its potential for alternative journalism practices is great if the model is revisited and redeveloped along with the new realities of the developing world today” (2011, p. 224).

Certainly journalism is a field where the main activity is to shine a light on areas of interest, and often those in power – holding them to account, with facts and revelations that are often damning and sensational. For a journalist to have their own work scrutinised or even criticised is akin to having the tables turned on them and as a result many journalists are naturally defensive about the quality of what they have produced. This makes any discussion about how the field of journalism could be improved extremely fraught. Furthermore, any notion of “alternate” journalism appears to attract a fear that the essential components of journalism – fairness, accuracy and balance, will be threatened. Yet at the same time there seems to be universal acceptance that standards in some quarters has dropped to an all-time low, with sensational tabloid journalism not just one player in a rich media scene, but now playing the main role in informing communities.

There is a view that questions the need for any such definitions and approaches, when all that is required is simply “good journalism”. Fleury (2004) asks whether development journalism is just good journalism, putting sceptics at rest about what the motivations are. Dixit goes as far as to warn using any definition at all, arguing, as Robie paraphrases him, “there should be two kinds of journalism – good and bad” (Robie, 2001). Dixit argues: “By

qualifying this new journalism with an adjective like 'alternative' we run the risk of consigning it to marginality...let's not call it anything, let's just do it well" (Dixit 2010, P.163). However, this researcher considers a definition crucial for providing the context of this thesis and the case study herein. Papoutsaki (2011, p225) has called for "redefining old approaches such as development journalism". The next segment will analyse what aspects of consensus there are in the range of descriptions given to development journalism.

Two brands of journalism

Xu's (2009) summary of the vision for a new brand of journalism with a developmental focus includes the observation that in Asia, the traditional Western news model, that looks at "events rather than processes that produced the events (Ali, 1980) was inadequate for developing countries". In fact, in his study, he lists five key components of development journalism:

1. *To report the difference between what has been planned to do and what in reality has been achieved as well as the difference between its claimed and actual impact on people (Aggarwala, 1978);*
2. *To focus not "on day-to-day news but on long term development process" (Kunczik, 1988, .p 83)*
3. *To be independent from government and to provide constructive criticisms of government (Aggarwala, 1978; Shah, 1992; Ogan, 1982);*
4. *To shift "journalistic focus to news of economic and social development" while "working constructively with the government" (Richstad, 2000, p.279) in nation building;*
5. *And to empower the ordinary people to improve their own lives and communities (Romano & Hippocrates 2001).*

Xu (2009, p. 358).

While key aspects above include having a "long term" approach, looking specifically at developmental issues, and shifting the focus, there is also an apparent contradiction between being independent, and working with the government. Indeed, other authors note that there are two distinct brands. The collaborative approach – working with government, and the investigative approach – working more independently and holding the government

to account when it fails to deliver on developmental issues. Or to use Xu's terms, there are "pro-government" and "pro-participation" models, with more investigative reporting and more media freedom in the latter. Robie (2008, p. 7) refers to the same division between the investigative stance and the government participation model, and concludes that "both forms of development journalism are used in the South Pacific" (Robie, 2008, p. 13).

Romano (2010) argues that government-focused approach is certainly not the ideal: "nor do they suggest that journalists should necessarily feel a commitment towards governments or their programs" (p. 26). Daorueng describes the investigative model as closer to the traditional role of the Fourth Estate, and includes the key term "critical":

Development journalism was treated as being similar to investigative journalism. Journalists who wished to make a legitimate report on development issues needed a critical view to examine them. In this case, journalists had a task to observe critically and report on the whole government development process, which included planning, implementation, impact and shortcomings as they were. The role of journalists was not too support the state development goals without question, Instead, it was to make sure that the development process was accountable and transparent (Daorueng, 2008, p. 243-244).

But development journalism must seek to do more than simply investigate. Key terms already have been to "propose solutions", and look at the process, not just the events, etc. With a perspective from India, Sinha is quoted in Robie (2008) as distinguishing development journalism from investigative journalism:

Development journalism attempts to highlight the "what, why and how" of the process of events. The basic philosophy of investigative journalism is to unveil the secrecy, to expose. But development journalism has to be alive to the realities of the situation and has to tail, study and report the process of socio-economic, cultural, political, educational changes in the country (Sinha, 1981, p. 1, cited by Robie, 2008).

Robie echoes Sinha's description when he writes "development journalism in a nutshell is about going beyond the 'who, what, when, where' of basic inverted pyramid journalism; it is

usually more concerned with the ‘how, why’ and ‘what now’ questions addressed by journalists” (Robie, 2008).

Therefore development journalism could be said to be a form of investigative reporting, entailing in depth research and longer-form writing, but not limited to exposés into political or corporate corruption, or other instances of revealing something altogether unknown to the public.

Some characteristics of consensus

Keywords that emerge from the following observations are “finding / suggesting solutions”, “investigative”, “process over events”, “serving the ordinary people”, “empowering”, “advocacy”, “diversity”, “critical / deliberative”, “responsibility”, “cultural”

‘Empowerment’

Indeed, not only service to the ordinary people, but engaging them in the very process of the news is a characteristic, thereby empowering them, is described by Xu:

these [ordinary] people determine the development journalists’ choice of subjects, style of storytelling, and even diction. The whole point of development journalism is to engage and empower the people and to involve them actively in the process of economic, cultural and political development
(2009, p. 362).

Thus development journalism, as described by Aman Namra (2004), and quoted by Papoutsaki, is “the kind of journalism that motivates the active participation of the affected people and advocating for their interests, in place of the views of policy makers and planners” (cited by Papoutsaki, 2008, p. 28). Again, the “bottom-up” approach is clear in this thinking. Romano (2010) also finds community participation an essential element:

South Pacific media face a challenge of developing forms of journalism that contribute to the national ethos by mobilising change from passive communities to those seeking change. Instead of the news values that have often led international media to exclude a range of perspectives, such a notion would promote deliberation by journalists to enable the participation of all community stakeholders, “including

the minorities, the marginalised, the disadvantaged and even those deemed as 'deviant' (p. 4).

'Finding Solutions'

There appears to be a consensus that development journalism goes further than laying out important facts for the reader to consume and draw conclusions from. Some argue that the journalist should go even further and propose possible solutions to development problems, based on the analysis and research undertaken. Sharma, (2007) writes the aim of development journalism is to mainly report the facts, and secondarily to "interpret them, put them in a framework, and where possible, to draw solutions." In this sense, the loaded term of "advocacy" again comes into play. However, the cold and indifferent task of the journalist to report simply the facts has long been superseded by the view that "comforting the afflicted and afflicting the comforted" implies a level of advocacy on the part of the afflicted, and in this case, the underdeveloped and poor.

Romano supports the more active role, writing that the approach should "also focus on possible solutions to problems and examples of successes, so that audiences can visualise ways that they might potentially contribute to rectifying crises rather than being overcome by despair at seemingly hopeless situations" (Romano, 2010, p. 25).

Papoutsaki (2008) writes that "advocacy was a strong component of this model" (p. 33). She later argues the theory is closer to notions of social responsibility, replacing the ideology of objectivity "with an overt advocacy component" (Papoutsaki, 2011, p. 224).

'Processes, not just events'

Robie argues that the mere reporting of an event without any analysis can work in Western countries where development is not so crucial. But in developing countries, the brand of journalism "involves reporting the daily news as issues rather than as events for citizens to make a judgement" (Robie, 2013a, p. 89). Loo (1994) also supports the notion that development journalism requires a writer to look at the processes, not only the events. In this sense, Loo is simply arguing that development journalism is a way of providing more analysis, rather than a simple account of the traditional what, when, where, who, and how.

Loo compiled together a comparative table with elements of development journalism contrasting with the traditional Western-style characteristics. He calls it the Theoretical and Practical Dimensions of Conventional and Development Journalism. Key terms that emerge are ‘development’, ‘community’, ‘sensitivity’, ‘responsibility’, ‘interpretive’:

Table 1.1: Comparative Western Journalism and Development Journalism

CONVENTIONAL (WESTERN) JOURNALISM	DEVELOPMENT JOURNALISM
Mainstream-source oriented	User-source oriented
Reports on random events (What)	Reports on causes and processes leading up to events (What, How and Why)
Dominant news value	Development news value
Balance in terms of neutrality	Balance tip towards grassroots
Dispassionate Observer	Participant Observer
Story is descriptive	Story is descriptive and prescriptive
Occasionally provides possible solutions to problems without consultation with people	Elicits alternative solutions to problems as understood and interpreted by the people
Formation of public opinion is vertical - from dominant mainstream group to grassroots	Moulding of public opinion is horizontal – actual views of grassroots and those affected by policies given priority
Highlights individual achievements and accomplishments	Highlights “community empowerment” as source of self-reliant community
Follows prescribed and tested rules and procedures in journalism	Tries out new methods and procedures, takes risks- so has more ways of gathering information and its ultimate narratives
Right to information without hindrance or censorship; free press	Aware of conflict between reporters’ and state’s needs to promote development projects
Deals mainly with crimes, law and order, disasters and deviant and dramatic events	Deals mainly with socio-economic development, inculcation and desirable attitudes, values and basic needs for food, shelter and security
Profit maximisation; popular appeal	Runs risk of low readership; less popular
Factual reporting, objective, consumption-oriented	Interpretative reporting, subjective, community growth-oriented
Mass entertainment and “infotainment”	Understanding, attitude and behavioural change

Source: Loo (1994, pp. 5-6).

‘Critical and deliberative approach’

More recent scholarship on development journalism has been taken up in Australia by Angela Romano, and in New Zealand by Professor David Robie, but both include “development journalism” within a broader school of “deliberative journalism”. The approach is to broaden the definition to simply critical and robust journalism, that doesn’t have to be set in a developing country, but ought to be used by all journalists, having a “greater consideration of all the subtle nuances of the visible facts” (Romano, 2010, p. 231). Romano’s “deliberative development journalism” is taken from Pontenila, in 1990, saying it puts “communication at the service of development to elicit a human and ultimately, a social response in the people it seeks to serve” (Romano, 2010, p. 24). Here it can be seen that journalism serves a specific purpose, that of being active participants in the building of a nation. Robie argues that “this is a form of investigative journalism where the political process is put under close scrutiny, but the objective is also to seek solutions” (Robie 2012, P.224). Again, a more active involvement on the part of the journalist is seen – a participation in the process of nation building, but putting the government under the spotlight and exerting pressure to help encourage positive change and development. According to Robie, “critical deliberative journalism is issue-based and includes diverse and even unpopular views about the community good and encourages an expression of plurality” (Robie, 2013a, p. 87). Diversity is an element that strongly emerges from Robie’s definitions.

‘Greater emphasis on responsibility’

Daorueng (2008) argues that an emphasis on responsibility is crucial, and again that is a loaded term, with an attitude prevalent among journalists that calls for greater responsibility is a veiled method of arguing for increased self-censorship. However, responsible reporting is an accepted term in the West, and in the developing world, responsibility is far more crucial:

Development journalism that applies principles of responsibility, fairness and accuracy is strongly needed to explain the complexities of the development process in order to help societies react sensibly to challenging global situations
(Daorueng, 2008, p. 246).

‘Pacific-specific’

Robie argues that deliberative and critical development journalism have an important role to play in the Pacific, and increasingly so. He writes:

Pacific Islanders are no longer people confined to microstates scattered across the vast Pacific Ocean. They are peoples who have migrated around the globe in diaspora. Nations such as the Cook Islands, Niue, Samoa, Tonga and Tuvalu have a greater part of their population living as migrants in Australia, New Zealand and the United States or elsewhere. Pacific journalists now have a greater task than ever in encouraging ‘democratisation’ of the region and informed insights into development and peace issues facing island states (Robie, 2013a, p. 105).

Taking Loo’s comparative table, Robie has developed his own comparative model between the mainstream and what might be called a Pacific “brand” of deliberative, critical or “development” journalism. Robie describes the Pacific approach as “Talanoa Journalism”, named after the cultural term given to modes and methods of meeting and communication in Pacific nations (Robie, 2013b). Central to this theory is that the forms of discussion and consultation that make up Talanoa approaches can be described as a “Fifth Estate” alongside the traditional media’s Fourth Estate role. Robie illustrates this new estate, specific to the Pacific, as a fifth leg of the tanoa, or kava bowl.

Key concepts that emerge from Robie’s comparative table are “reflexive”, “community”, “responsibility” and “development”:

Table 1.2: Talanoa journalism matrix: A table showing comparative features of Western (Mainstream) and ‘Talanoa’-style journalism.

MAINSTREAM JOURNALISM Western	TALANOA JOURNALISM Pacific
Élite-source oriented	Grassroots source oriented
Hard news description	Hard news with context, cultural interpretations
Objective, detached, uninvolved stance	Reflexive stance
Solutions not an issue	Possible solutions for identified problems
Top-down mainstream vertical public	Grassroots, citizen public opinion, horizontal

opinion	views
Emphasises individualist achievement	Emphasises community achievement
Unfettered free media focused on conflict	Free media, but balanced with social responsibility
Consumer, business orientation	Public interest, civil society, community empowerment focus
Entertainment or sensational angles	Focus on positive outcomes for wider community
Focus on crime, disaster and deviant behaviour	Focus on socio-economic development, community needs, wellbeing and progress
Normative mainstream ethical codes	Community ethics with recognition of Indigenous, diversity, cultural values

Source: Robie, 2013b, p. 53.

Input from Pacific newspaper editors

Chapter Five and Six of this thesis involve a content analysis of five different newspapers. There is an analysis of each newspaper's coverage of the 2011 Pacific Islands Leaders Forum, which was held in Auckland, New Zealand. Four Pacific newspapers were chosen and one New Zealand newspaper. The rationale and methodology are explained in detail in Chapters Four and Five, however, the points of view and explanation of the general editorial approach of the Pacific newspapers is included here, to complete the picture and provide their input to this researcher's definition of development journalism, which will follow.

The former editor of the *Fiji Sun*, Epineri Vula, explains the long-term approach taken by his newspaper when covering development stories, and the challenges involved:

We set a deadline by which we can see there's some positive outcome. Say the news editor he says 'there's been a complaint about transport – it's been a month, can you check with the bus company to see...', and the bus company says it's to do with the roads. So then we go to the roads and say 'these guys are saying what not' and they say 'the LTA is saying this and the cost of fuel is this'. And we say: 'but can you tell us when?' And...a story like that can actually revolve, for months...I remember another story, it went on for four or five months until they got a solution, but they keep

reporting. And the other thing is to find space in the paper to put all these [reports], because usually the political things take over. (Vula, 2012)

Vula also gave an example of how his newspaper effected change with a “bottom up” approach:

We ran a story about the villagers in Namosi complaining about the venture [Newscrest Mining], saying it's going to destroy their livelihood because most of where that mining venture was going to be held is farmland. It was going to destroy their livelihood... they wanted an Environmental Impact Assessment. And we ran that story, and on the strength of that story the PM called in, and called those guys together and said, 'look this venture can't go ahead...we'll have to do a proper EIA.' So that venture is on hold now (Vula, 2012).

The editor of the *Fiji Times*, Fred Wesley, also gave his perspective on his newspaper's approach to reporting on development issues:

One of our editors was in Kadavu, and actually went over there on a trip with the police, because the police force was in Kadavu on drug raids. They went and arrested these marijuana cultivators and brought them back to Suva. But as part of this tour, he came across this village, where you had the beach, and the palm trees and about 150m inland where the village is, the sea was actually coming from underneath...So that was one of our front pages. And why was it one of our front pages? Because it was something that needed to be highlighted... We felt that the government needed to realise this is what is happening to these people and these fellows are not very rich people. You are talking about villages where people have been living for hundreds of years. So for us one of the ways we could help them was to get the government to take notice and rather than just try to fix that place or reclaim the land or whatever, but to uproot them and move them inland and we are thankful that that was something that happened (Wesley, 2012).

Wesley provided another example where in-depth reporting on a simple development issue

prompted a swift government response. Again, a reporter (this time Wesley himself) went to cover a separate story in the remote interior of Viti Levu and witnessed the level of poverty of the villages due to the lack of proper roads:

And when I say a four-hour hike I'm saying climbing mountains, jungles, I'm talking unclaimed bushland, for these guys to walk there. And these are old women, young children coming back from shopping in Ba. So they would walk there. No bus could get there, nothing could get there. No one owned a vehicle. You have horses but no vehicles. So it took them four hours to get to their village... And after that the government went there. In 2009 I went there and it took me from the morning until 5pm. I went back in 2010... I left Suva around 5am, and I arrived there about 11am. The road had been fixed. There was a road that ran from Sigatoka right down to that village. The road was so good it would rival any road in Suva. And the villagers were so thankful, they had buses going straight to the village. That was in 2010, within one year (Wesley, 2012).

Evelyn Toa, the deputy-editor of the *Vanuatu Independent*, said she had heard and read about “development journalism” and agreed that it was chiefly about finding and proposing solutions, and that those solutions must be local ones. Toa provided an example to make her point that Western solutions may not necessarily be effective in the Pacific. The matter concerned the escape of prisoners in Port Vila, who were still at large at the time of the interview.

How we can find a solution, a better solution? We cannot just adopt foreign ways to help us solve our internal issues in Vanuatu. We have this case of high risk detainees in prison escaped. So how do we tackle this? I'll be frank with you, we are talking about our situation, and we cannot hide those things, they are happening, so why not use our traditional way? We have chiefs, we have our community leaders, we have our religious leaders, why not use them?In 2007, the National Parliament of Vanuatu enacted legislation – the Correctional Act... [but] this doesn't work here in Vanuatu. Maybe with our traditional ways, villages, our chiefs and communities, why not use our traditional ways to correct them? Because foreign ways do not work. [That] was 2007 but even now they continue to escape. What is wrong? Our legislation? Our leaders? (Toa, 2012).

Finally, the editor of *Vanuatu Daily Post*, Royson Willie, made the observation that a lot of the information for journalists comes “ready-made” from NGOs and official sources, but the newspaper has cultural considerations to deal with:

We depend on NGOs to inform us and of course establishments such as the European Union, and High Commissions who also have their own public relations officers. Whenever they do a handing over, or a launching of projects that relate to climate change... but we also take in the value of cultural consideration as well. For example, if someone is mourning for a lost loved one who has died, because usually in Melanesian society, there's about five days or so for someone to be mourned...we [do] it but in a respectful way (Willie, 2012).

Willie also mentioned there are also other motivations for respecting the local people who could feature in the newspaper's reports:

There's a fine line, in that area. Because as I say this is a small place and you would like to keep your contacts intact, otherwise you might lose them (Willie, 2012).

A definition of 'Development Journalism'

Therefore we can say there is a consensus that development journalism must be defined as a pursuing of more information than simply the basic facts. It is a type of investigative reporting, that may include a certain level of advocacy on the part of the underprivileged, and underdeveloped and disempowered. It may actively propose solutions to the developmental problems faced in some places, and encourage the participation of the very people it seeks to serve.

The key components of the definitions proposed by the proponents can be broken down to the following:

- -“bottom-up” – involvement of the people the brand of journalism aims to serve (the under-developed, ordinary people)
- -process, not just events;
- -nation-building – a focus on development issues as a priority news value;
- -proposing solutions – a deeper level of analysis that actively proposes ways and methods to develop;

- -a level of advocacy on the part of the underdeveloped, ordinary people;
- -a cultural sensitivity – for if that is going to be preserved through the process of development, it surely needs to be respected and nurtured in the very process of reporting and doing journalism;
- -higher level of responsibility, taking into account the level of political instability and vulnerability of structures.

Therefore, this author's definition of development journalism that will be tested in a content analysis later in this thesis is:

A brand of journalism focused on providing analysis and proposing solutions, from the "bottom-up" – both involving the key stakeholders in nation-building, and providing a level of advocacy in favour of the underdeveloped.

Although this thesis does not attempt to explore how development journalism, according to the above definition, could be best put in practice, Romano does offer some practical suggestions of desirable conditions that could be met: "What's needed to make it newsworthy is often 'talent and flair to creatively package the data'" (Romano, 2010, p. 234). She argues that it "requires a major rethinking of journalistic technique" such as how journalists report, build relationships and deal with authorities, but she also notes that bringing about such a theory would also require "considerable restructuring of the daily routines, practices and patterns of journalistic professionalism, as well as the resources required to support such journalism" (Romano, 2010, p. 26).

Conclusion

The term 'development journalism' has been used since the 1960s and reached its peak in the 1980s with the UNESCO-sponsored MacBride Report, entitled *Many Voices, One World*, (UNESCO, 1980) and the NWICO. Since an unsuccessful hearing in the 1980s and subsequent years of confusion around the term, mostly due to the misappropriation of it by some authoritative Asian governments, mainstream media has shunned talk of what it may mean and academics have distanced themselves from it, at times with new terms and definitions that echo the initial aspirations of those that coined it.

There is, however, much consensus of what should characterise good development journalism, and academics have embraced terms such as: “finding / suggesting solutions”, “investigative”, “process over events”, “serving the ordinary people”, “empowering”, “advocacy”, “diversity”, “critical / deliberative”, “responsibility”, “cultural”.

Drawing upon the leading academia, as well as input from current Pacific journalists and editors, the author has compiled a definition that includes key components of their input:

A brand of journalism focused on providing analysis and proposing solutions, from the “bottom-up” – both involving the key stakeholders in nation-building, and providing a level of advocacy in favour of the underdeveloped.

The above definition of development journalism will be used in Chapters Five and Six to test whether development journalism is being practised in the Pacific. What follows in the following chapters is a discussion of whether the issue of development constitutes a ‘news value’ in its own right in the Pacific, and whether the Pacific as a region has diverse priorities from Western countries, and thus more diverse news values.

Chapter 3

Literature Review: Pacific News Values and Development in the Pacific

Is 'development' a Pacific news value?

Development in the Pacific

The Pacific Islands Forum nations cover 14 countries across a vast zone that is mostly water. There is a range of developmental stages represented and a wide breadth of historical and colonial backgrounds. From authoritarian regimes and monarchies undergoing slow but liberal changes such as Tonga, to parliamentary democracies, to regional assemblies in the French and American territories, there are many types of governorship and constitutional-legal jurisdictions, and a range of ways that these formal authorities interact with the more traditional chiefly systems in place before their colonial masters introduced modern forms of democracy to their shores.

The basic issues of sanitation, economic sustainability, self-governance, water quality, education, and the fraught topic of climate change, tied to the all-important issue of environmental sustainability – upon which economies survive, are all aspects of development. They are also typical daily topics of concern for Pacific communities. Each country will also have its own priorities and these will also dictate what fills the pages of the newspapers and dominate radio shows.

Due to the levels of foreign aid that prop up and sustain some Pacific nations, development is again at the forefront of foreign policy and regional collaboration and meetings. The regional groupings, often overshadowed by geo-political strategies and moves, have as their agenda a series of developmental aspirations, summarised most recently by the Millennium Development Goals (MDG's), which were due to be realised by 2015:

1. Reduce Poverty and Social Exclusion
2. Achieve Universal Primary Education
3. Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women
4. Reduce Child Mortality

Figure 2.1: Millennium Development Goals: The Eight Sectors.

5. Improve Maternal Health
6. Combat HIV/AIDS and Tuberculosis
7. Ensure Environmental Sustainability
8. Partnership for Development



Source: United Nations Development Program.

It is important to note that these goals were aimed to be achieved by the year 2015. And in 2015, they have been replaced by the 17 Sustainable Development Goals:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. No Poverty | 10. Reduced Inequalities |
| 2. Zero Hunger | 11. Sustainable Cities and Communities |
| 3. Good Health and Well Being | 12. Responsible Consumption and Production |
| 4. Quality Education | 13. Climate Action |
| 5. Gender Equality | 14. Life Below Water |
| 6. Clean Water and Sanitation | 15. Life on Land |
| 7. Affordable and Clean Energy | 16. Peace Justice and Strong Institutions |
| 8. Decent Work and Economic Growth | 17. Partnerships for the Goals |
| 9. Industry Innovation and Infrastructure | |

The MDGs goals have been the focus of a global push to eradicate poverty and promote development in the Third World. The most recent assessment on progress was *The Millennium Development Goals Report 2014*, which was launched in New York by the Secretary-General, Ban ki-Moon on 7 July 2014. The report contains a basic update in table format for progress by region. The Pacific is included in the Oceania region. The report summary says trends and levels were measured on the basis of information available as of June 2014. It says most indicators are based on data taken between 2012 and 2014, although a few indicators reflect data as far back as 2010.

Table 2.1: Millennium Development Goals: 2014 Progress

Goals and Targets	Africa		Asia				Oceania	Latin America and the Caribbean	Caucasus and Central Asia
	Northern	Sub-Saharan	Eastern	South-Eastern	Southern	Western			

GOAL 1 | Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger

Reduce extreme poverty by half	low poverty	very high poverty	moderate poverty	moderate poverty	very high poverty	low poverty	very high poverty	low poverty	low poverty
Productive and decent employment	large deficit	very large deficit	moderate deficit	large deficit	very large deficit	large deficit	very large deficit	moderate deficit	moderate deficit
Reduce hunger by half	low hunger	high hunger	moderate hunger	moderate hunger	high hunger	moderate hunger	moderate hunger	moderate hunger	moderate hunger

GOAL 2 | Achieve universal primary education

Universal primary schooling	high enrolment	moderate enrolment	high enrolment	high enrolment	high enrolment	high enrolment	moderate enrolment	high enrolment	high enrolment
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GOAL 3 | Promote gender equality and empower women

Equal girls' enrolment in primary school	close to parity	close to parity	parity	parity	parity	close to parity	close to parity	parity	parity
Women's share of paid employment	low share	medium share	high share	medium share	low share	low share	medium share	high share	high share
Women's equal representation in national parliaments	moderate representation	moderate representation	moderate representation	low representation	low representation	low representation	very low representation	moderate representation	low representation

GOAL 4 | Reduce child mortality

Reduce mortality of under-five-year-olds by two thirds	low mortality	high mortality	low mortality	low mortality	moderate mortality	low mortality	moderate mortality	low mortality	low mortality
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GOAL 5 | Improve maternal health

Reduce maternal mortality by three quarters	low mortality	very high mortality	low mortality	moderate mortality	moderate mortality	low mortality	moderate mortality	low mortality	low mortality
Access to reproductive health	moderate access	low access	high access	moderate access	moderate access	moderate access	low access	high access	moderate access

GOAL 6 | Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases

Halt and begin to reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS	low incidence	high incidence	low incidence	low incidence	low incidence	low incidence	low incidence	low incidence	low incidence
Halt and reverse the spread of tuberculosis	low mortality	moderate mortality	low mortality	moderate mortality	moderate mortality	low mortality	high mortality	low mortality	low mortality

GOAL 7 | Ensure environmental sustainability

Halve proportion of population without improved drinking water	high coverage	low coverage	high coverage	moderate coverage	high coverage	high coverage	low coverage	high coverage	moderate coverage
Halve proportion of population without sanitation	high coverage	very low coverage	low coverage	low coverage	very low coverage	moderate coverage	very low coverage	moderate coverage	high coverage
Improve the lives of slum-dwellers	moderate proportion of slum-dwellers	very high proportion of slum-dwellers	moderate proportion of slum-dwellers	high proportion of slum-dwellers	high proportion of slum-dwellers	moderate proportion of slum-dwellers	moderate proportion of slum-dwellers	moderate proportion of slum-dwellers	—

GOAL 8 | Develop a global partnership for development

Internet users	high usage	moderate usage	high usage	high usage	moderate usage	high usage	moderate usage	high usage	high usage
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The progress chart operates on two levels. The words in each box indicate the present degree of compliance with the target. The colours show progress towards the target according to the legend below:

- Target already met or expected to be met by 2015.
- No progress or deterioration.
- Progress insufficient to reach the target if prevailing trends persist.
- Missing or insufficient data.

For the regional groupings and country data, see mdgs.un.org. Country experiences in each region may differ significantly from the regional average. Due to new data and revised methodologies, this Progress Chart is not comparable with previous versions.

Sources: United Nations, based on data and estimates provided by: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations; Inter-Parliamentary Union; International Labour Organization; International Telecommunication Union; UNAIDS; UNESCO; UN-Habitat; UNICEF; UN Population Division; World Bank; World Health Organization - based on statistics available as of June 2014.

Compiled by Statistics Division, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations.

Source: United Nations Development Program:

(<http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/2014%20MDG%20report/MDG%202014%20English%20web.pdf>)

The Table shows Oceania as one of four groups that has actually deteriorated in one or more areas. The specific goal for sanitation was to halve the population with poor or no sanitation, and there has been negative progress on that count. Oceania has improved on universal primary education and in halting the spread of HIV, but it is the region that has seen least improvement across the board, along with Sub-Saharan Africa. The information was collected by the United Nations and its groups, as well as the World Bank and the World Health Organisation. While the Pacific does not boast the population numbers of other developing regions such as Africa, the trends concern the UN. The 2014 report says “Oceania has demonstrated the least progress of all regions” (UN, 2014, p. 14) with regard to obesity, actually increasing its percentage of children under age five who are moderately or severely underweight, between 1990 and 2012. And while other regions have higher proportions of populations who are undernourished, many have improved those figures since 1990, some by half, while Oceania has only lowered its figures by two percentage points (UN, 2014, p. 12). Oceania was the only region that went backwards in its rate of women’s representation in parliament (UN, 2014, p. 23) and it was the worst performer in the goal of reducing the child mortality rate by two thirds (p. 24). Only Sub-Saharan Africa has a higher maternal mortality rate (p. 28) and there is concern over tuberculosis numbers, although the overall number worldwide is significantly dropping. Oceania also has the highest population proportion in the world of people relying on surface water for sanitation – surface water being the worst category of drinking water. It has the lowest rates of the best category – the ‘Improved, no faecal indicator bacteria’ level (UN, 2014, p. 44). Finally, regarding the debt burden, the report sent a positive message, but hinted that the figures could be deceiving as the improvement in the debt-service-to-export ratio was mainly due to Fiji repaying its bonds in 2012:

In 2011, Oceania and the small island developing States experienced a jump in their debt-service-to-export ratios, mostly due to the repayment of a \$150 million bond by Fiji. Not surprisingly, Oceania and the small island developing States were also the regions with the largest drop in their debt-service-to-export ratios in 2012, as Fiji’s total public debt service returned to a more normal level (UN, 2014, p. 51).

The report says although the debt ratios are declining significantly from 2000 onward, there is a plateau in the statistics as they have not decreased further since 2012 (p. 51).

A further analysis is required to see which Pacific countries have contributed more to those comparative global statistics. Oceania is a vast area of many countries, mostly small island developing states. Updated country statistics, published by the UN in November 2014, specify where each country needs to make progress. They reveal some salient points, although some key indicators are unknown for certain countries, making comparisons difficult. These main issues stand out for each country:

Table 2.2: Country-specific Pacific MDG Critical Issues, 2014.

Cook Islands	Unknown	Figures on reduction of poverty; Figures on maternal mortality
Fiji	Improvements	Reduced the proportion of people living below \$1.25 (PPP) per day from 29.2% in 2003 to 5.9% in 2009 (compares to the 2010 figures of the Oceania proportion, which was 35%); Doubled its seats held by women in parliament from 4.3% in 1997 to 8.5% in 2006, compared to the 2014 Oceania proportion of 3.2%. Since the 2014 election, that has again doubled to 16%. Improved drinking water and sanitation rates
French Polynesia	Unknown	Figures on reduction of poverty; Figures on maternal mortality; Figures on mortality of children under five years
Marshall Islands	Unknown	Figures on reduction of poverty; Figures on maternal mortality
	Improvements	Slow but steady progress in proportion of population having access to improved sanitation
	Main concerns	Large increase in tuberculosis cases – 137 new cases per 100,000 people in 1990 to 572 per 100,000 people in 2012. Deaths from tuberculosis have risen from 28 per 100,000 to 111 per 100,000.

		3% representation of women in parliament, below the regional average
Nauru	Unknown	Figures on reduction of poverty; Figures on maternal mortality
	Improvements	36% reduction in mortality of children under five years since 1990 39% reduction in new cases of tuberculosis since 1990 Slow but steady progress in proportion of population having access to improved sanitation
	Main concerns	Still “low coverage” in access to improved sanitation; 5.3% representation of women in parliament, above the regional average but still very low
New Caledonia	Unknown	Figures on reduction of poverty; Figures on maternal mortality; Figures on mortality of children under five years
	Improvements	83% reduction in new cases of tuberculosis since 1990 84% reduction in deaths from tuberculosis since 1990
Niue	Unknown	Figures on reduction of poverty; Figures on maternal mortality
	Improvements	Almost 50% increase in access to improved sanitation;
	Main concerns	Mortality rate for children under five years has doubled since 1990, but is still half the Oceania regional figure.
Kiribati	Unknown	Figures on reduction of poverty;
	Improvements	8.7% representation of women in parliament, much improved from 0% in 1990, but still room for improvement; Almost halved the maternal mortality rate but the rate is still 130 deaths per 100,000 live births;

		More than halved the number of deaths per 100,000 from tuberculosis
	Main concerns	<p>More than double the rate of new cases of tuberculosis since 1990 with 429 new cases per 100,000 people.</p> <p>40% reduction in mortality rate of children under five years but still a high rate at 58.2 deaths per 1000 births</p> <p>Still “low coverage” in access to improved drinking water, with a 35% improvement, but still only 66% of the population having access to improved conditions;</p> <p>Still “very low coverage” in access to improved sanitation, despite a 42% increase, with 39.7% having access to improved sanitation</p>
Papua New Guinea	Main concerns	<p>Increased very marginally its seats held by women in parliament from 0% in 1990 to 2.7% in 2014, compared to the 2014 Oceania proportion of 3.2%.</p> <p>Reduced the maternal mortality rates from 470 in 1990 to 220 in 2014, but still “high mortality rate”; (maternal deaths per 100,000 live births)</p> <p>An increase in tuberculosis infections from 308 in 1990 to 348 in 2012</p> <p>Too minor an improvement in access to drinking water with 33.6% in 1990 having access to an improved drinking water source, and 39.7% in 2012.</p> <p>A decrease in sanitation levels – with 20.2% of the population using an improved sanitation facility in 1990 and 18.7% in 2012.</p> <p>“Very high poverty” although no figures supplied</p>
Samoa	Unknown	Figures on reduction of poverty
	Improvements	More than halved the proportion of the population below

		<p>the minimum level of dietary energy consumption;</p> <p>42% reduction in mortality rate of children under five since 1990;</p> <p>61% reduction in maternity mortality rate since 1990;</p> <p>50% reduction in new tuberculosis cases since 1990;</p>
	Main concerns	Improved proportion of women in parliament from 0% in 1990 to 4.1% in 2014, but still very low
Solomon Islands	Unknown	Figures on reduction of poverty
	Improvements	<p>Halved the proportion of the population below the minimum level of dietary energy consumption</p> <p>22% reduction in under five mortality rate, but room for improvement;</p> <p>60% reduction in maternal mortality rate</p> <p>70% reduction in new cases of tuberculosis since 1990</p> <p>80% reduction in deaths from tuberculosis since 1990</p>
	Main concerns	<p>Still “very low coverage” in access to improved sanitation, with 28.8% access to improved sanitation;</p> <p>2% representation of women in parliament, an increase from 0% in 1990 but still very low</p>
Tokelau	Unknown	<p>Figures on reduction of poverty;</p> <p>Figures on maternal mortality;</p> <p>Figures on mortality of children under five years</p>
	Improvements	<p>More than doubled its proportion of people using an improved sanitation facility;</p> <p>Completely removed its incidence of tuberculosis since 1990</p>

Tonga	Unknown	Figures on reduction of poverty
	Improvements	Almost 50% reduction in under five years mortality rate since 1990; 63% reduction in new tuberculosis cases since 1990
	Main concerns	Improved proportion of women in parliament from 0% in 1990 to 3.6% in 2014, but still very low. The maternal mortality rate has increased from 71 deaths per 100,00 live births in 1990 to 120 in 2013 (Oceania average is 190).
Tuvalu	Unknown	Figures on reduction of poverty; Figures on maternal mortality;
	Improvements	Almost 50% increase in access to improved drinking water 50% reduction in mortality rate of children under five years since 1990; Steady improvement and above-average rates of access to drinking water and sanitation
	Main concerns	Although tuberculosis rates have halved, the level is still a concern and categorised as “high mortality”
Vanuatu	Improvement	Halved its under five years mortality rate, and maternal mortality rate since 1990; Halved its new cases of tuberculosis proportion since 1990 Almost 50% increase in access to improved drinking water
	Main concerns	Decreased its seats held by women in parliament from 4.3% in 1990 to 0% in 2014, compared to the 2014 Oceania proportion of 3.2%. 63% increase in access to improved sanitation, but still categorised as “low coverage”

Source: adapted from United Nations Country Reports, November 2014.

As the MDG period draws to a close in 2015, and the UN shifts its focus to the “Post-2015 Development Agenda”, Oceania requires serious attention in order to not be left behind. As Flore-Smrecznik notes, “The MDGs...should align with key national priorities – education, health, environment, gender equality, HIV/AIDS, nutrition, water, sanitation, and youth employment – with the overarching goal of reducing poverty” (Flore-Smrecznik, 2008, p. 178). And further to that list, other development issues dominate regional meetings such as the Pacific Islands Forum, as well as the Small Islands Developing States Conference (hosted by Samoa in September, 2014), such as climate change, disaster risk reduction, and sustainable development. There is also an increasing focus on encouraging Pacific countries to work together, combine resources and especially to avoid unnecessary duplication of resources. The Prime Minister of Tuvalu, Enele Sopoaga said at the 2014 Small Islands Developing States Conference in Samoa: “We encourage UN support for recognition of the synergies between climate change, disaster risk reduction and renewable energy” (PIF Secretariat, 2014).

A significant step towards this goal of greater synergies and sharing of resources was the first joint meeting of the Pacific Platform for Disaster Risk Management and the Pacific Climate Change Roundtable, in 2013. It was hosted by Fiji and was an attempt to bring together large groups of donor partners and non-government organisations carrying out work in the Pacific to help governments to reduce risks and react to natural disasters. The historical impetus was that both the disaster risk groups and the climate change groups are, like the UN’s MDG programme, due to complete their “Frameworks for Action” by 2015, and are seeking greater integration, by the 46th Pacific Islands Forum Leaders’ Meeting in 2015 in Papua New Guinea.

The 2013 joint meeting in Fiji was attended by the United Nations Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Margareta Wahlstrom. Her observations on Pacific development were mostly positive, saying the Pacific reaction to natural disasters was giving governments and donor partners an opportunity to “build for the future” such as Samoa’s new roads following Cyclone Evan in late 2013 (UN Special Representative applauds Pacific progress on disaster management, 2013). Wahlstrom did emphasise a year later at the Small Islands Developing States Conference in Samoa that there was more integration to be done – and that disaster management policies had to be built into all kinds of government portfolios

and sectors. She told the conference that institutional capacity is lacking in many Pacific countries (Pacific disaster management lacking, 2014). However, both Wahlstrom and Jerry Velasquez, the head of the United Nations International Strategy for Disaster Risk Reduction (UNISDR) for Asia and the Pacific, have stressed the positive aspects of progress in the Pacific. Velasquez is quoted in a 2013 SOPAC report commending the Pacific for “taking the lead with the integration of climate change and disaster risk management,” proving that “the region is focused and pro-active” (SOPAC 2013).

The Development Ambassador of the Pacific for the European Union, Andris Piebalgs, echoed the same sentiment while in Kiribati on his visit with the New Zealand Foreign Minister Murray McCully (23-27 April, 2014). He compared the development level and current problems of the Pacific to challenges in Africa, saying that the clear demarcation of land borders rules out the types of disputes and violence that are faced in African countries and which provide a constant distraction from their development agendas.

Piebalgs also stated that the Pacific was leading the world in its readiness to embrace sustainable energy practices and change behaviours to reduce the effects of man-made climate change. Moreover, where development leads Pacific nations is not necessarily in exactly the same direction as Western developed countries, but its unique cultures and ways of life will dictate the particular path that is required.

Around the time of the Fiji meeting, individual countries had stressed to the regional groups that their governments were merging departments and attempting greater integration and centralisation of the fight against natural threats, but the regional groupings needed to “catch up”. Mosese Sikivou, the Deputy Director of the SPC's Disaster Reduction Programme, told media that 13 Pacific countries had integrated their climate change and disaster risk management organisations, which began with Tonga in 2009, by the time of the 2013 meeting (Pacific Disaster Meetings Playing Catch Up in Bringing Groups Together, 2013).

The motivation to integrate is mainly an economic one. An *Islands Business* report in 2013 said “eight Pacific Islands countries are among 20 worldwide with the highest average

annual disaster losses as a percentage of GDP,” with the cost of damage from Cyclone Evan in 2013 estimated at F\$192 million (Pacific Region Leads the Way, 2013).

In 2001, a World Bank study on aid harmonisation in the Pacific, commissioned by the Australian Agency for International Development and the New Zealand Ministry for Foreign Affairs and Trade, made a number of recommendations, and included a list of conditions that are desirable from the point of view of a Pacific island nation. The *Harmonising donor policies & practices in the Pacific* (World Bank, 2001, pp. viii-ix) report said it was necessary to have:

- *a stable political environment;*
- *a well-defined statement of national development priorities, formulated through a thorough consultation process;*
- *development priorities that are effectively integrated into annual planning and budget processes;*
- *sector planning with strong line department commitment;*
- *a well-developed aid policy and clear understanding of how consultations with donors should be conducted; and*
- *effective institutional arrangements to ensure that the roles of central and line agencies are clear and understood.*

Pacific nations such as the Cook Islands have recognised they need to have these priorities in mind and many are setting up systems to channel aid effectively. The Finance Minister of the Cook Islands, Mark Brown, told the joint meeting in 2013:

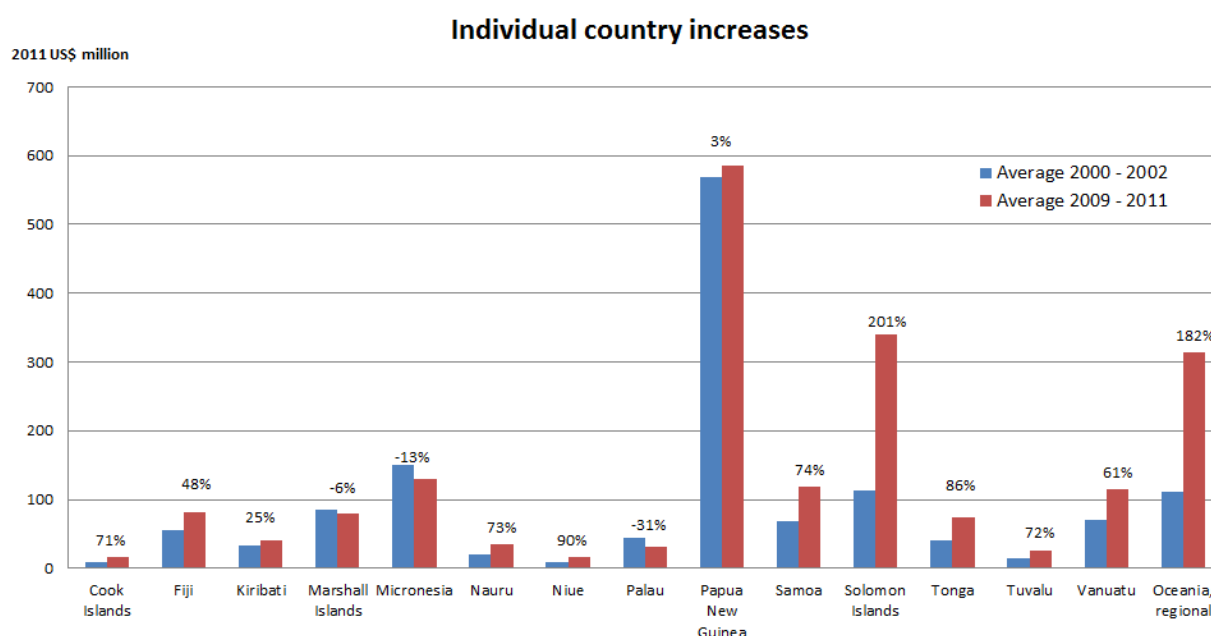
Our national systems have to be strong, robust and good enough for development partners to be able to put their money into it. When we started to have a look at the area of climate financing I was totally flabbergasted at the complexity of climate financing globally. I had a look at a chart about all the money that comes from climate financing sources into our country. It looked like a spaghetti junction (Brown, quoted in Perrottet, 2013, July 11).

One challenge in particular is to try to channel the funds and centralise the development work being done. Brown told the meeting the Cook Islands had already implemented

finance structures to better handle donor funds but more recently has organised “roundtable” meetings for all its donors to better coordinate among each other (Donor nations supporting Cooks to meet, 2015). Members at the 2015 meeting included European Union, New Zealand, Australia, Samoa, the Secretariat of the Pacific Community, the Green Climate Fund and sectors of the United Nations. The coordination of aid is a challenge, as can be seen in Tonga with the Pacific Institute for Public Policy saying it “is significantly challenged with managing 200 different donor projects in a small island state of 104,941 people” (Wilson 2014).

It is also instructive to see where the aid is coming from and where it is going. Jonathan Pryke (2013) notes that in the ten years leading up to 2011, the OECD noted that aid to the Pacific increased by 60 percent, compared to a 46 percent increase in global aid. He noted the Australian aid budget doubled, and “aid flows to the Pacific have increased so rapidly that they are now at their highest levels in history” (Pryke, 2013). He also noted the individual countries that were benefiting most from aid, with this table:

Table 2.3: Individual Pacific Country Increases, 2013.

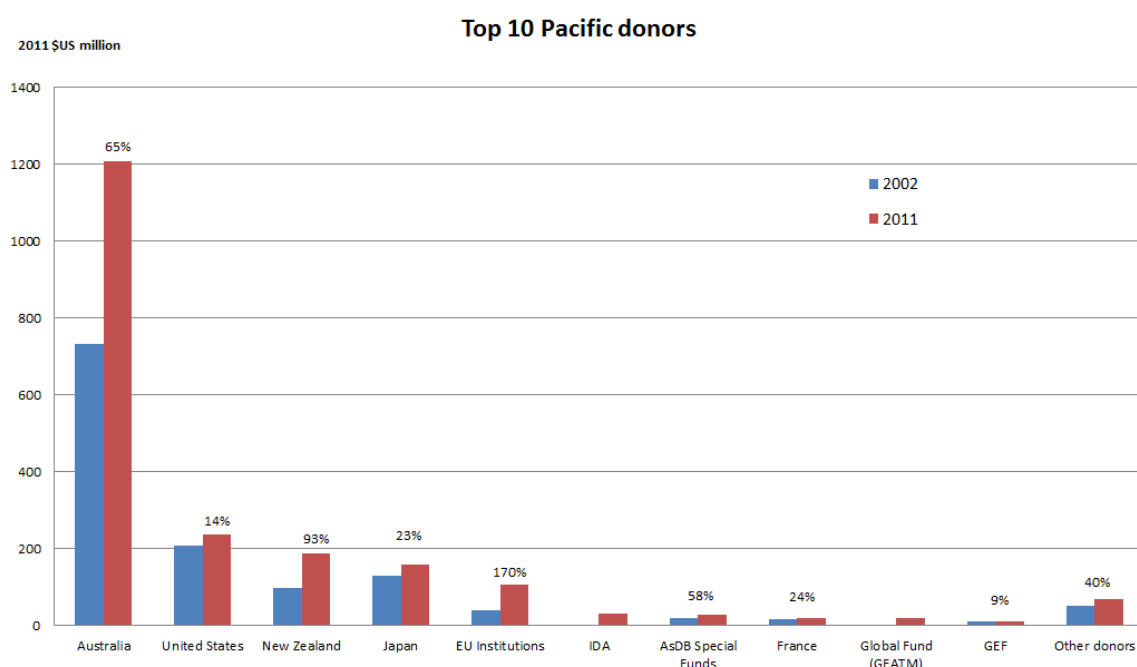


Source: Pryke, 2013.

Pryke notes that due to the changing nature of aid flows, a three-year window was chosen with the average over each of the three years. The Melanesian countries of Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands are by far the biggest beneficiaries, but the Oceania region as a

whole has seen a 182 percent increase from the previous decade. And despite Australia being the biggest donor to the region, its level of increase is not unique, with other major donors entering the region or doubling their commitment. In the table below, IDA refers to the World Bank fund and the Global Fund is an international financing institution focused on fighting AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria. AsDB is the Asian Development Bank, while GEF is the Global Environment Facility. It is also important to note that Pryke's study and the OECD figures do not include China. Pryke does include, however, that an estimation of China's commitment is US\$850 million from 2006-2011 (roughly \$141 million a year, or around 6 percent of total aid to the region), which would make it a top six donor (Pryke, 2013).

Table 2.4: Top 10 Pacific Donors.



Source: Pryke, 2013.

Sources of funds

The number of donor groups that play a role in the Pacific, all with their teams of personnel throughout the Pacific, provide not only valuable funds in the form of low-interest loans or even grants, are usually equipped to give journalists a wealth of information about their efforts and the work they do. There are private banks and institutions such as the Asian Development Bank, and public conglomerates such as the World Bank and the United Nations. Other international groupings that are playing more of a role are the European Union, China, Taiwan and the United States, all competing for influence in the region, and

are also increasingly visible at regional fora such as the Pacific Islands Forum Leaders Meeting. In Auckland in 2011 a 50-strong delegation from the US Department of State represented the former US Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton, and she attended herself at the post-forum dialogue the following year in Rarotonga.

The United Nations has its own regional sub-grouping, the Secretariat of the Pacific Community, which is focused on consultation and implementation on projects that are usually co-owned by other development partners. The SOPAC and SPREP groups are examples. The United Nations Population and Development Fund also has a presence in the Pacific with its own development agenda focused on demographics and health issues.

There are strong views that much is to be improved in foreign aid delivery, and Wilson argues “there is still a long way to go before foreign aid is seen as consolidating, rather than impeding, self-determination”. She quotes Emele Duituturaga, the executive director of the Pacific Islands Association of Non-Governmental Organisations (PIANGO) in Suva, Fiji, who made it clear that local development must be driven from the “bottom up”: “Foreign aid should be complimentary to locally driven development which is flourishing in the informal, small and medium enterprise sectors” (Wilson, 2014).

However, the investment of personnel and resources can be seen by some as a possible threat to the type of self-determination that Pacific peoples would like to see. At the roundtable climate change and disaster risk reduction meeting in Nadi in 2013, the then deputy prime minister of Tonga, Samiu Vaipulu, told the conference that donors must listen more to the recipients of aid and tailor their aid to the needs as seen by Pacific leaders. Vaipulu said:

Sometimes regional organisations or donor partners come and tell us what to do. If we ask you this, all you have to do is tell us is 'yes or no'. That's it. That's how we've got to work together with regional organisations. We know our own people better than regional and donor partners (Pacific Governments tell donors not to dictate terms, 2013).

The role of media in development

In talking about the United Nations effort with MDGs, Banerjee (2009) points out that “one

of the key stakeholders in this process are the media in their various forms, be it local, regional, national, transnational or global....they play important roles including creating awareness, disseminating the relevant messages at various stages of the development process, providing channels of communication between the various stakeholders, and ensuring transparency in this global effort”(p. 3). And Flore-Smerezniak (2008) argues that “informed public opinion and alliance-building can be of great support to national authorities in maintaining focus on MDG efforts, in line with the millennium declaration” (p. 189). Indeed, in a Pacific context, the media’s role is seen as crucial in disseminating important information that could save lives and make significant improvements to the quality of life. Bhim (2010) observes, in the Fiji context, that despite being one of the most developed Pacific countries,

major parts of the country have limited or no access to electricity, tap water, roads and reliable transport. In urban and peri-urban areas, television, news-papers, magazines, internet, and other sources of information are available. Radio in the vernacular language, remains the most effective means of communication as newspapers and magazines rarely reach remote areas, and lack of electricity and economic means rules out internet (p. 140).

There are of course many other roles for the media in these countries, but there is academic consensus that a core role is the making it easier for the ordinary citizen to access information. As Singh and Prasad (2008) argue, “the media, therefore, has a crucial role to play in facilitating quick and better access to information about issues such as health, education, technology, economy and politics to help maintain the social and political cohesiveness that is so important for development in small and vulnerable countries such as those found in the Pacific” (p. xii).

However, Papoutsaki argues that not only are the governments vulnerable, or at least weakened in their agendas, to the priorities of donors, but journalists find themselves in the same position. She writes:

In most cases, journalists based in capitals get their material from press conferences and duly report on how AusAID, NZAID, EU, JICA, UNESCO, UNDP and other aid and development agencies have spent or plan to spend their aid funds on development

programmes and what solutions they see fit to development issues locally and regionally. Media tend to give little space to the opinion of those affected and reporters seem to bypass the wisdom of local communities in terms of how sustainable development can be achieved from within (Papoutsaki, 2008a, p. 27).

In all, Pacific journalists have a myriad of sources of information about work done on development in the region. The challenge for the media therefore is to make sense of the volumes of information that they may have access to, but not have the time to sufficiently analyse and even form an opinion on whether the donation and its resulting “development assistance” is actually a positive step for the country and what it needs at that particular point in time. The aid may arrive along with different standards, assumptions and priorities perhaps not completely in line with a country’s values or development agenda.

However, Samiu Vaipulu, at the Fiji meeting, spoke again on the importance for individual Pacific communities to take the lead, and not passively wait for assistance from the government and donor partners. He said:

The government has a role, of course, such as providing support and equipment, but things work best when the community makes the decisions and does the work and communities have the knowledge and when they take the lead and don’t wait for government good things happen.

The comment was regarding the community needing to take responsibility for themselves and not waiting passively for instruction or help from the government. However, the media is part of that community and the message can extend to those who write and broadcast the news, that there are more information sources than the government, and a degree of responsibility must be taken to interpret, analyse and pass on to the public the important pieces of information it requires.

In the Fiji context, Larsen (2009) views a repercussion of the “top-down” approach that the media is reliant on the government for its information, more than other sources (p. 30). He writes that news events “tend to be filtered through the lens of government action. Hence the common refrain ‘what is the government going to do about it?’ when there is a problem

of one sort or another” (p. 28). It leads him to conclude that in Fiji, the result is that “news items tend to be reactive and the news media does not perform its watchdog function as effectively” (p. 29).

Is development a Pacific News Value?

This researcher argues that development is a core Pacific news value. The argument has been made that development is a crucial part of nation-building and government agenda, as well as in the interests of citizens, and therefore it should be a focus for the media. The topic of development may also be appropriate in already developed countries, but it is not as crucial. The researcher also argues that Pacific media organisations and journalists should not worry about aligning themselves completely with what they observe in Western newsrooms, and focus on what is important to their own readership.

There are several writers who agree that Western news values are not always appropriate and applicable in the Pacific. And some argue that by following Western approaches too closely can lead to blind spots in Pacific reporting. What follows is a discussion on those views, which include the editors of the newspapers that are analysed in the content analysis in Chapters Five and Six.

Central to the thinking about where the Pacific is in a global context is that it is in the developing world. Robie (2014) has formulated a “Four Worlds” matrix categorising communities and nations into four levels of development, and describing what core values pertain to each stage. His argument is that a different approach to the media would be appropriate.

Robie’s “Third World” is where Fiji and Vanuatu sit – the two countries analysed in the case study. The “Third World” focuses on nation-building and sits in between a “Fourth World” which struggles for self-determination and a “Second World” such as China or Cuba where the media and public agitate against one-party / non democratic states. Robie (2013) argues that “this has far more relevance in the Pacific than a monocultural ‘Western’ news model as typified by Australia and New Zealand” (p. 87).

The Four Worlds news matrix is shown below, with the values that associate with each category.

Table 2.5: The Four Worlds News Values Matrix.

The Four Worlds news values matrix

First World	Second World	Third World	Fourth World
Objectivity Examples: Australia, New Zealand, Canada, European Union nations, UK, USA	Collective agitator Examples: China, Cuba, Vietnam	Nation-building Examples: Cook Islands, Fiji, India, Papua New Guinea, Philippines	Self-determination Examples: Koori, Māori Iwi, First Nations, Sami, Cordillera, Lumad peoples
1. Timeliness News is now	1. Ideological significance News is politically correct ideology	1. Development news is progress News is growth, news is new dams, news is new buildings	1. Independent voice News spearheads a political view challenging the mainstream media perspective
2. Proximity News is near	2. Party concerns 'The one party state (ie communist) is news what it does, what it thinks and what it does not think.'	2. National integration 'News is positive achievement, pride and unity.'	2. Language News is in the first language of the cultural minority
3. Personality News is prominent or interesting people, celebrities, politicians, royalty, sports heroes and heroines, hip hop artists and movie stars	3. Social responsibility News is responsible to society in the 'Second World'	3. Social responsibility News is responsible	3. Culture News is reaffirming distinct cultural identity
4. Unusual, Odd events News is quirky, weird, bizarre, oddities, outside the norm	4. Education News is instruction, news teaches, news preaches	4. Education News teaches, news passes on knowledge	4. Education News is teaching in own language language 'nests' Example: Te Reo Māori, Maohi, Bislama, Tok Pisin
5. Human interest	5. Human interest Similar to First World but with an ideological touch	5. Other values News similar to First World, human interest, people, etc.	5. Solidarity News supports other indigenous minorities
6. Conflict	6. Disaster	6. Conflict	6. Conflict Crises interpreted through an indigenous prism
7. Disaster		7. Disaster	7. Disaster
			8. Environmental news News reaffirms cultural and traditional values; focus on community response

Source: D. Robie (2013) (adapted from his earlier model, (2001), p.13).

Just as a “values debate” in Asia in the 1990s helped to “advocate national stability, racial harmony, nation building, and national development as major national considerations to guide journalism practices in Asia” and “this has strongly supported the practice of development journalism in the region,” (Xu, 2009, p. 361), this thesis argues that a similar debate on Pacific news values would be fruitful.

In terms of a global debate on news values, Hanitzsch (2009) mentions the 2006 study: *News around the world project*, by Pamela J. Shoemaker and Akiba A. Cohen. It covered ten countries – Australia, Chile, China, Germany, India, Israel, Jordan, Russia, South Africa and the United States – representing large, medium-sized and small nations, from all over the globe, in the developed and developing world. The study looked at 32,000 news items, with newspapers, television, and radio analysed as well as discussions with journalists, public relations professionals and audience members.

Hanitzsch (2009) records that the broad survey found “an event, person or idea is most likely to become news if it deals with sports, international or internal politics, cultural events, business, internal order or human interest” (p. 45). While these values appear to resonate with global expectations of the media, “cultural events”, “internal politics” and even “human interest” could involve a wide spectrum of coverage across different regions.

Limitations of the Western ‘brand’ in a Pacific context

Western journalism schools typically educate students with the Galtung and Ruge news values. Johan Galtung and Marie Holmboe Ruge analysed international news stories in 1965 to discover common factors and what made news stories lead the agenda. The values are: Threshold, Frequency, Negativity, Unexpectedness, Unambiguity, Personalisation, Meaningfulness, Reference to Elite Nations, Reference to Elite Persons, Consonance, Continuity and Composition. The study was a worldwide study and the values are global, however, in the attempt to look at the global news agenda, the agenda of many individual nations is overlooked. In fact the news value ‘Reference to Elite Nations’ is the clearest indicator that development stories will not rank high when the Galtung and Ruge news values are taught to students. Furthermore, Robie (2012) observes that “journalists taught in New Zealand are brought up on a diet of mainstream or dominant news values theorised by Galtung and Ruge (1965). But news values are far more complex. The Galtung and Ruge model is insufficient when working in many parts of the world outside the ‘Anglo-American’ news frame” (p. 220). In fact, writers see the need for a different approach as matter of political stability, with the media in a developing country playing the crucial role it does. Padmini Gounder argues:

That in a developing country vigorous journalism could jeopardise the stability of government. Unlike in developed countries where individuals come and go while the

political and economic systems are intact, in developing countries, where issues are centred around individuals, toppling a leader can bring about anarchy. This is more likely what happened in Fiji in 1987 (Gounder, 2008 p261).

However, Robie and Gounder are not the only writers who argue that the Western news values that are seen in more developed and democratic countries such as New Zealand and Australia, may not be as relevant in the Pacific. Banerjee (2009) writes that it is disappointing to see that “social inequalities, real issues of poverty, malnourishment, gender inequity, health and similar issues are not deemed as important as the glitzy issues like the life of Brittany Spears or the funeral of Michael Jackson, to name a few. Development news, if they end up being covered, gets relegated to the back pages” (p. 3) Simon Cottle (2009) also observes:

Western networks such as CNN and the BBC effectively setting the agenda in the global news market where smaller, regional players monitor their content and adopt their models of production. Rather than contributing to a diversified “global public sphere,” then, new regional news channels represent a universalisation of “US-style” journalism and an increasing homogenisation of news structures and content around the world (Cottle, 2009, p .344).

Thus the “top-down” approach to media and reporting can work against development goals. As an observation closer to the Pacific, Papoutsaki (2011) lists these Western “hegemonic” practices in the Pacific:

a) dominance of Western values and knowledge on non-Western educational systems; b) Western influence on journalism/media/communication studies, curricula and practices in non-western and developing countries; c) insufficient locally-produced research on journalism / media / communication curricula and practices and lack of confidence to deviate from the dominant paradigm. These issues seem to be at work from both within and outside these societies and institutions, operating at different but interrelated levels (Papoutsaki, 2011, p .222).

Papoutsaki (2011) argues that “practice indicates that one model does not fit all situations” (p. 222) but the issue in the Pacific is that “the importation of Western professionalism since the 1970s, promoted mainly by development agencies as to way to modernisation, had led journalists to adopt the conventional Western news values of newsworthiness (i.e. timeliness, prominence, proximity, conflict and the bizarre)” (Papoutsaki, 2011, p. 223).

She writes that this only lends itself to the top-down approach, and it is entrenched due to Pacific journalists being trained by Western journalists, even within the Pacific. The English (2006) study concluded that “this Western orientation in journalism...cannot be placed in a developing country and expected to serve the same purpose as it did in Western society” (p. 23). There are of course, a range of influences on journalists other than their education. Media ownership structures, newsroom economics and production deadlines as well as many other factors, directly or indirectly influence journalists around the world. However the point to be made here is that one media model does not fit all countries and situations, and specific types of countries at different developmental levels may in fact mean there are different priorities for the media and the news values that are observed.

Conclusion

Therefore not only is development a Pacific news value, but it is a crucial one for Pacific media to prioritise. There is substantial consensus that news values are not necessarily global and they don’t all apply, at least to the same degree, in every region. The particular focus for media in the Pacific region can include everything that citizens find of interest, but with a lack of other sources of vital information, the media needs to make room for development issues. The following chapter analyses the media climate in Fiji and Vanuatu and introduces the newspapers analysed in the case study in Chapters Five and Six.

Chapter 4

Fiji and Vanuatu Media Climate – a context for a case study

And an introduction to four Pacific newspapers

Fiji's media climate

Fiji has had a vibrant media climate, with *The Fiji Times* opening business in Levuka in 1869. The political upheaval, including four (or arguably five) military coups, has had an impact on the media, with periods of censorship.

The 1987 coup, led by Colonel Sitiveni Rabuka is seen as either two coups, in May and September, or one coup, which began in May with the overthrow of the Timoci Bavadra Government and finished with the declaration of the republic. Rabuka's coup was in response to the country's first government that was supported strongly by the Indo-Fijian population. The coup in 2000, by George Speight, was also in response to a Labour government, led by the country's first Indo-Fijian Prime Minister, Mahendra Chaudhry. The 2006 coup had a different motivation, in the sense that the coup leader, Commodore Voreqe Bainimarama, had given an ultimatum to the Laisenia Qarase government to drop its planned pro-indigenous proposed legislation that Bainimarama argued were racist and in danger of granting immunity to the perpetrators of the 2000 coup.

The media climate in Fiji suffered in the wake of the 2006 coup and the 2009 constitutional coup, when the *Public Emergency Regulations* (PER) were enforced. These regulations included curfews at night, restrictions on assembly and also direct censorship of newspapers, with military officers in newsrooms vetting articles. The regulations were withdrawn in January 2012, but not before the imposition of *the Media Industry Development Decree* of 2010. Since that time, there has been much debate over how free the Fiji media is and to what degree, if any, is self-censorship practised in the country (Perrottet, 2012).

In a 2011 Pacific Media Freedom report, Perrottet and Robie concluded that the main threat to media freedom in Fiji is the Decree:

The [Decree] introduced in June 2010 had a number of direct effects, such as the sale of the News Ltd-owned Fiji Times to the Motibhai group, which led to the appointment of a new publisher, Australian Dallas Swinstead, the replacement of the editor Netani Rika and the deputy editor Sophie Foster. Both were outspoken critics of the regime and advocates of press freedom. They resigned within a month of each other when their positions became untenable. The newspaper began to take a more conciliatory editorial line to avoid having news reports and articles blocked from publication (Perrottet & Robie, 2011, p. 159-160).

The decree includes what Robie described as “draconian” elements, such as the threats of fines for breaches of up to US\$50,000 for a media organisation, and US\$12,500 for publishers or editors, and up to two years imprisonment. Yet the report also tempered those observations with reference to a veteran journalist, Stanley Simpson, who had said many elements in the decree mimicked the media’s own code of ethics. The issue with inserting a code of ethics in a Decree, as the prominent Fijian lawyer, Richard Naidu, points out, is that it makes it hard to enforce, and very subjective:

It does not work as a law. A law is required to be precise and accurate. A code is a guideline, a set of practices. A code cannot be enforced as a law (Naidu, as quoted by Perrottet, 2012).

Since the democratic election in September 2014, the democratic institutions of government are again active and it is still to be seen how the Decree will be implemented. However, all of the decrees passed by the post-coup administration (without democratic process), including the Media Industry Development Decree, have remained in force throughout the passing into law of the 2013 Constitution and the 2014 general election. The fear around government crack-downs on the media can be seen in two examples.

The first was the trial of the owner, publisher and editor of *The Fiji Times*, for contempt of court, in October 2012. The previous year, on November 7, the newspaper had published an article from New Zealand in which a former Fiji resident claimed the country’s judiciary was not independent of the military regime. Contrary to some media reports, the action, brought by the government against Wesley, was not using any section of the Decree, but simply the contempt of court laws. The newspaper was fined F\$300,000 and the former

publisher, Brian O’Flaherty fined F\$10,000, with the editor, Fred Wesley, given a suspended six-month jail term.

The next example was the very public reaction by Ashwin Raj, the chairman of the Media Industry Development Authority (MIDA, which was established by the Decree) to so-called “hate speech” when *Fiji One* aired a talanoa session in a remote island group with the Prime Minister, Voreqe Frank Bainimarama. The delicate cultural scenario whereby a chief is required to raise issues of his people’s concern with the country’s leader, was taken out of context when the television station aired Timoci Vesikula’s comments that he believed the Fijian Indian population was using the Prime Minister for its own ends, and that the two cultures did not mix well. Putting aside the comments, and the possible criticisms of the media coverage, there were public threats that those who engage in hate speech are liable to fines under the Decree, as well as those who publish them. There were never any formal charges or official complaints laid in that case, but the extensive media coverage around Raj’s threats highlighted the fraught nature of possibly exceeding the boundaries of the stipulations in the Decree, as well as the subjective element in the interpretation of the Decree, as pointed out by Richard Naidu. Naidu spoke at a media symposium in Fiji in 2012 at the University of the South Pacific and said:

What is and who decides what is against public order? What is and who decides what is against the public interest?” he said, referring to the decree’s punishments of fines and jail terms for those that fail to pass the test. (Perrottet, 2012)

There have been renewed public consultations in 2015 on the forming of a Freedom of Information Law in Fiji (New Freedom of Information Law to provide transparency, 2014). There have also been concerns expressed, as recent as 2015, by Fiji’s opposition parties, that the Decree is harsh and needs to be repealed. The leader of the opposition, and leader of the SODELPA party, Ro Teimumu Kepa, told *Radio New Zealand International*, that she harbours concerns about self-censorship:

We feel very strongly that the media, they still work in that climate where they are still fearful of how they can be taken to task by whatever it is that they print or broadcast that seems to be against the Government, that doesn't cast the Government in a good light (Perrottet, 2015a).

Indeed Ricardo Morris, an active member of the Fiji media and one of the very few outspoken voices on media issues in the country, told the same programme:

If you attend any government press conference in which some other issue apart from what was raised at that press conference is in the news during the day, you'll see self-censorship at work because if they tell you we will not entertain any other questions no other journalist is going to dare ask questions so that's the way you can see self-censorship at work (Morris, as quoted in Perrottet, 2015a).

A further concern for the media industry is government control through other laws, such as the *2014 Television (Cross-Carriage of Designated Events) Decree*, which stipulated that a private company, Fiji TV Ltd. had to share its feed of the World Rugby broadcast of the rugby sevens tournament. Amid claims of government interference with the board, two senior executives were retrenched and former board members claim that the subsequent sub-licensing agreement between Fiji TV and the national broadcaster, Fiji Broadcasting Corporation, was never approved by the board (Perrottet, 2015). In February, 2015, the former executives lodged a police complaint against Fiji's Attorney General, Aiyaz Sayed Khaiyum. The other contentious television issue is the ongoing matter of Fiji TV's broadcasting licence only being renewed every six months. Since a dispute with the government over its coverage of opposition parties in 2012, the government has only issued a six month licence, while other broadcasters enjoy a 12-month licence. The lawyer Richard Naidu told a media and democracy symposium in Fiji in 2012 that it was "more like a good behaviour bond than a licence" (Perrottet, 2012). The current chairman of Fiji TV, Ioane Naiveli, told *Radio New Zealand International* in 2015 that he had written several letters to the government asking for an explanation as to why the company had to endure this ongoing frustration but had received no response (Fiji TV pleads to government for proper licence, 2015).

As Fiji academic Mosmi Bhim argued at the time of the Decree's implementation: "There needs to be a free media for ordinary people to know what is happening and for dissemination of information for creation of alliances and holding the government accountable" (Bhim 2010, p. 142).

Media Self-reflection

Regarding the way journalists see their role, it is worthwhile noting Robie's reference to a 2001 newsroom survey in Fiji. The results showed only 53 percent of journalists seeing themselves continuing in the profession, and this is how they saw their role:

- Watchdog on democracy – 74 %
- Educator – 42%
- Defender of the truth – 40%
- Nation-builder 35 %

(Robie, 2004 p. 243).

The development journalism value of nation-building was seen by a minority of Fiji journalists in 2001 to be a significant part of their role, while many more thought the watchdog role was theirs. Certainly the watchdog role is important, but the figures also show that the outlook of being a practical contributor to the good of the nation was only held by little more than a third of journalists surveyed. Other issues in Fiji media centre around education and pay. Robie also observed, a decade ago, that “anecdotal evidence points to a large proportion of lowly paid staff” (Robie, 2004, p. 246). He also cites Gounder in his observation that “many experienced journalists and editors have migrated, taking with them the institutional knowledge and leaving behind a mostly inexperienced and young newsroom” (Robie, 2007). And as recently as November, 2014, the President of the Fiji Media Association, Ricardo Morris, told a conference in Auckland, “the majority of young journalists in Fiji today have never worked in a completely free media environment. Many have grown up in a dictatorship and the repressive environment that it entails for the media and have known nothing else” (Robie, 2015, p. 11). These sentiments are echoed in this researcher's interview with the editor of *The Fiji Times*, Fred Wesley, undertaken as part of this thesis. Wesley says this about the current situation:

We really don't have a lot of experienced staff. Previously we had up to ten or eleven senior reporters in the transition period in 2010, I think it was September 6, 2010 that was when News Limited sold the Times to Motibhai. So that transition period saw up to twelve very senior people leave. So for us it was, leading up to the transition period and immediately after the transition period, twelve senior journalists, just up

and left. So for us 2011 was a rebuilding. We are fortunate that we still have a handful of very very senior people with over 25 years' experience. So we are very fortunate that we have these very senior people in house. So really we realised that the system had to change because of the heavy injection of young people, of cadets, people with no experience whatsoever. And what we encountered was people who were young journalists coming into the system with no idea whatsoever of what a free media is all about. You had people with only a couple of months' experience. We had three people come here with no experience whatsoever of journalism (Wesley, 2012).

Epineri Vula, the then editor of *The Fiji Sun*, also responded:

Right across the media you see that journalists are quite young and come from university. Most of them come from university, there are a few that come straight out of high school (Vula, 2012).

In 2008, these problems were catalogued by Pramila Devi and Ganesh Chand, in consultation with two of Fiji's journalism academics, Shailendra Singh, the current head of journalism at the University of the South Pacific, and Elia Vesikula, the head of Fiji National University's Journalism Programme. They highlighted a perennial problem for any journalist, but emphasised how important it is in the developing world to try to overcome the pressures they face:

The journalist is expected to know a lot of things but at the best of times this can come about through knowing only a little about a lot of things. The pressures of producing reasonable output each working day, and resource constraints of many newsrooms, keep the reporter away from any research, even if the reporter had the ability to carry out thorough analysis (Devi & Chand, 2008, p. 268).

Reflecting on problems with pay in the 1990s, they added:

Newsroom dissatisfaction with USP also grew when the employers refused to pay the graduates salaries that graduates commanded in other sectors of the economy. In Fiji, the non-news media sector rather than the media outlets, began to be the major

employer of USP graduates. The bulk of reporters in all media outlets remained without formal qualifications in journalism (Devi & Chand, 2008, p. 268).

They even claim that some media employers in the 1990s would intentionally seek out graduates from the certificate and diploma courses at the new Fiji National University, saying the newspapers preferred them because “employers would find them to be cheaper and more amenable to producing materials that were less questioning or analytical” (Devi & Chand, 2008, p. 269).

There are also cultural restraints on reporters in the Pacific, as dealt with in the previous chapters, but it is worth noting Latu’s emphasis on them: “Due to variations in economic fortitude, political structures and social values, the cultural conditions faced by local journalists in Pacific nations remain largely underappreciated in academic and professional discourse” (Latu, 2010).

Yet these concerns are also tempered by the current *Fiji Times* editor’s hopes that employees can learn on the job and be successful journalists, with the aim to seek education at university after they have worked and gained a certain level of skill. Fred Wesley says that a taste of a professional workplace can provide drive and inspiration to learn more and decide more firmly on journalism as a long-term career choice. Speaking about several of his staff, he said:

These guys never went to USP, no formal training. These are guys who come in with a passion for writing. They come from other fields. So for us we were pleasantly surprised when these guys came in and one of the things we have learnt over the years is there will be times when a reporter will come in, a young cadet and you will look at that cadet and see the way they write their first story and you will realise, you will know, this is someone we need to keep... And we are fortunate we did the right selections and those three reporters are doing very well. Very well, in fact they are writing like the senior people. The nurturing started last year and it is continuing. And hopefully we can get them going down to USP to further their education (Wesley, 2012)

In a later interview, Wesley mentioned the need to nurture young journalists, and echoed the remarks of Morris, who considered that the young generation of journalists may struggle with the concept of a free media:

As we move forward it's about nurturing these young reporters that have number one – never voted in an election, never covered an election [and] who have never operated or never worked under a scenario where you have a free press, a democratic system in place, they have all come in and started here under censorship (Wesley, 2014).

The Fiji Times

Figure 3.1: Fiji Times masthead



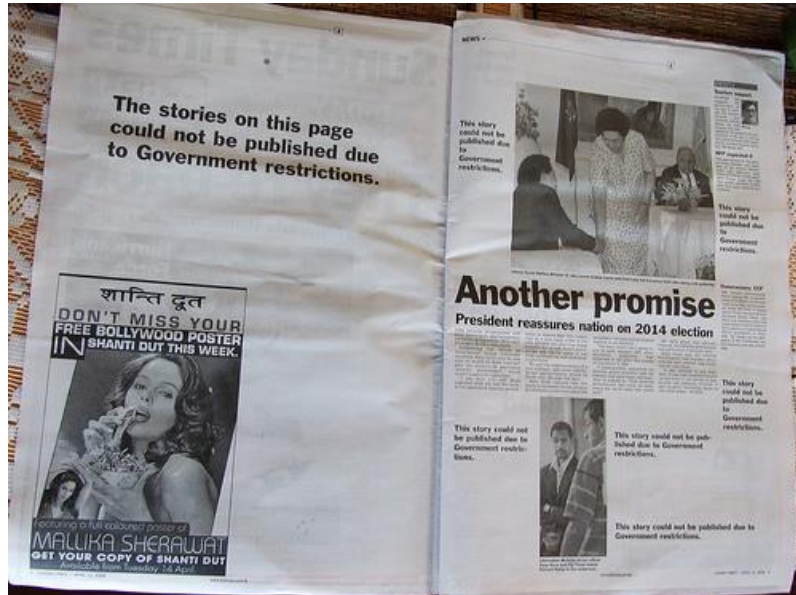
Source: Fiji Times, Monday, April 30, 2012.

The Fiji Times, founded in 1869, is one of the oldest newspapers in the Pacific. It is the major daily newspaper in Fiji, publishes in English and has a circulation of 72,993 Monday to Friday, 114,024 each Saturday and 68,115 readers for its *Sunday Times* (Burese, 2011a,b,c). It has also changed hands several times, most recently in 2010 when the Decree, in section 38,1(b) ruled that no foreign owner could have more than a ten percent share in a media organisation (Fiji Government Gazette, 2010, p. 744). This meant that News Limited, the Sydney-based subsidiary of Rupert Murdoch's global News Corporation, was forced to divest 90 per cent of its ownership or sell outright. An influential local businessman Mahendra Patel, chief executive of the Motibhai group, bought the title. Its history in the last couple of decades, through coups and political crises, has been a tumultuous one, with accusations of bias and even destabilising the government and contributing to the 2000 coup (Singh, T.R. 2011).

The Fiji Times' editorial approach during the *PER* was to remain combative in the face of government censorship, evidenced by a "Swiss cheese" edition when the military censors

first banned specific stories from running, printing blank spaces in the edition, which can be seen in the photograph (Figure 3.1) and the Malcolm Evans cartoon (Figure 3.2).

Figure 3.2: Fiji Times under censorship.



Source: Lowy Interpreter.

It earned them the ire of the regime, which was contending that it was not censoring the media.

Its approach under censorship, and its reaction to the heavy-handed government decree was to ignore most government information and activity, as a silent protest against the interference of the censors. Since the withdrawal of the *PER* in January 2012, under editor Fred Wesley, it has attempted to be independent:

But we are not anti-government, we are not anti-government, we are not even pro-government. We are just a newspaper doing what it is supposed to do – getting the information and giving it out to the masses. And that is our role – we inform the people in this country. If we can help move this country forward we will do that, if we can help develop this country we will do that in any way we can. (Wesley, 2012)

Figure 3.3: Pacific and Fiji Media Freedom.



Source: Malcom Evans, Pacific Journalism Review.

The Fiji Sun

Figure 3.4: Fiji Sun masthead



Source: Fiji Times, Friday, August 8, 2014.

The Fiji Sun is the other daily newspaper in Fiji. It was re-launched in 1999 and is currently published by veteran New Zealand born-Fiji journalist Peter Lomas. David Robie noted at the time that the publication named itself “after an earlier newspaper which closed after the 1987 military coups rather than publish under a self-censorship regime” (Robie, 1999). Robie reported that the previous publisher was Newspapers of Fiji Ltd, owned by Sally Aw Sian, of Hong Kong. Sian and the New Zealand publisher, Philip Harkness, withdrew from Fiji after the second coup in 1987. The present publisher, Sun (Fiji) News Limited, is jointly-owned by C J Patel and Co Ltd, Vinod Patel and Co Ltd and also Fijian Holdings Ltd, until it divested its investment of \$500,000 in Sun Fiji News Ltd in 2010.

The *Fiji Sun* has taken a different approach to *The Fiji Times*. It has been accused of being pro-Government, and it publishes the government publication “Fiji First” once a month as an insert in its newspaper. Ricardo Morris gave this opinion at a conference at AUT University in Auckland in November 2014:

The Fiji Sun has been richly rewarded for its loud and proud support of Bainimarama’s government. Almost all government advertisements and those of government commercial entities are placed exclusively in The Fiji Sun. This was done to punish The Fiji Times for its perceived anti-government stance in the years after the military takeover. In recent times, though, some government ads have begun appearing again in the Times (Morris, 2014).

In the face of the criticism of bias, the former editor, Epineri Vula, argued that it is better to report on the facts of the Government, than not report at all, and to let the public make its own mind up about the nature of what is being said:

I think that perception is true to the extent that we run a lot of Government news. But my own view is that I would rather let our readers know – look that is what the government is doing, and then let them decide, whether that’s good or bad. I don’t think we should be the ones saying, ‘Oh no, we don’t run this.’ I am of the view, let’s run it and let the readers decide. And we have run letters. You see now the Prime Minister has disestablished the Great Council of Chiefs - the big chiefs’ grouping. We have run stories that have quoted high paramount chiefs who have said this is not good. That couldn’t happen under the PER (Vula, 2012).

Vanuatu’s media climate

Vanuatu has not experienced the extreme political upheavals faced by Fiji, but does experience ongoing instability with governments that do not run to term, mainly as a result of motions of no confidence brought in Parliament. Five prime ministers since 1996 have been removed by votes on a motion of no confidence - Maxime Carlot Korman (1996), Barak Sopé (2001), Serge Vohor (2004), Edward Natapei (2010), and Sato Kilman (2011). In that time period, only Tuvalu has had more (six) while Ukraine and Nauru have also had five. This context shows, as in many other countries, that horse-race politics can often be a distraction from the important issues that need to be reported in the media. The openness with which

politicians change allegiances was visible when in February 2014, the veteran politician who was then in opposition, Willie Jimmy, told *Radio New Zealand International* that he “decided to move to the government side because the opposition wouldn't have made them ministers.” *RNZI* quoted Jimmy as saying: "Many people will not believe that I joined the government. That's Vanuatu politics. Anything can happen any time" (Four Vanuatu opposition MPs get ministries to save PM, 2014).

The current Prime Minister of Vanuatu, Joe Natuman, has drafted legislation, the *Political Parties Integrity Bill*, in a bid to make it harder to bring no confidence motions. His government attempted in late 2014 to suspend 17 members of parliament after it was alleged that the immediate former prime minister, Moana Carcasses, had bribed 16 other MP to support a motion of no confidence against Mr Natuman. The High Court found the move unconstitutional. Since then, several former prime ministers have pledged to reunite their political parties and re-form the original Vanua'aku Party that split in the 1990s (Perrottet, 2015b) in a further effort to prevent instability. They are also supporting a move to hold a referendum so that the people can vote on a proposal to introduce a moratorium or grace period on motions of no confidence following elections.

This context is important for the media climate in Vanuatu, as Perrottet and Robie argued in the 2011 Pacific media freedom report (a year in which there were five changes of Prime Minister):

There has been heightened sensitivity by the government to media issues. The media was banned from a no-confidence vote in Parliament during December 2010, prompting a protest by the country's media bodies (Perrottet & Robie, 2011, p 172).

The media freedom report also details ongoing threats to the media in Vanuatu, and a brief history of violence and intimidation against the owner and publisher of *Vanuatu Daily Post*, Marc Neil-Jones. In March, 2011, Vanuatu's then minister of public utilities and infrastructure, Harry Iauko, entered the offices of *Vanuatu Daily Post* with a group of men and physically and verbally assaulted Neil-Jones, over the newspaper's investigative reports implicating the minister. The minister was given the equivalent of a US\$120 fine, which the global media watchdog *Reporters Without Borders* described as “risible” (RSF, 2011). Neil-Jones had previously been beaten and deported over a story about the police. The media

freedom report also details the reaction of the Media Association Blong Vanuatu (MAV), the country's media advocacy body, to the incident. MAV criticised the abuse, but hinted that it could have been avoided, due to what it perceived as a combative approach by the newspaper and its publisher. The Association also stood in Neil-Jones' way when he applied for a radio licence. The reason given by the MAV president Evelyn Toa was that indigenous culture needed to be protected (Perrottet & Robie, 2011, p. 173; Perrottet, 2010, Pacific Scoop).

Hence there are internal rivalries and disputes between media organisations in the country, and specifically between the two newspapers that will be analysed in the case study.

Vanuatu Daily Post

Figure 3.5: Vanuatu Daily Post masthead



Source: Vanuatu Daily Post, Monday, May 21, 2012.

Vanuatu Daily Post is the only daily newspaper in Vanuatu and has been publishing in English since 1993. It was then known as the *Trading Post* and was launched by the English-born owner and publisher, Marc Neil-Jones. Its current editor is Royson Willie and the newspaper has had a local ni-Vanuatu editor since 2003. *Vanuatu Daily Post* is a daily and it claims to be the country's largest privately-owned media company, with around 50 employees. (*Vanuatu Daily Post* website: www.dailypost.vu). The newspaper also launched a radio station, 96 Buzz FM. Neil-Jones has said the newspaper follows a more investigative approach and aims to tackle the endemic corruption in public life and politics in Vanuatu. Neil-Jones has tabled his long history of "run-ins" with the Vanuatu authorities and faces an

ongoing backlash from political leaders, which in the past 20 years have included beatings, a midnight deportation to Brisbane with nothing but his underwear, a vicious assault at the hands of a government minister and hired thugs in 2011, and ongoing threats to his business and person (Neil-Jones, 2011). His Western background is important to note as he is very much in the face of political leaders, although in more recent years he has stepped back from reporting.

Neil-Jones sums up his approach as combative but necessary in order to get the answers. His newspaper has a history of breaking important news stories and he often pays the price with government backlashes. In his interview he said:

Because to be a good journalist, you need to be in the face, you've got to be asking difficult questions, you've got to be trying to press the buttons that get a certain response, and it's far easier for me to do that than a ni-Vanuatu, because it goes against the customary... you know custom dictates that you shouldn't be in your face (Neil-Jones, 2012).

His editor, Royson Willie, a ni-Vanuatu, has a different approach from the combative publisher, and justifies his decisions to not be in the face of politicians and others as much:

Very much development news, but in the face of politicians, for example ambushing them, we don't do that. We don't, Vila is a small place and everyone knows where everyone else is living, so we prefer to have a small chat like what we are doing now, instead of ambushing them at their home, or standing outside their office (Willie, 2012).

However, Neil-Jones remarked that he has seen change in his time in Vanuatu and the press is slowly coming to enjoy greater freedoms:

It's slowly coming round. It's very difficult for a ni-Vanuatu to openly go on the attack to someone who is for example a chief. And most of the big politicians are chiefs in their own right. So to go on the attack, it's not easy for them, and that can get frustrating. But the situation has changed here over the years, you know I mean we have more freedom now than we've ever had (Neil-Jones, 2012).

The Vanuatu Independent

Figure 3.6: Vanuatu Independent masthead



Source: Vanuatu Independent, May 19- 25, 2012.

The Vanuatu Independent is a weekly newspaper, which publishes in English, French and Bislama in the same 40-page edition. The newspaper is owned and published by The Independent Foundation, a non-profit organisation. The paper is printed in Australia and hard copies sent back to Port Vila for distribution.

The editor-in-chief is Australian Tony Wilson, who is involved in the running of the newspaper, as well as teaching journalism at the Vanuatu Institute of Technology, where his wife Elaine also teaches. The deputy editor is veteran ni-Vanuatu journalist and broadcaster Evelyn Toa, a graduate of the University of the South Pacific. She is also the president of MAV. The newspaper has a wider spread of clientele, publishing in three languages, and is also aimed at expatriates living in Vanuatu, so attempts for an expanded international coverage.

Evelyn Toa describes the way the newspaper and journalists operate is to try to work with the government as much as possible to find solutions to issues. One media issue is the lack of a Freedom of Information law, but Toa has said she understands that the media council needs to be first set up before the government will entertain the idea of such a law:

We really want the FOI, but before we do it, we have to have in place a media policy. We are collaborating with the government. It will be a mechanism to push through the FOI through the government and then the parliament (Toa, 2012).

Toa also believes that the citizens of the country as well as the leaders need to better understand the role of the media, and to use the media both for gaining and supplying information for the common good:

Because people don't understand the use of media, that's one of the barriers. If they understand that media is there to help them, voice their concern and all that they would use media effectively. So know we are preaching, media is your friend, use it. No need to take the law into your own hands (Toa, 2012).

Toa has said that the newspaper steers away from the combative approach of the *Daily Post* and seeks to find the answers and break stories without inviting a backlash:

One time, the Daily Post ran a story about him on the front page and he attacked Marc. But he came here and we sat down and talked about it here – in the front room, and gave reasons and just listened to his side of the story. It was not a problem here, like there was at the Daily Post (Toa, 2012).

The journalist – politician relationship, has frictions by its nature, however, Latu (2010) observes that Pacific journalists can respect authority and cultural norms as well reporting the facts. But this necessitates a prior understanding of the culture and an ability to ask the right questions, in the right form, in the right language and at a suitable time and with a suitable method. As Evelyn Toa argues above, many clashes of media and politicians or others in power have been put down to Western journalists not understanding the proper means to elicit information and approach authorities. In the same vein, as Latu points out (2010), in concert with Neil-Jones (2012), this problem of cultural misunderstanding can be exploited by Pacific authorities and used as an excuse for not being up front and answering questions fully.

Conclusion

Pacific nations face different developmental challenges and all have media industries that require more growth and resources, and face certain threats. While Fiji has enacted legislation that restricts the media, journalists in Vanuatu face unpredictable threats depending on how people in power react to published reports. Two newspapers in each of the countries reported extensively on the Pacific Islands Forum in 2011 in Auckland, and the four newspapers will be the subject of a case study for development journalism, based on the definition provided in Chapter Two (p. 35).

Chapter 5

Research Methodology

A Content Analysis of Pacific development journalism

To begin with, it is worthwhile noting the findings of a previous Pacific study – that of Robert Iroga, who looked at peace journalism in post-conflict Solomon Islands. In his analysis of *The Solomon Star*, he made the observation that the newspaper “actually practised peace journalism even though its reporters admitted that they were not aware of the concept of peace journalism. The vast number of articles allotted under the Peace Journalism category is a telling factor” (Iroga, 2008, p. 168). Despite what the journalists and their editors say about development journalism, they may in fact be practising what this thesis has defined as development journalism.

Field of research

The study examined four Pacific newspapers, two from Fiji and two from Vanuatu, as well as one from New Zealand for comparison. Firstly the study needed to concentrate on one sub region – Fiji and Vanuatu were chosen from Melanesia. Melanesia is a sub-grouping that faces many difficulties in development that are arguably ever more crucial in Melanesia than in other parts of the Pacific. Issues such as self-determination in countries or territories such as New Caledonia, Solomon Islands and West Papua are at the vanguard of the major political issues in the region. Other development issues such as political power and corruption are critical in these countries, as well as the threat of natural disasters and climate change related environmental impacts on communities.

Secondly, within Melanesia, it was necessary to select countries that would provide a media landscape with enough scope to be able to collect enough data for a meaningful content analysis. For this reason, Fiji and Vanuatu stood out as potential contenders. Fiji is a major political power in the Pacific, and has a developed media landscape, with a long history. Although Papua New Guinea is by far the major economic power in the region, Fiji too has a developed economy and has been at the centre of debate around media. Fiji has several media outlets and although the data was collected while the country was under an interim government following the 2006 coup and 2009 “constitutional coup”, it remained a very

accessible country for research purposes and media personnel are and were also readily accessible, despite the legacy of post-coup censorship.

Vanuatu is also accessible and it too has a fairly developed media landscape based in the capital, Port Vila. There are multiple media outlets and the country shares all the aforementioned development issues of Melanesia. In the author's capacity as contributing editor of Pacific Media Watch between August 2010 and November 2012, he has followed media matters in Fiji and Vanuatu closely and developed a range of contacts and connections in those countries. This was a helpful platform to launch into more detailed research; research that depended on editors and journalists being open and frank about their experiences and their publications.

The content analysis needed to be specific and one medium was elected – print. Even though radio arguably reaches more people in both countries, and in multiple languages, radio reports are difficult to quantify and to track down post-broadcast. This problem is even more prevalent with radio stations and websites in the Pacific. With two well-established newspapers in each country, it made sense to analyse these for comparison.

The New Zealand coverage

The newspaper not discussed in Chapter Four is *The New Zealand Herald*. It is Auckland-based but aims to report on national issues in New Zealand and is the daily newspaper in the host city of the 2011 Pacific Islands Forum. While it has a completely different readership from the four Pacific dailies, an analysis of its coverage will help to provide a simple example of Western reporting on the forum. Thus the data analysis will involve *The Fiji Times*, the *Fiji Sun*, *Vanuatu Daily Post*, the *Vanuatu Independent*, and *The New Zealand Herald*.

The 42nd Pacific Islands Forum was held in Auckland from 6 to 9 September 2011 and attended by all the member states and other observer states. The post-forum dialogue included large delegations from the United States, and China. The event was further heightened by the presence of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Ban ki-moon, as well as the President of the European Commission, José Manuel Barroso. The event in New Zealand was the biggest Pacific Islands Forum to date and celebrated four decades since the inaugural meeting in Wellington. It was the first time the head of the UN would attend such

a PIF meeting, and - as always - many development issues faced the most important stakeholders in the forum – the actual member countries and their people.

However, the Forum's completion was timed to coincide with the opening of the Rugby World Cup, held in New Zealand for the first time since it co-hosted the inaugural event in 1987 with Australia. The Rugby World Cup had already dominated news in New Zealand, and to some extent, some Pacific countries, for most of the year. Therefore, in terms of coverage of the Pacific Islands Forum, there was already a major distraction and a threat to the prospect of the public being informed about the issues and for the stakeholders to have their concerns heard by the powerful parties at the meeting table, namely, Australia and New Zealand. The opening remarks of the New Zealand Prime Minister, John Key, for the Pacific Islands Forum very swiftly moved from what he considered the pressing problems for Pacific Island nations to the more popular and amusing matters on the home front, specifically how many supporters from the Pacific communities in Auckland stopped traffic to welcome their rugby heroes at Auckland airport. (And now for the big Pacific topic this week – rugby, as Key hosts Forum, 2011).

With this context in mind, it would be perhaps understandable that much news coverage of the Pacific Islands Forum would suffer and lose out to Rugby World Cup news. This particular case study needs to emphasise that qualification from the very beginning. However, the Rugby World Cup was just as much a distraction for the Fiji press as it was for the New Zealand press as Fiji was one of the participating countries. Vanuatu, which did not have a team contesting the event, was less concerned with it.

This content analysis focuses on two months of Pacific Islands Forum coverage from the sample news media – August 1, 2011 to September 30, 2011. The event was held in the first week of September.

Research Questions and Methodology

The aim of the study was to obtain a clear idea of whether it can be said that development journalism is practised by these Pacific newspapers. By exploring the nature and breadth of the news reports during the time period, the key research questions can be answered.

These are the research questions listed earlier that will be addressed in the case study:

1. Is development journalism practised in the Pacific?
2. Does 'development' constitute a specific news value more relevant to the Pacific than some traditional Western values?

Relevant questions, therefore, will be how many articles were written?; What level and type of coverage was undertaken?; What kinds of reports and who wrote them? Each sample newspaper was scanned for any article during the period that referred to the Pacific Islands Forum by name, or by implication. The search was broadened to include articles that did not specifically say "Pacific Islands Forum" but its reference to the event was implied. Therefore any article on the Melanesian Spearhead Group that concerned matters of the Pacific Islands Forum were included. The Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG) is a regional sub-grouping, but increasingly seen as powerful as the Forum. Both Fiji and Vanuatu are members. There was a meeting of the MSG scheduled before the Forum with the direct purpose of formulating resolutions and unity before the main event in Auckland, and to carry united messages to the other forum leaders, particularly about the Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat leadership, and the situation of Fiji's ongoing suspension from the Forum.

Approach of each newspaper

When analysing the coverage, the first step was to see which newspapers actually sent reporters to the event, and how many, if at all. This would show to some extent how important the meeting was to them, and also would show which outlets had the resources to do so, if any.

The Fiji Times did not dispatch any reporter to the forum. The editor, Fred Wesley, explained that while it was important to the newspaper and its readership, there were no resources for anyone to travel to the Forum from his organisation. The event was covered from the newswire and other sources of information obtained through the internet. Wesley gave this rationale for the priorities his newspaper had in terms of issues to cover:

Climate change of course is relevant to us, because of the issues we are facing in places like Kadavu, in places like Lomaiviti, where the sea level is basically moved right into the village. We have places like Navua where graveyards are now under water. And these places were about 200-300 metres away once from the sea but now

the sea has actually gone past them and the grave, even at low tide, is still under water. So those are the kinds of issues that we identified and we realised were relevant to the people of this country ... issues that the people of this country can learn from, that they can take our ideas and change the way they live and change their lives. Those are the kind of things that we'd be writing about. Those are the things that we were talking to the agencies on the ground in Auckland (Wesley, 2012).

An important qualification to make is that Fiji was still suspended from the Pacific Islands Forum in 2011. However the very question of its suspension was a talking point with leaders and in the media. The *Fiji Sun* editorial team indicated that it was also not planning to have a reporter at the PIF, until one of the deputy editors, Maikelu Seru, who was in New Zealand at the time, said he would be available to report, and he filed a number of stories from Auckland. The then editor, Epineri Vula, gave this rationale for the *Fiji Sun's* priorities in terms of issues to cover:

The main thing was Fiji's suspension...and what [was] the likelihood of Fiji coming back, then there was talk of the ministerial contact group that was here... if Fiji [was] still suspended?, Are [the ministerial contact group members] coming back? How soon? ...Talk to them and the other island foreign ministers, and how they view this whole thing, try and package their views together. Look at ...PACER..., look at the trade issues, because I think Fiji and PNG were the only countries who had signed EPAs with the European Union... find out why only Fiji and PNG have taken this step, find out why haven't countries [sic] like Samoa and Tokelau... why haven't they done so... We were looking at the politics at the forum and the Fiji suspension, the trade issues... the economic issues and then there was something else specific – I asked him to ask them how they view the MSG, specifically how they view the MSG, because before Bainimarama was saying that if these guys are not careful, if they isolate Fiji, Fiji will just go on and form its own grouping, with Melanesia, which is what has happened, and if Australia and New Zealand are not careful then the MSG can become the premier sub-grouping in the Pacific and then in that sense, Australia and New Zealand get isolated. (Vula, 2012).

Vanuatu Daily Post was in the same situation as *The Fiji Times* and could not send anyone, and relied on the newswires and the internet. The publisher and owner, Marc Neil-Jones, said in his interview that it was too expensive to have a reporter at the event:

The problem with small island nations, for us to send a journalist is expensive. We need to make sure the cost is being covered. And we would only send someone if the cost is being covered, that's the reality and what we do generally is get the news feeds and what is breaking generally around the region. (Neil-Jones, 2012)

Neil-Jones said he hoped that the Vanuatu Government would in the future provide some funding for future meetings, but that was contingent on them understanding the role of the media. He echoed the sentiments of Evelyn Toa, of the *Vanuatu Independent*, about the need to educate the public and politicians about the role of the media:

There are no communications people in the Government. Once they understand that they need public relations and advisors, perhaps they will support someone to attend these meetings (Neil-Jones, 2012).

Neil-Jones explained the newspaper's approach in the lead-up to the PIF:

We looked at the general decisions and concerns raised. I know from an island perspective, there is a feeling that Australia in particular should be more flexible in its labour... There's concern over PACER and PICTA and the dominance Australia will have over trade. The main beneficiaries of PACER are going to be Australia and New Zealand, and to a lot lesser extent, PNG and Fiji... (Neil-Jones, 2012).

The deputy editor, Royson Willie, summarised his approach as follows:

We have our issues like climate change and social issues... But last year we did not attend the forum, but we got the news mainly from the internet, the websites. I guess our interest was mainly on the issues that affect Vanuatu... We covered a lot of climate change, because it also affects our people here. I went to the first village to move due to climate change, in Torres Islands, north of Vanuatu. It [the PIF] was here in 2010, and we covered it well (Willie, 2012).

The *Vanuatu Independent* had an editor, Evelyn Toa, in Auckland, although she was sponsored by PINA and was reporting for PINA / PACNEWS, the MAV, as well as other outlets such as the *Vanuatu Times*. Thus her newspaper, the *Independent*, benefited from her reporting without needing to spend resources getting her to New Zealand. The editor-in-chief, Tony Wilson said the Forum was a great opportunity for Toa to network, and said there was a heightened awareness throughout Vanuatu about the Pacific Islands' place in the world. Toa said in her interview that her focus was as follows:

We were interested in the stories that affect our people the most. For instance climate change, and not only that, but foreign influence. In Vanuatu's case, we have a lot of issues and I believe the same issues faced by Vanuatu...we have common issues among our nations in the region. So climate change, foreign influence, and what are our rights. We have our trade issues between Melanesian countries...In Vanuatu, tourism is one of the main sources of revenue, so one of the big issues for our development, as we are a developing nation, is the one of tourism. (Toa, 2012)

The New Zealand Herald had two reporters covering aspects of the forum: the chief political reporter Audrey Young, as well as political reporter Claire Trevett. They combined their reporting with the NZPA reporter, Amelia Romanos.

Conclusion

The content analysis and the interviews with the journalists and editors of the publications go hand in hand. The data is analysed on its own and then the contributions and explanations of the editors assists in understanding the causes and motives for the coverage and the editorial decisions that were made, giving a broad picture of the situation of each of the newspapers. The following chapter outlines the findings with a series of tables and figures to illustrate the results clearly. There are excerpts of newspaper articles and pictures of some of the articles to further demonstrate and illustrate the findings.

Chapter 6

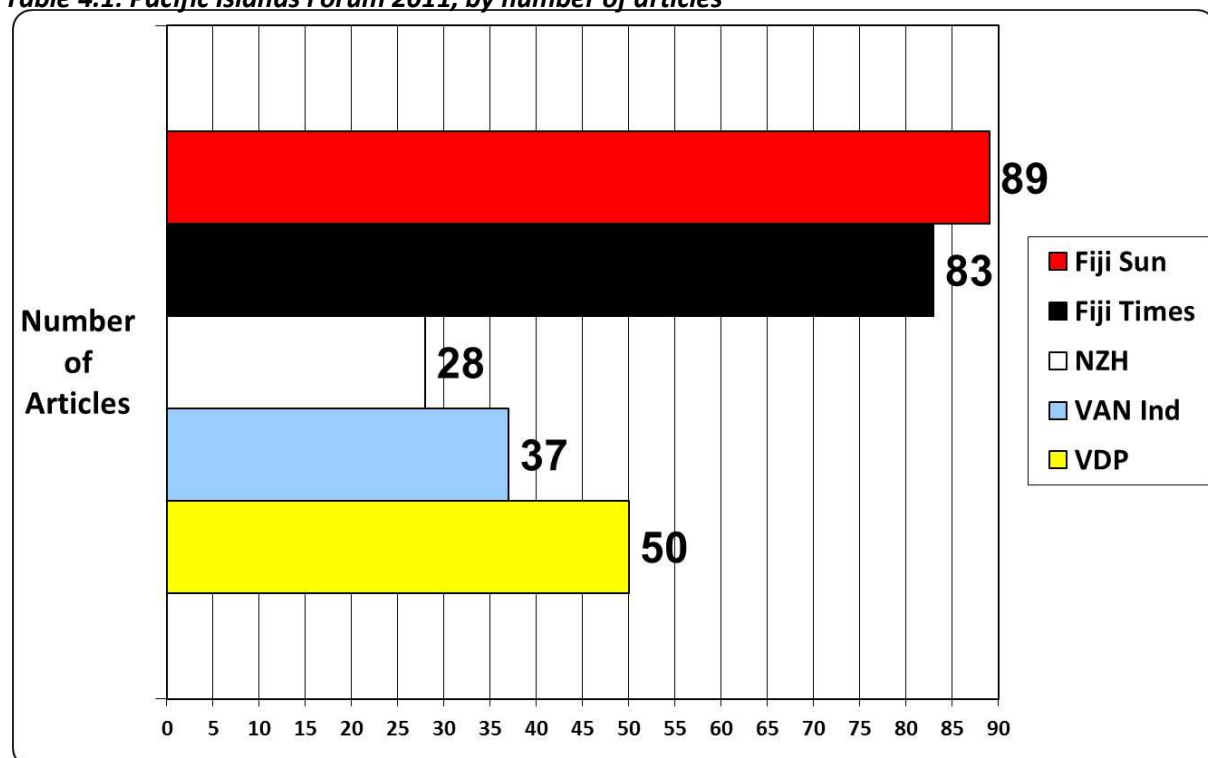
Results and Analysis

The coverage of the 2011 Pacific Islands Forum Leaders Meeting

The number of articles

The number of articles that featured “Pacific Island Forum” either by word or implication, within the time parameters, were searched. Before any classification of articles, simply the number would be instructive as to the priorities of the newspapers.

Table 4.1: Pacific Islands Forum 2011, by number of articles



Source: Perrottet, August 1 – September 30, 2011.

The Fiji Sun had the highest amount of articles, 89, and used sources widely (see Table 4.1). The paper had its own reporter and complemented his reporting with news wires. There was also a heavy reliance on the Fiji government’s Ministry of Information press releases, despite having Maikelu Seru in Auckland. The other journalists reporting on the PIF were:

Iliesa Tora, Losalini Rasoqosoqo, Sera Janine, Nanise Loanakadavu, Rachna Lal, Ana Madigibuli, and the editor, Epineri Vula.

The Fiji Times had a comparable amount of articles, 83, without having a reporter at the event. Thus there was heavy reliance on the local and international news wires. However, there was also a significant amount of reporting by the newspaper's journalists. This range of reporters published articles on the Forum: Ioane Burese, Mary Rauto, Sera Whippy, Felix Chaudhary, Avinesh Gopal, Timoci Vula, Elenoa Baselala, Frederica Elbourne, Harold Koi, and the editor, Fred Wesley. The newspaper had the highest number of individual articles written by its reporters despite not being at the event, which shows that the lack of resources can be overcome in some way. Those journalists used reports released by international bodies at the Forum, but accessible online. One observation is that journalists reporting from "back home" were able to cover the topics in depth, with the paper making a clear decision to dedicate significant pages to it, without being distracted by the hype of the event itself and the difficulties of filing from far away. Not having someone "on the ground" puts a news outlet at a disadvantage if the outlet is trying to get a notion of the atmosphere around the event. In summary, the *Fiji Times* made it seem like they did in fact have reporters at the event with the prominence they gave it.

Vanuatu Daily Post's 50 articles relied heavily on the newswires. Journalists reporting on the Forum were Thompson Marango, Jane Joshua and Godwin Ligo. However, the three published one article each out of the 50 articles.

The *Vanuatu Independent* published 37 articles, although this must be put in the context of weekly newspaper that publishes in three languages. The reporter at the event, Evelyn Toa, wrote nine articles within the two-month period chosen for this case study. Despite having a presence at the event, there were significantly less articles written about it than the Fiji newspapers, but in the Vanuatu context, there were three times the amount of articles by the newspaper's own reporter. The rest of the articles were sourced from other news sites and press releases.

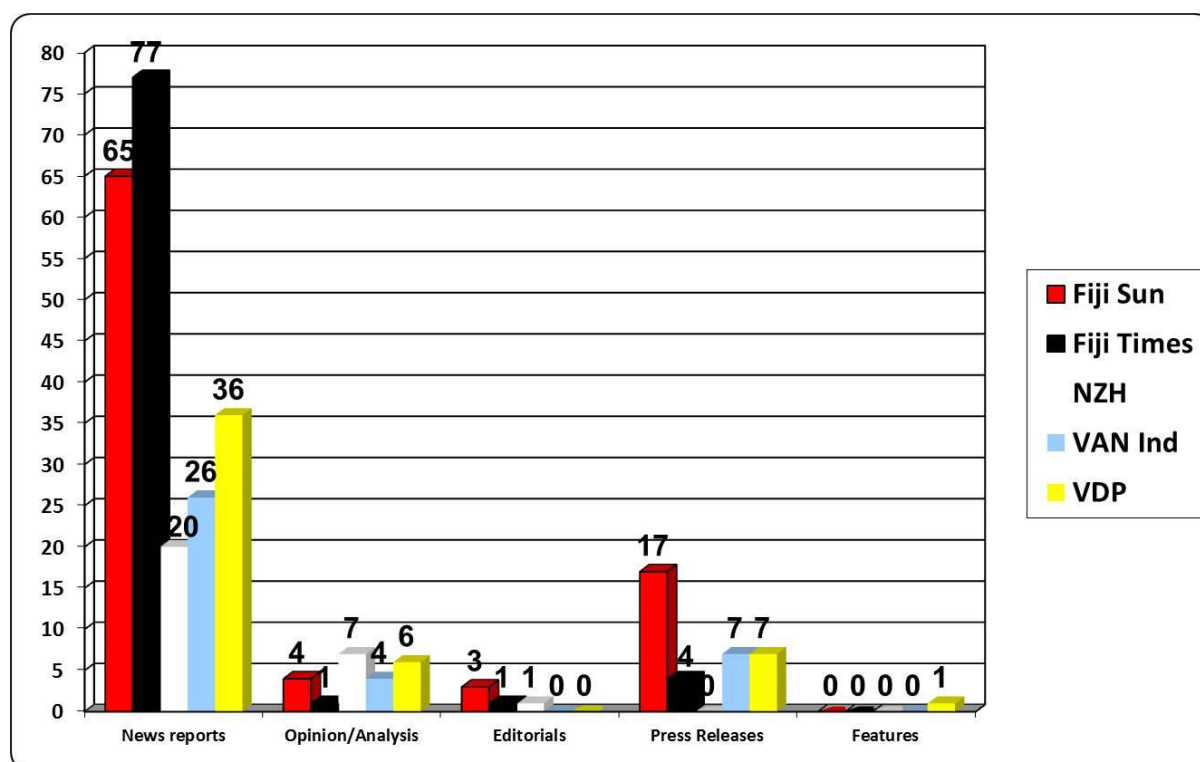
The New Zealand Herald published fewer articles about the Forum than any of the other newspapers, with 28, even though it is based in the host-city, Auckland. Once again this needs to be seen in the context of the build-up to the Rugby World Cup, which had been

dominating the news agenda for most of the year, let alone that particular week. However, very little prominence was given to the forum in the lead-up, as well as the aftermath, with the great proportion of coverage on the actual days of the event.

The Category of Articles

Next the category of the article was examined. A traditional distinction was used between types of articles (see Table 4.2). A *news report* was a standard factual article reporting on an issue or occurrence; an *analysis or opinion* was anything that was not breaking new information but providing perspective and analysis. *Editorials* were separated from opinion and analysis, to show if the newspaper was highlighting the Forum in its coverage at that particular level. Following some deliberation, *Features* were included, even though there was only one. The rationale was that the article, by *Vanuatu Daily Post*, was entitled a “News Feature” and included a collection of photos and a long article about the trade fair at “The Cloud” exhibition centre in Auckland, which was a key aspect of the Forum. Finally there were *press releases*. Although some articles were opinion-based and analytical, if it originated from organisations such as the Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, or the Fiji Ministry of Information, and were not altered in any way by the newspaper, they were classified as *press release*. Research was undertaken to discover the source of the article to check the content. Often, the research was not needed as the newspaper used the source in the by-line of the article, showing the origin of the content.

Table 4.2: Pacific Islands Forum 2011, articles by category



Source: Perrottet, August 1 – September 30, 2011.

The *Fiji Sun* used many *press releases* – 17, which was almost a fifth of their articles, and mostly sourced from the Fiji Government’s Ministry of Information. The newspaper published three *editorials* from the then editor, Epineri Vula, and four *opinion/analysis* articles. The rest were *news reports*.

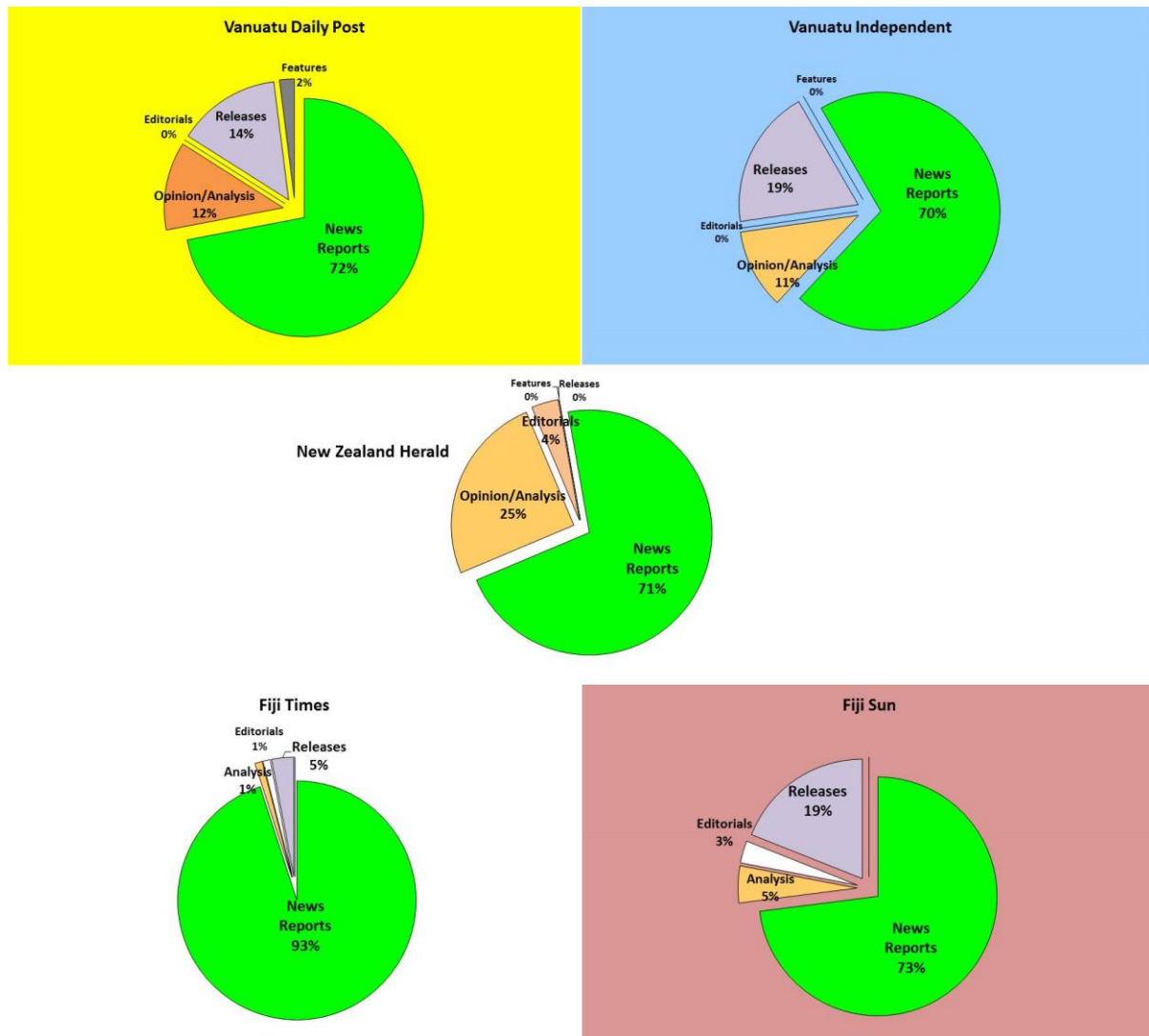
The *Fiji Times* had a large majority of *news reports*, 77, with only one *opinion/analysis* piece, one *editorial* by the editor Fred Wesley and four *press releases* – three from the Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat and one from the Cluster Munitions Coalition.

Vanuatu Daily Post had a more even spread with 36 *news reports*, six *opinion/analysis* articles, seven *press releases* and a *feature*. The releases were from regional groups such as the PIF Secretariat, the MSG, OCTA and so on.

The Vanuatu Independent had a higher percentage of *news reports*, with 26, as well as four *opinion/analysis* articles and seven *press releases*, from similar sources as the *Daily Post* above.

The same findings, presented in Figure 4.1, show a higher portion of analysis at *The New Zealand Herald*, a much higher portion of original writing from the *Fiji Times*, and a heavy reliance on press releases by the Vanuatu newspapers and the *Fiji Sun*.

Figure 4.1: Pacific Islands Forum 2011, articles by category



Source: Perrottet, August 1 – September 30, 2011.

The Typology of Articles

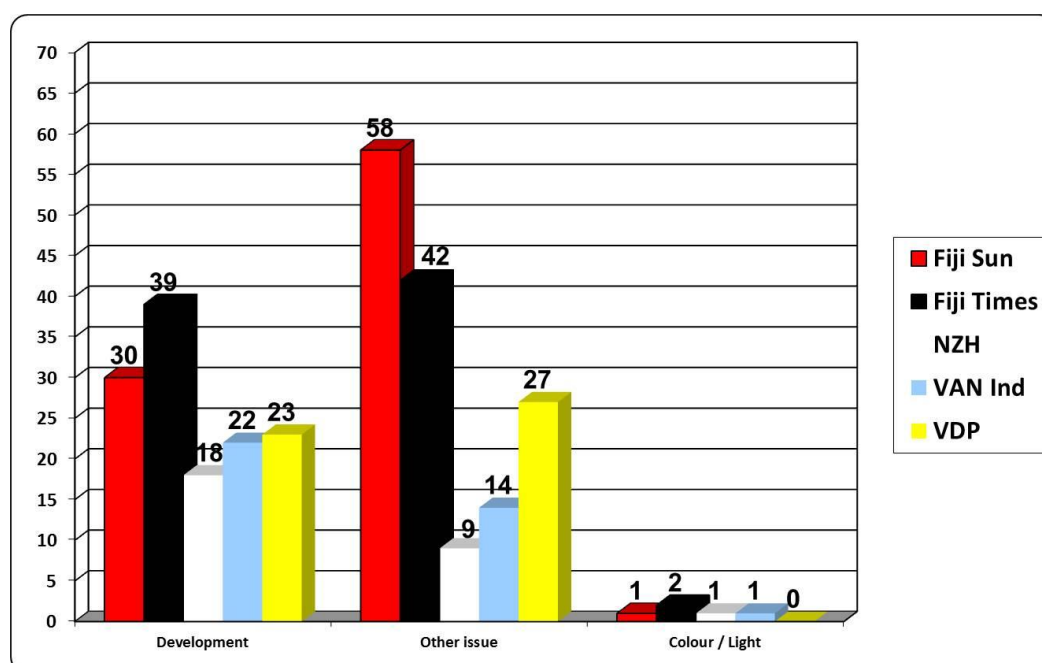
Next the typology of report was considered. The main distinction was between a *development* or *other* issue (Table 4.3). The *development* definition was taken from Chapter Two, and *other* was defined as either a political story, or simple report on a meeting being held, or a leader being elected or appointed. There was also a third category in typology, for

a *colour or light* article, or what is commonly referred to as “soft” or “human interest” – such as articles on the colour and type of shirts that leaders were wearing.

The main distinguishing factor used to separate *development* reports from *other* reports was whether the issue was simply power or personality politics, people’s movements, geopolitics, or something they said, or whether it concerned *development* issues. If an article only covered the “procedural” aspects of an event, it was classified as *other*. For instance, an article covering the MSG meeting before the PIF was classified as *other* if it only mentioned that a meeting was held, or that a leader had been elected or appointed, rather than any facts around development decisions, or leaders’ comments on development issues. The article had to actively engage with the development issue, however, in “borderline” cases, and anytime it was difficult to judge, the article was classified as *development*. For example, if there was a leader discussing climate change, such as the Kiribati President, Anote Tong, then it was a *development report*. But if the article featured Anote Tong talking to the media about the Forum leaders lifting Fiji’s suspension from the forum, it was classified as *other issue*, as it was not dealing with a development issue as much as a geopolitical one. However, a report about a politician’s comments on whether West Papua should be allowed membership of the Melanesian Spearhead Group was classified as *development* because membership in a regional forum is a key development issue for West Papua. Fiji is a member of the MSG, and was suspended from the PIF until it held elections in September 2014. The issue of its suspension was not of a development theme so much as a geopolitical one. The distinction was also brought to bear on other topics such as French Polynesia’s decolonisation bid. Some articles were classified as *other* as they chiefly dealt with the political disunity of French Polynesia, with the Assembly opposition criticising Oscar Temaru’s quest for independence from France, and Temaru claiming he had the support of the Pacific Conference of Churches.

The results are tabled below:

Table 4.3: Pacific Islands Forum 2011, article typology



Source: Perrottet, August 1 – September 30, 2011.

The *Fiji Sun*, while having many articles (See Tables 4.1 and 4.2), had the smallest proportion of *development* reports, with 30 out of 89 articles, compared to *The New Zealand Herald*, which had the highest proportion, with 18 out of 28. The sheer number of articles meant the *Fiji Sun* covered development more than *The New Zealand Herald*. However, it also speaks about *The New Zealand Herald's* priorities in covering the key development issues in its limited coverage of the Forum (See Table 4.4).

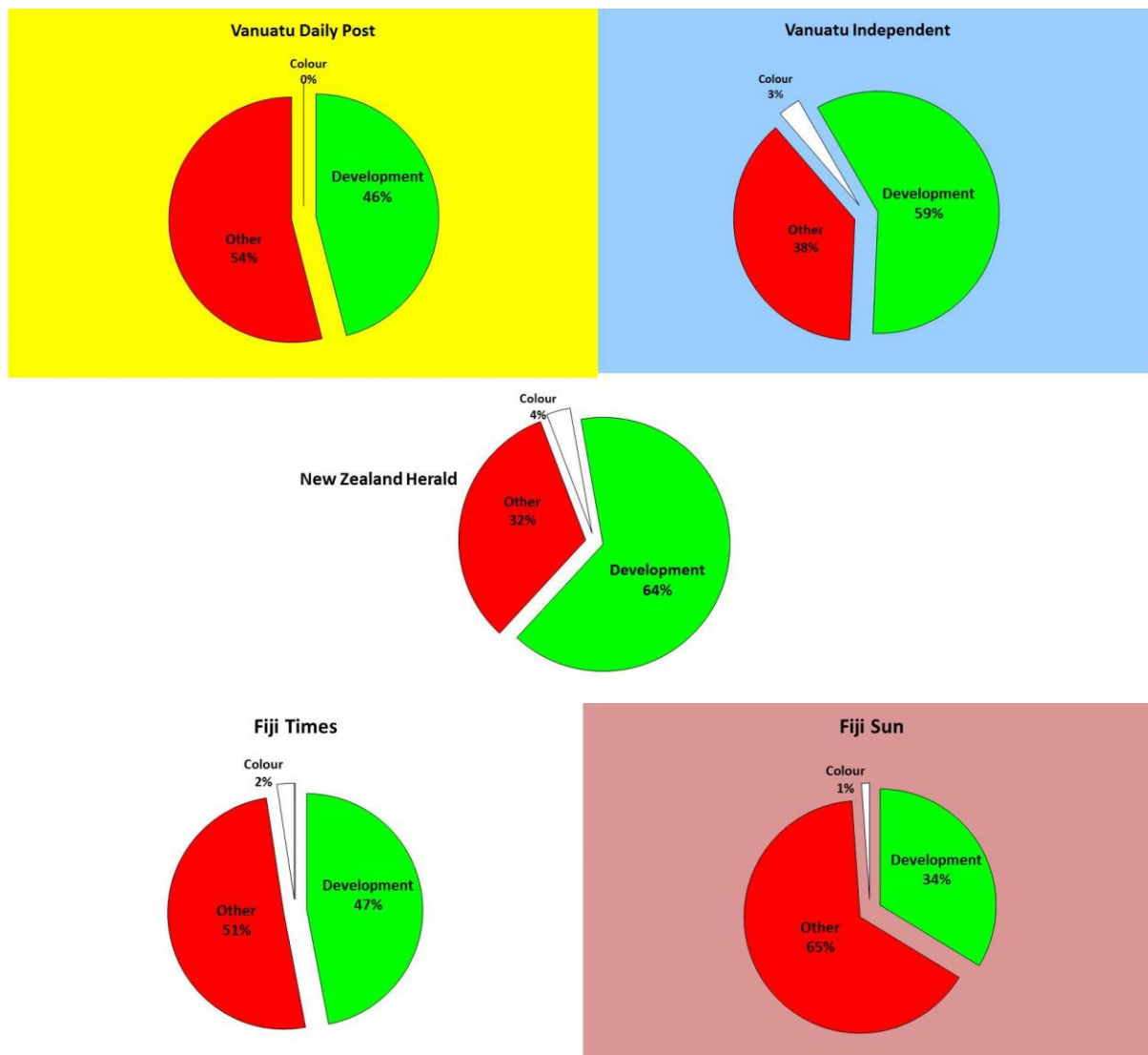
The *Fiji Times* with 39, had the highest overall number of *development* reports, however it had just under 50 percent of its articles dedicated to development.

Vanuatu Daily Post, which relied heavily on foreign news wires, focused more on geopolitics, the MSG issues, as well as the internal political disputes of French Polynesia around the issue of decolonisation. It also had less than 50 percent dedicated to development issues.

The Vanuatu Independent had a higher proportion of their coverage dedicated to *development* reports than *other* reports, focusing their reporting more on the issues of climate change, gender-based violence, youth reports etc. than the comings and goings of leaders, leadership issues and other geopolitical topics. Evelyn Toa, reporting from Auckland wrote eight *development* reports and one *other* report.

The findings are also displayed in Figure 4.2:

Figure 4.2: Pacific Islands Forum 2011, article typology proportions



Source: Perrottet, August 1 – September 30, 2011.

An example of a development report that fits the definition in this thesis, is Evelyn Toa's *opinion/analysis* article in the *Vanuatu Independent*, 'No strings' to China aid in the Pacific (See Figure 4.3). A local ni-Vanuatu journalist, in attendance at the Forum, providing in-depth analysis about China's aid programme and the possible ramifications.

Figure 4.3: 'No strings' to China aid in the Pacific

Opinion

'No strings' to China aid in the Pacific

by Evelyn Toa, in Beijing

CHINA, a country with an old civilization having a population rate of 1.3 billion people, is one of the countries in the world that moves very fast towards its modernization. China has been telling the whole world on many different occasions that is moving towards a world of peace. In doing so, China says, it maintains peace at all levels and continues to strive for promoting prosperity between countries in the world.

This week, a press delegation representing different countries in the Oceania region had the opportunity to hear a brief presentation by the Vice Director General of the Department of North American and Oceanian Affairs, under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, based in Beijing, China, Ms Wuxi on what China has been doing, what is doing now and what it will do in the future. Ms Wuxi said that China regards Pacific Island Countries (PICs) as reliable friends and partners, and for this reason China is always ready on standby to help.

"As the world largest country, China concentrates on developing its economy while at the same time looking to make more friends, and continues to treat other countries equally, and to leave in peace and harmony," she said. "China and the Pacific are close partners - the reason why China continues and will continue to provide assistance to those countries in the Pacific."

Ms Wuxi said there are special issues which China raises and discusses with PICs. She said China is committed to assisting

Behind the news



island countries in the Pacific or Oceania in different fields, including climate change, tourism, energy, fisheries, infrastructure and many more.

However, she said China does not use its economic assistance as tools to exert political pressures or demand privileges. "We are just protecting our policy; our aim is to focus on those development projects. We do not attach any strings to our assistance and also China will never wave its One China Policy," she said.

The Vice Director General of the Information Department under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Hong Lei, reiterated Ms Wuxi's statement on Chinese aid to the Pacific Island Countries.

China also attended the Post Forum Dialogue a week ago in Auckland, New Zealand, where the Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs Cui Tiankai made a statement on China's policy toward Pacific Island Countries. He said that relations between China and the PICs have made continued progress in recent years.

He said that in 2010, China's trade totaled US\$ 4.16 billion, up by 55.8 per cent year-on-year and 15 times of that in the year 2000.

as circumstances allow," he said.

Chinese leaders also confirmed that China will gradually increase scholarships for students from island countries, arrange more artistic troupes to visit and perform, support development of the Confucius College of the University of South Pacific and receive a media delegation of island countries in China this month to advance people-to-people and cultural exchanges and co-operation.

While China continues to promote its relations with Pacific Island countries in terms of aids, there are other issues that remain to be looked at. One example is language. Members of the press delegation have raised the issue of the Chinese language being a barrier for overseas students studying in China. Ms Wuxi said that the issue will be looked at and that in future China will send teachers abroad to teach Chinese.

In terms of media, Mr Hong Lei said that freedom of information has progressed and developed. One classic example is that starting from September 1 this year, the government holds a press conference every day so that the media can report information back to Chinese citizens.

"China will never influence any government - because it has a clear objective to assist in socio and economic development. This is the reason for inviting regional media to visit China and have a better understanding about China, to be able to report it back to their respective people," he said. "After all seeing, is believing."

Source: Vanuatu Independent, September 24-30, 2011, p. 7.

Toa also reported on a more local development issue; Vanuatu's involvement in the New Zealand Recognised Seasonal Employer Scheme (RSE) and give a local angle to it (Figure 4.4).

Figure 4.4: Vanuatu the most successful at RSE

News

Vanuatu the most successful at RSE

by Evelyn Toa

PARTICIPANTS at the Media Pre Forum workshop that was held recently at Otago University in Auckland, New Zealand had the opportunity to hear a presentation from Ms Emily Fabling, Manager of NZ's Recognised Seasonal Employment (RSE) Scheme, under the NZ Department of Labour, concerning the development of the scheme since it was firstly launched in 2007.

She outlined all the important elements required by the scheme for the benefit of workers and their respective countries and for New Zealand employers who employ regional workers for the fruit picking in New Zealand.

Among the countries of the region who participated to the RSE Scheme, Vanuatu scored the highest number of workers. Since 2007 until today, Vanuatu has sent more than 2300 workers, and that number still remains the same, compared to other countries, including Kiribati, Tonga and Samoa. Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands who have just sent a small number as a start on their part.

Questions were raised at the workshop as to why Fiji, a Melanesian country like Vanuatu and other Melanesian countries are not taking part to the RSE Scheme, and also as to why Tonga's workers spent longer period

(nine months) in New Zealand, compared to Vanuatu as an example, where its workers spent only six to seven months contract in New Zealand.

Ms Fabling said that Fiji is still under the military regime and is not yet taking part and for Tonga the cost that workers have to meet for their participation to the scheme is prohibitive.

She said that Vanuatu is exceptional, because of its direct flights with New Zealand.

The Commissioner of Labour, Lionel Kaluat said Vanuatu's major success to NZ RSE is how Vanuatu has branded the scheme from the beginning - during past four years and also for the direct flight between the two countries, that plays an important factor to the scheme.

The former Australian High Commissioner in Vanuatu, now a diplomat for the Australian Department at the New Zealand government, Jeff Langley said that the Vanuatu's success of the scheme is the good working relationship between Vanuatu workers and New Zealand employers.

More than 58 Vanuatu workers returned last weekend after they have completed seven months contract in New Zealand.

It is understood the same number will be ready to depart shortly.

Source: Vanuatu Independent, September 17-23, 2011, p 5.

As stated earlier, *The Fiji Times* was able to undertake coverage of development issues without having a reporter at the PIF. Ioane Burese covered the issues of the United Nations resolution on women, peace and security, as well as primary health care, as can be seen in the articles below (Figures 4.5 and 4.6):

Figure 4.5: Resolution 1325 gains more attention



Source: *Fiji Times*, 21 September 2011, p. 15.

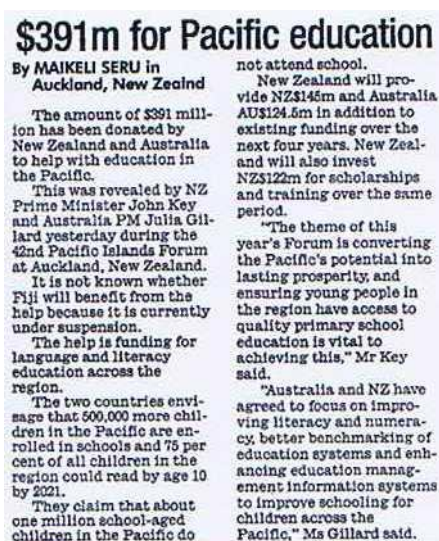
Figure 4.6: Korea joins NCDs fight



Source: *Fiji Times*,
22 September 2011,
p. 18.

The *Fiji Sun*, with Maikeli Seru in Auckland, wrote nine *development* reports, and five *other* reports. Keeping in mind the newspaper's focus was on Fiji's place in the region and whether other countries would be amenable to lifting the suspension from the PIF, and also that there were demonstrations in Auckland against the Fiji regime, Seru covered the key development issues while also delivering on his editor's instructions to cover the geopolitical stories. In his first article, headlined: "Fiji definitely on Forum agenda", Seru also covered some of the key development issues. Among other reports, he filed the two below, on Pacific education (Figure 4.7), and climate change (Figure 4.8):

Figure 4.7: \$391m for Pacific education



Source: Fiji Sun, 8 September 2011, p. 3

Figure 4.8: Climate change cry at Forum



Source: Fiji Sun, 8 September 2011, p. 3

The *New Zealand Herald's* analysis was broad – featuring foreign writers and local ones, about both local and foreign issues. The reporters providing most of the content, Audrey Young and Claire Trevett, also contributed to the opinion. Below is an example of a development issue from a New Zealand perspective, concerning the New Zealand Foreign

Minister, Murray McCully's views on the effectiveness of foreign aid (Figure 4.9). Below it is a development report about rising sea levels affecting the Pacific Islands (Figure 4.10).

Figure 4.9: McCully wants more bang for education aid bucks



Source: New Zealand Herald, 6 September 2011, p. 1

New Zealand is calling for a rethink on development aid in the Pacific, particularly in the education sector.

Foreign Minister Murray McCully gave a hard-hitting speech yesterday to a conference in Auckland and said not enough was being done.

"Education underpins all economic and social development," he told the Lowy Institute Pacific conference.

"Increasingly it is education that separates the relatively rich from the relatively poor."

He said Prime Minister John Key and Australian Prime Minister Julia Gillard would be making a great commitment to co-operation in the education sector later in the week.

It was not a matter of lifting the funding but of getting a significant lift in results from the current funding.

"We have to get out of the 'business as usual' mode and get serious about tackling the issues that have attracted a good deal of talk at regional meetings in the past but too little action."

Mr McCully cited three "drivers" of economic development in the region that should be pursued further - tourism, fisheries and agriculture.

And he identified three "enablers" that would help economic development - improvements in energy, infrastructure and education.

He also highlighted some startling education statistics: a million school children around the Pacific do not go to school at all; about 40 per cent of schoolchildren in Pacific Island countries do not complete a basic primary education; only 20 per cent graduate from secondary school.

BARRIERS:

Energy costs: Many Pacific countries are still close to 100 per cent dependent on costly fossil fuel for power generation.

Infrastructure: Lack of investment in wharves, airports, roads and internet capability.

Education: A million school-age children around the Pacific do not go to school at all and around 40 per cent of children in Pacific Island countries don't finish primary school.

Figure 4.10: Sea levels Pacific's big worry

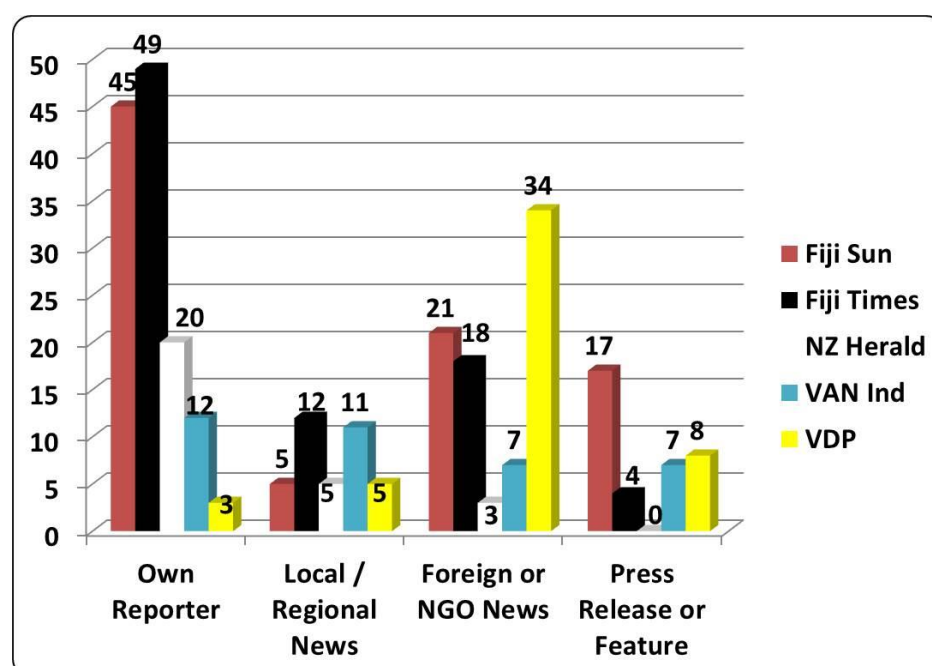


Source: New Zealand Herald, 8 September 2011, p. 10

Article Source

The final part of the analysis examined the *source* (See Table 4.4). This was a crucial part of the case study, as it would clearly show how much of the news for Pacific consumption was written by Pacific people with Pacific angles and Pacific news values. The findings were divided into *own reporter* – with the name of the reporter of the newspaper being used; *Local or regional news* – meaning a Pacific-based news source, such as another Pacific newspaper or news organisation, or the regional news agency PACNEWS, published by PINA; then *Foreign or NGO news* – meaning a news source from outside the immediate Pacific region, such as Australia or New Zealand or further abroad, or from a global NGO. For *The New Zealand Herald*, *Foreign or NGO news* refers to articles from outside New Zealand. Finally, the *Press Release* category was used again, this time to distinguish between articles from NGOs such as UNICEF with an analysis or opinion on a development issue, (included in the *Foreign or NGO news* category) from a press release from an NGO or other organisation about another issue, or procedural matter. For example, *Vanuatu Daily Post* published an article from UNICEF: “Lack of investment could result in ‘Lost Generation’ of Pacific youth: report”. This was distinguished from articles such as what the same newspaper published from the PIF Secretariat: “Forum leaders endorse Slade’s second term as SG”, which concerned the election of Tuiloma Neroni Slade as secretary general of the PIF.

Table 4.4: Pacific Islands Forum 2011, sources of articles



Source: Perrottet, August 1 – September 30, 2011.

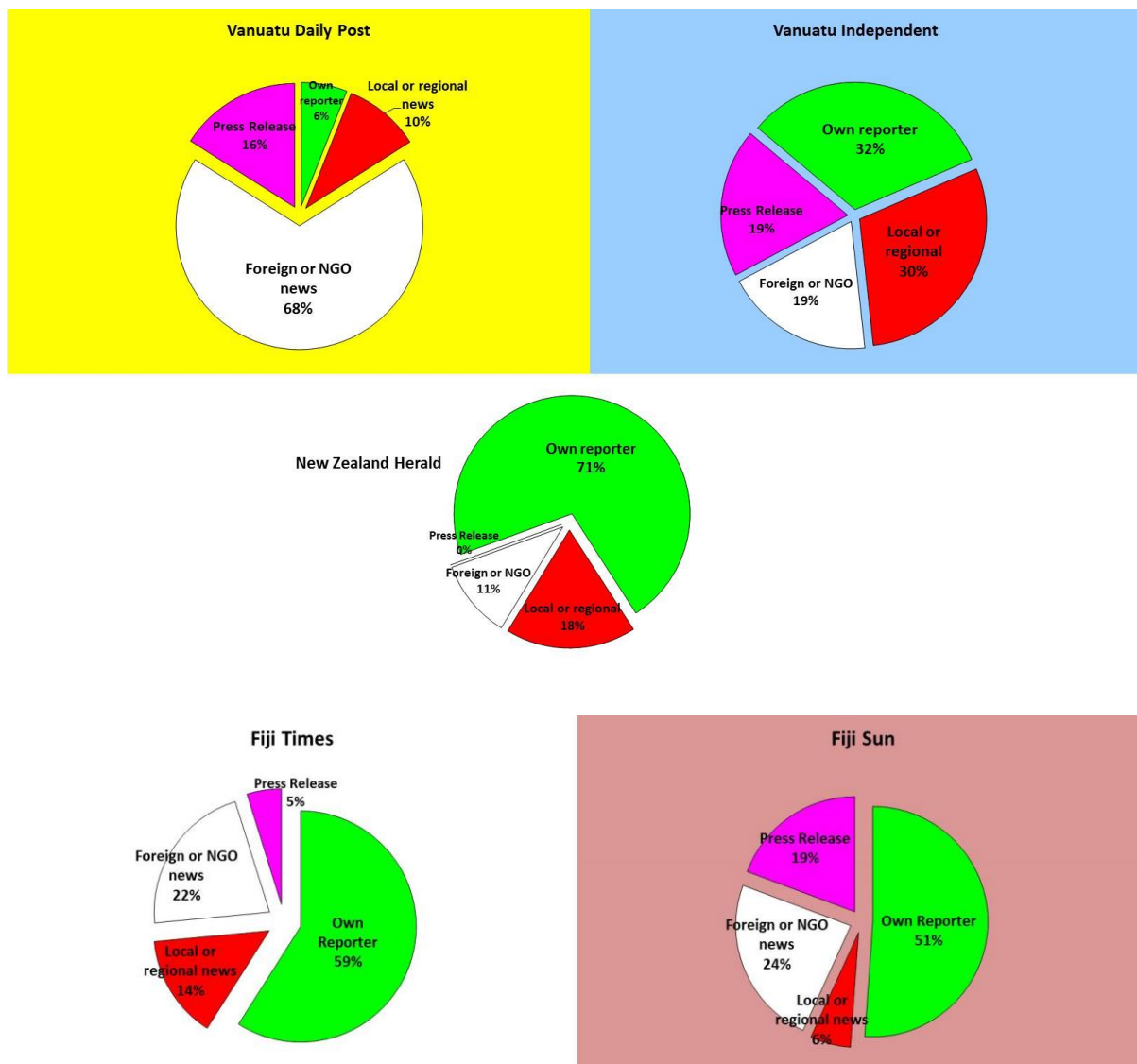
The newspapers that dispatched reporters certainly benefited from having a reporter on the scene, however, the *Vanuatu Independent* chose to publish more articles from an outside source (25 articles) than by its own reporter (12). Only 32 percent of its coverage was provided by the reporter on the ground at the event. And there were almost as many articles from local or regional sources (11) as there were from the reporter (12). *The Fiji Times* had more articles from their own reporters than the other newspapers, and depended far less on other outlets. *The Fiji Times* also used foreign news outlets as a source more than local or regional ones. Again, the *Fiji Sun* sourced almost a fifth of their articles from press releases; the great majority of those from the Fiji Government's Ministry of Information.

Table 4.4 clearly shows 34 articles by *Vanuatu Daily Post's* articles were from *foreign or NGO news* sources, (68 percent). The opposite trend occurred at the *Vanuatu Independent*, with a similar dependency on the outside sources but a higher proportion of those articles being sourced from within the region, rather than outside it. *Vanuatu Daily Post* relied heavily on articles from RNZI and Radio Australia, while the *Vanuatu Independent* sourced more from PACNEWS and other Pacific media outlets.

Furthermore, *The New Zealand Herald*, which is based in Auckland and had two full-time reporters at the event, had more than a quarter of the reporting sourced from the local wires such as AFP, AAP and the NZPA. However, with its limited coverage, it did have the highest portion of articles from its own reporters, with 71 percent.

Figure 4.11 shows some comparisons, clearly showing that *The New Zealand Herald* and the *Vanuatu Independent* relied more on locally-sourced non-original news than foreign-sourced articles, while the two Fiji newspapers and most especially *Vanuatu Daily Post*, relied more on the foreign sources.

Figure 4.11: Pacific Islands Forum 2011, sources of articles



Source: Perrottet, August 1 – September 30, 2011.

One can see the *Vanuatu Independent* having the most even spread of sources, balancing Evelyn Toa's reporting with articles such as the two illustrated (Figures 4.12 and 4.13) – one an analysis from the PINA news agency and a report from Fairfax's *The Age*, based in Victoria, Australia. The news report from *The Age* is a revealing piece about Australia putting undue pressure on the Pacific islands over the free trade deal, while the PINA analysis gives a regional perspective on the future of the PIF grouping and the challenges it faces.

Figure 4.12: Auckland summit – make or break for Forum

Auckland summit—make or break for Forum

OPINION
by PINA online Editor

THE Auckland summit of the Pacific Islands Forum will start a make-or-break year for the 40-year old institution as the unquestioned premier regional body.

Fiji's ruler for the last five years, military commander Frank Bainimarama, who has so far resisted all attempts to dislodge him or to speed his promised return to democracy after September 2014, has this year made the marginalisation of the Forum a crusade.

This would have been unthinkable in the era dominated by two great leaders of the independence era in the Pacific: Fiji's Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, who died in 2004 aged 83, and Grand Chief Sir Michael Somare, aged 75, whose own family has said that there is no prospect of him returning to the prime ministership of Papua New Guinea following a succession of serious operations in Singapore.

For both leaders, the Forum was an international body which they viewed as their own creation. Its traditions and island-style validated their approach to leadership. But the newer generation of leaders does not see it as quite so special.

Can the organisation over-ride the determined obstacle of suspended Fiji, whose awkwardness is underlined because the Forum's headquarters and the biggest single pan-Pacific institution, the University of the South Pacific, remain in Suva, and because Fiji itself is still the transport and distribution hub of the islands?

It is doubly fortunate that this year's summit, from September 6-9, will be held in Auckland, the city that contains the world's highest Polynesian population.

First and most obviously, of course, because the Rugby World Cup kicks off on September 9 in Auckland with a game between the hosts, the All Blacks, and Tonga—the latter likely inspired by the Samoans' stunning triumph against the Wallabies last month.

Second, because New Zealand's Prime Minister John Key will take on the chairmanship of the Forum for a year, until the next summit—which will probably be held at Rarotonga, capital of the Cook Islands.

Key faces an election on November. But he is already the overwhelming favourite to win. Even if he achieves an unlikely outright majority with his own National Party, he has said he will retain his coalition with the Maori Party.

He has proven popular, astute, with a good rapport with Maori and islanders at home and especially strong internationally.

Restoring waning influence: If anyone can steer the Forum through a most difficult year ahead, it is Key—who will have to wear the responsibility of ushering towards Pacific-style consensus, an Australian government whose foreign policy is driven by rivalries with Prime Minister Julia Gillard utterly distracted by domestic woes and her foreign minister Kevin Rudd running his own diplomatic race and taking scant interest in the Pacific since being ousted by Gillard as prime minister in June last year.

Gillard failed to attend the Forum summit in Port Vila, Vanuatu, last August because of the imminence of the Australian election. Failure to attend this year's would considerably weaken Australia's influence and considerably boost Bainimarama's.

But she has up her sleeve an especially attractive tool for restoring Australia's waning influence: a bipartisan political deal to double aid to A\$8 billion a year or more from 2015, Pacific.

She may face questions from Pacific leaders about her plans to process offshore asylum seekers who come to Australia by boat.

She wants to do a deal with PNG for access again to Manus Island for such a centre as in the John Howard era, but has so far failed to provide sufficient details to satisfy Port Moresby. And Solomon Islands has offered the disputed airforce strip on unpopulated Sirlin Island in the west, but has been knocked back by Canberra.

Gillard may also face questioning of the failure to-date of the pilot scheme to bring Pacific temporary workers to Australia, compared with New Zealand's scheme, which is bringing more than 10,000 workers a year to work largely in orchards and on other agricultural jobs.

The Auckland summit will welcome a range of new leaders to the Pacific stage. They include Danny Philip from Solomon Islands; Sato Kilmén from Vanuatu; and Lord Tu'i'vakano from Tonga.

Philip and Abal have both been their countries' foreign ministers, so will have a level of comfort and confidence in Auckland.

Biggest issue: What to do about army-ruled Fiji is clearly the biggest issue with which the Forum has to grapple—even though none of the leaders or officials are likely to say so publicly in Auckland.

Bainimarama has successfully hosted a Melanesian Spearhead Group summit whose clear goal was to trumpet his successful defiance of the Forum's suspension of Fiji, with the other Melanesian leaders providing the desired messages to back him up.

It will be intriguing to see whether they start to retract their bold support of him made while they were in Suva as his guests.

Bainimarama underlined his intention to stir up Canberra, by inviting to the MSG summit, a senior team from Luxembourg, the tiny European country that is seeking to trump Australia's attempt to gain a seat at the UN Security Council in 2013.

The discussions last time around in Port Vila that will almost certainly return to the agenda in Auckland include:

- Climate change, despite the disappointment at failing to persuade the UN Security Council to declare this a security issue when it met in July, when the council was addressed by Nauru's President Marcus Stephen and by Australia's Pacific Secretary Richard Marles. This debate will focus on adaptation and mitigation.
- The Pacific Plan, with a special focus on coordinating aid flows so as to avoid duplication and competition between agencies. Under the plan, "peer reviews" have begun of the effectiveness of national aid programmes. But China has been reluctant to become involved, viewing its aid as being markedly different from that of Western countries.
- The implementation of the long debated Pacific Agreement on Closer Economic Relations Plus (PACER Plus)—the "plus" bringing Australia and New Zealand into the deal, along with the islands countries that have still only taken limited steps towards a free trade zone of their own—would mark an especially significant move for the Forum. But at their last meeting in Tonga in May, the region's trade ministers appeared to anticipate a prolonged period of negotiations, agreeing that the next PACER Plus officials meeting would be held before the end of 2011, preferably in November, followed by another meeting in early 2012. Ministers agreed the next meeting should focus on customs procedures, rules of origin and regional labour mobility.
- Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands (RAMSI) is likely to be invited to continue its work helping to bring security and development opportunities to the recently split-apart nation.
- New Caledonia, where voters may choose between 2014-2019 whether to become independent from France, is pressing for full Forum membership in advance of the referendum. Melanesians from the Indonesian province of Papua will also again stake their claim to membership, but are unlikely to earn a full debate. The PNG autonomous region of Bougainville may follow, due to be given a referendum on independence by 2015.
- Dealing with cross-border diseases will again be discussed.
- So will the old concept of the "digital divide," although mobile phone usage—and alongside it, internet use—are soaring. Bob Zoellick, the World Bank managing director, recently claimed that in Vanuatu and Tonga, for instance, mobile phone access has recently soared from 6 percent to 60 percent of the population.
- Building a better future for young islanders is another topic likely to be raised, following a June meeting of Wansolwara, a youth conference in Auckland with young people representing 14 Forum countries. This meeting challenged Pacific leaders to create parliamentary youth programmes and parliamentary seats for youth representatives.

The Independent/Independent - Saturday 13 August, 2011

Source: Vanuatu Independent, 13-19 September 2011, p. 7

Figure 4.13: Pacific islands accuse Aussie aid agency of coercion

News

Pacific islands accuse Aussie aid agency of coercion

AUSTRALIA'S overseas aid agency has been accused of strong-arm tactics in the South Pacific by seeking to unfairly influence tiny island neighbours in a free trade deal, reveal leaked documents.

The confidential documents showed Pacific island countries could abandon trade talks at a regional leaders' forum next week unless Australia stops pressuring the funding of Pacific trade negotiators.

Prime Minister Julia Gillard is expected to attend the leaders' summit - her first foray into the prickly Pacific political scene since becoming the nation's leader.

The documents obtained by the Melbourne Age showed the Pacific nations are also determined to leverage any trade deal to expand a guest workers scheme in Australia beyond fruit picking and agriculture, allowing islanders into other low-skilled jobs.

New Zealand has run a highly successful guest worker program for Pacific islanders since 2007, allowing more than 22,000 temporary workers a visa to find employment and send money home.

Australia set up a pilot scheme in 2008 to meet labour demand from the farming lobby but has failed to match the results seen in New Zealand, with just short of 550 workers in the program.

without Australia and New Zealand entering into funding agreements with OCTA.

A leaked draft contract between Australia's aid agency, AusAID, and the trade adviser proposes \$1 million in funding be split into \$125,000 tranches, with the money to be released every three months subject to "satisfactory progress" in the trade talks.

In lengthy comments on the draft contract the trade adviser's office told AusAID the clause was "totally unworkable" and demanded it be stripped from the contract and earlier plans for two \$500,000 payments be reinstated.

Pacific nations are adamant the trade adviser office should be legally independent and not threatened with budget cuts.

A spokesman for Trade Minister Craig Emerson said Australia funded the first year of operation for the chief trade adviser until March this year. He said Australia had promised funding for the next two years and was finalising the contract.

Gillard faces revolt among Labor

SENIOR Government figures say Julia Gillard has "lost her authority" and have urged her to weigh whether it's in Labor's best interests for her to remain prime minister.

In an extraordinary turn of events, Labor figures who supported Ms Gillard when she replaced Kevin Rudd as prime minister just 14 months ago are now floating a remarkable plan that could see Mr Rudd return to the leadership with Stephen Smith as his deputy and treasurer, the Courier-Mail reported.

"This is about authority and whether she can assert her authority because she hasn't got it now," one senior figure told The Courier-Mail last night.

Others in the party say Mr Smith, the Defence Minister, would have the numbers in any ballot



Source: Vanuatu Independent, 3-9 September 2011, p. 4

Although *Vanuatu Daily Post* was far more reliant on foreign reports, it is important to remember that it had more overall reports than the *Vanuatu Independent*, and the second-highest number of opinion/analysis pieces among all the newspapers analysed. Below are comparable examples of two pieces of analysis, one from *Islands Business* (Figure 4.14), a regional source, and one from *Pacific Scoop* (Figure 4.15), a foreign source – from New Zealand at the Pacific Media Centre, based at the Auckland University of Technology. Although that news service is foreign-based, it is focused specifically on the Pacific region and often publishes writers based in the Pacific. This is to say it is a far less “foreign” source than *The Age*, based in Melbourne.

Figure 4.14: Forum in Conflict?

6 | VANUATU DAILY POST | Friday September 9, 2011

Regional News

Forum in Conflict?

Fiji and trade raise possible conflict of interest questions

Samisoni Pareti
Islands Business

PACIFIC ISLANDS FORUM Secretariat's (PIFS) "exposure" in trade negotiations with Australia and New Zealand over PACER Plus has placed the secretariat in a prejudicial position over its management of trade talks with the European Union (EU), a confidential Papua New Guinea Government paper has said.

And Waigani wants PIFS to exclude itself from future Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) negotiations with the EU by establishing a separate and independent office to oversee EPA matters.

"PNG believes there exists a possible issue of conflict of interest in the management role PIFS plays in the EPA negotiations," said the PNG paper, a copy of which was leaked to this magazine.

"...PIFS' exposure to PACER Plus negotiation places PIFS in a possible situation of prejudice in the EPA negotiations management advice.

"This is therefore a situation of conflict of interest that exists in the current role PIFS plays in the EPA negotiations."

PNG's position was discussed at the trade ministers meeting of Pacific members of the ACP group in Port Moresby last month.

The paper was "noted" according to the meeting's outcome statement, and ministers have asked their leaders at their meeting in the margins of the Forum Leaders summit in Auckland early September to form an Eminent Persons Group to consider the PNG proposal in detail.

As things stand, PIFS is the current Regional Authorising Officer (RAO) for Pacific members of ACP.

In this role, PIFS manages all ACP matters between its Pacific members, as well as with their counterparts in the other two regions of Africa and the Caribbean, and with the EU.

Thorny issues
But the PNG paper claimed two recent developments have made PIFS role as RAO "questionable." One is the need for Pacific members of PIF to negotiate the free trade agreement PACER Plus with their two bigger and wealthier members of Australia and New Zealand. The other thorny issue is Fiji.

While its membership of PIF has been suspended due to the military coup of December 2006, Fiji's membership of the ACP grouping is still very much intact.

"PIFS' management of the PACER Plus negotiations may not be consistent with its core functions," said the PNG Government paper.

"Its core functions and responsibilities should be to provide equal service to the full membership of the Forum.

"What may be happening by the PIFS' management role in the EPA negotiations is a situation of serving the interest of one group of members to the exclusion of others.

"PIFS' responsibilities are to the Forum and its duties are to serve the collective interests of the Forum membership, consistent with the Forum Leaders' decisions.

"EPA negotiations management is an additional responsibility PIFS has taken on.

Chris Noonan resigns as Chief Trade Adviser
Pacific Islands negotiations with Australia and New Zealand on PACER Plus has hit a major snag with the resignation of Chief Trade Adviser, Dr Chris Noonan of New Zealand.

Dr Noonan heads the Office of the Chief Trade Adviser, which is based in Port Vila, Vanuatu, and has only been in the job for just over a year.

Although Islands government trade officials were informed of his resignation at a meeting in Papua New Guinea in early August, no public announcement has been issued.

"Yes, it is correct, I have tendered my resignation," Dr Noonan said in response to questions from Islands Business about his future at the OCTA.

"There is really nothing to tell," he added in his electronic mail response.

"It was for personal reasons. OCTA will carry on—business as usual."

But it was certainly no business as usual when the New Zealand lawyer and trade expert got appointed as CTA by the Pacific Islands Forum in December 2009.

Two months after receiving his appointment letter, Dr Noonan was still debating the actual nature of his contract and structure of the OCTA, a matter Islands Business had reported in its February 2010 edition.

The story quoted from a letter from then Solomon Islands Foreign Minister William Haomae to PIFS (Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat) Secretary-General Tuiloma Neroni Slade, complaining bitterly about the delays in Dr Noonan's appointment.

"Despite the importance placed by the trade ministers on the urgent establishment of OCTA, FICs (Forum Islands Countries) have noted with surprise that the handling of the matter by the secretariat has been characterised by extraordinary delays," wrote the Solomon Islands' minister.

"FICs are concerned that the significant time lags between Dr Noonan's communication with the secretariat and its responses are interfering with the fulfilment of the mandate given to the secretariat by the Forum Ministers.

"Repeated requests for urgent updates from some FICs have yielded at best, delayed responses.

"Similarly, it has been brought to the attention of FICs that Dr Noonan's requests for the chance to travel to Fiji and Vanuatu to assist in moving this process forward have been rejected.

"Given the low costs of the proposed travel and its importance, and the significant amount of funding that remains available, the Forum Secretariat's recalcitrance is puzzling, contrary to its mission to serve all the members' interests, and might set a worrying precedent for the on-going PACER Plus process.

"More seriously, FICs are alarmed to see that the actions of the Forum Secretariat have been characterised by an inappropriate degree of opacity. In particular, while the governance structure of OCTA was discussed through successive rounds of PACER Plus meetings, the contract discussions between the Forum Secretariat and Dr Noonan have not been made available to FICs."

Dr Noonan's appointment was finalised in no time after Haomae's letter was leaked and published by Islands Business.

But for the new CTA, the fight had just begun. Over the past 12 or so months, he has had to fight to get funding for OCTA, with Australia particularly being accused of interfering with the office's financial independence.

The accusation became too close for comfort for the Australian Government recently when New South Wales Green Senator Lee Rhiannon told Australia's Upper House that Prime Minister Julian Gillard's Government should stop its interfering and bullying tactics.

"Australia would under no circumstances accept such a compromise of its sovereignty," said Senator Rhiannon.

"Yet through its aid programme, the government is attempting to make such an imposition on the Forum islands countries.

"The islands have asserted that the OCTA is theirs and should be under their control, and not the control of all Forum countries.

"It is a sad irony that I stand in the building that asserts Australia's sovereignty, asking for it to allow other countries to do the same.

"I call on the Australian government, when it attends this year's Pacific Islands Forum Leaders Meeting to live up to its call for good governance and aid ownership in this region and respect the rights of Forum islands leaders to decide for themselves what the mandate of the OCTA is.

"At the end of the day, they are asking only for funding, not permission."

The NSW Green Senator referred to the "documentation" of Australia's "arm-twisting, power politics and pressure" over the OCTA affair.

In particular, she questioned the need for Canberra to attempt to limit the scope of the OCTA to PACER Plus negotiations only, and its insistence that OCTA funding be released and reviewed on a quarterly basis.

PIFS role redefined
"This would normally be the responsibility of the ACP Secretariat to its members, ACP being a different legal entity to PIFS.

"It would therefore be in the best interest of both the PIFS and PACPs that the PIFS role in the EPA negotiations be redefined."

The Waigani paper asserted that removing the RAO role of PIFS would also resolve the "inappropriate issue" of Fiji's participation in EPA negotiations.

"Fiji's case provides a substantive impetus for PACP matters to be managed independently of the Forum.

"Fiji's case with PIFS is an example of what can happen if the PACPs, which are members of a completely different legal entity, surrender the management responsibilities of their affairs to another legal entity.

"Hence, the inappropriate issue of Fiji's eligibility or otherwise comes into play."

PNG's view was echoed by a Fiji Government paper which was also presented at the same Port Moresby meeting of Pacific ACP Trade Ministers last August.

In this paper, which was also obtained by Islands Business, Suva made the call that the RAO role should be removed from PIFS.

"PIFS is not a signatory to the Cotonou (Agreement between ACP countries and the EU) and therefore its role to coordinate and provide technical advice to the PACPs was consequential to the PACPs' commitments and decisions.

"It therefore follows that the PACPs are at liberty to assign this role to the PIFS (which they did in 2004) or to transfer it to another organisation if they feel PIFS is unable to perform the role effectively."

Fiji is particularly displeased that because of its suspension from PIF its leader Commodore Frank Bainimarama would not be able to attend this month's Pacific ACP Leaders summit in Auckland.

Under its travel sanction policy, Wellington bans Bainimarama, his cabinet minister and senior military officer and their families from visiting New Zealand. Canberra has a similar policy.

EPA – interim or comprehensive?
The future structure of a free trade agreement between Pacific members of the ACP and Europe hangs in a balance as parties scramble to meet the once again changed negotiation deadline of mid-2012.

As a negotiating bloc, the 14 members of the Pacific ACP countries have agreed to negotiate as a region with the EU (European Union) and to all aim for a full, comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA).

However, the two larger members of Papua New Guinea and Fiji opted out of that agreement when they individually signed an interim EPA (I-EPA) with the European Union in 2007 to protect their tuna and sugar exports respectively. PNG has since ratified that agreement.

The race to meet the EPA negotiation deadline, which has now been pushed from the end of December 2011 to mid-2012, has only added pressure on what is already a complex and highly charged negotiation environment.

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Source: *Vanuatu Daily Post*, 9 September 2011, p. 6

Figure 4.15: China plays own game for 'constructive' Pacific aid

4 | VANUATU DAILY POST | Monday September 26, 2011

Feature News

China plays own game for 'constructive' Pacific aid

By Sarah Robson,
Pacific Scoop

CHINA DOESN'T WANT TO BE bound by the rules and regulations of regional institutions in how it delivers aid to the Pacific.

And as a sovereign state, China is quite entitled to turn down invitations to participate in coordinated aid efforts in the Pacific.

New Zealand Prime Minister John Key, incoming chair of the Pacific Islands Forum, said the Chinese delegation in Auckland earlier this month for talks with Forum leaders made it clear they did not want to be bound by the Cairns Compact, an agreement for better coordination and information sharing about aid programmes, the New Zealand Herald has reported.

Key is not concerned about China's involvement in the Pacific, and has emphasised New Zealand's own constructive relationship with China. Key's view is shared by New Zealand's Minister of Foreign Affairs Murray McCully, who says New Zealand is one of the Pacific countries best placed to embark on joint projects with China in the Pacific – if not now, then in the future. In an interview with the Lowy Institute as the Forum got underway, McCully said China was attempting to play a constructive role within the region. "The challenge is to try and translate that into more partnerships, greater transparency, greater cooperation," he said. "It's a work in progress, but I take the view that China is doing in the Pacific what it is doing everywhere else in the world. It's looking for resources that it needs to access, it's looking to make sure that its interests are understood as a global player. We need to meet them halfway and turn that into a more cooperative effort in the region."

China's vision
China sees itself as a friend and cooperative partner of Pacific Island countries.

Vice-Foreign Minister Cui Tiankai, who headed the Chinese delegation at the post-Forum dialogue, says China will "continue to be a positive and constructive force in the region".

At the talks, Cui outlined how China is going to help Pacific Island countries achieve sustainable economic and social development. Cui emphasised initiatives to provide more support for tourism in the region, as well as support for the develop-

ment of the energy and fishery sectors.

China's assistance to the Pacific will include more high-level visits, more educational scholarships, more infrastructure projects, forums to facilitate closer business ties, debt write-offs and a US\$400,000 contribution to the China-Pacific Island Forum Cooperation Fund to be used for agreed projects.

"China is still very much a newcomer to the region and it is still trying to solidify its own South Pacific agenda. There might be still a bit of lingering mistrust for China to join various other joint aid initiatives until it feels that its own aid policies have matured, but it's very tough to tell."

Cui described China's aid to the Pacific as "mutual assistance" between developing countries, as opposed to official development aid that is provided by the likes of Australia and New Zealand.

"For many years, China has been extending economic and technical assistance to Pacific Island countries and regional organisations, despite the fact it is not a rich country itself," he says.

"As China's economy continues to develop, China will gradually increase its aid to other countries as its ability permits, explore new ways and areas of cooperation with all Pacific Island countries and further expand economic and technical cooperation."

Cui also signalled that China is ready to learn from the experiences of other aid-giving countries and will begin to look at cooperative initiatives, as long as certain conditions are met.

"Under the principle of adopting a step-by-step approach and starting with easier issues, China is ready to discuss trilateral cooperation on aid with relevant countries and organisations, on the condition that the will of recipient countries are respected with no political strings."

Pacific partner
China's involvement in the Pacific is part of its wider global strategy.

"China does see itself as a leading power in Asia principally, but it also has aspirations for itself in a global sense, and not just in an Asian sense, but in a wider Asia-Pacific sense," says Professor Robert Ayson, director of the Centre of Strategic Studies at Victoria University of Wellington.

"At the very least, it sees

itself as one of a series of major powers in Asia, but there's a debate going on as to whether China sees itself as potentially the preeminent power, in a sense displacing the United States in the Asia-Pacific."

However, Professor Ayson says the importance of the Pacific region to China should not be overstated. "For China, the South Pacific

is not a leading priority, it's not the thing that keeps Chinese leaders awake at night," he explains.

"But I think China does want to be seen as an active part of the Asia-Pacific, I think it sees the South Pacific as part of the wider region where it would like to have some influence and some presence."

Dr Marc Lanteigne, a senior lecturer in the School of Political Science and International Relations at Victoria University of Wellington, says that for a long time, Chinese investment in the Pacific could be traced back to its diplomatic competition with Taiwan.

A truce between China and Taiwan came into force in 2008, but since then, China has widened and deepened its investment in the Pacific.

Dr Lanteigne says there are a variety of reasons for this. "There are some resources which China is interested in, primarily fishing, and in Papua New Guinea, oil, gas and minerals. In other cases though, China is looking to the future for when the civilian and military vessels start operating in the South Pacific."

Some commentators have interpreted China's actions in the Pacific as being part of a strategy to push the United States and its allies from the western Pacific. "I don't subscribe to anything quite that draconian," Dr Lanteigne says.

"China is really trying to underscore that it's not similar to previous powers in the region, such as the US and France and Britain. They're really playing up the idea that they are a partner, they are not interested in big state-small state economic

cooperation, they are simply a partner."

Cooperation prospects
Although China is with- in its rights to say no to participating in coordinated aid efforts in the Pacific, Dr Lanteigne says its reluctance to do so is unfortunate.

"It has been argued, especially by groups such as the Lowy Institute, that for China to enter into more conjoint

"It would mean money better spent, plus it would allow for greater coordination of aid in the region." One of the issues for China is that, unlike most major players in the Pacific, it has no central aid agency like NZAid or AusAid.

"Aid money comes from a variety of different quarters, some of which are much less transparent than, say, AusAid and that has not done much to fuel speculation that some of this aid is politically motivated more than anything else," Dr Lanteigne said.

It may just take time to bring China into the fold of Pacific aid initiatives.

"China is still very much a newcomer to the region and it is still trying to solidify its own South Pacific agenda. There might be still a bit of lingering mistrust for China

to join various other joint aid initiatives until it feels that its own aid policies have matured, but it's very tough to tell."

But as China's global power grows, Professor Ayson says it is inevitable China would have more of an aid presence in the Pacific.

"I think it's a matter of rather than being fearful about it, it's about seeking to try to work with China and to make sure that, like other countries and other external presences in the region, their presence is as helpful and responsible as possible and that they are not in a position of any sort of monopoly position."

□ Sarah Robson is a Postgraduate Diploma in Communication Studies student journalist on the Asia-Pacific Journalism course at AUT University.



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Source: Vanuatu Daily Post, 26 September 2011, p. 4

An application of Development Journalism to the Findings:

Further Observations combining article numbers, category, typology and source

Although this section will include some repetition, it is worthwhile combining the findings for further observation, which will assist in forming a judgment as to how much development journalism, as defined in this thesis on page 35, is being undertaken by each newspaper.

As defined in Chapter Two, Development Journalism is:

A brand of journalism focused on providing analysis and proposing solutions, from the “bottom-up” – both involving the key stakeholders in nation-building, and providing a level of advocacy in favour of the underdeveloped. (above, p .35).

The most helpful way of testing the results against this definition is to observe how much a newspaper a) reports on development issues, b) provides analysis on those issues, and c) sources that analysis from within the country or region, and preferably not from the powerful elites, but the “ordinary people”. Therefore, each newspaper will be tested to ascertain to what extent it could be said that development journalism is practised. There is no ideal ratio of *news reports* to *opinion/analysis*, so each newspaper’s results will be presented as a percentage of its total reports. For the third part of the test, based on source, the two categories of *own reporter* and *local/regional news* will be combined. However, the *news reports* and *opinion/analysis* will remain distinguished, so it can be seen what portion of each newspaper’s in-depth analysis is coming from within the Pacific. The final findings will be shown in table format, but it is stressed that these figures must be read in conjunction with the facts and observations about each newspaper’s coverage.

Vanuatu Daily Post

As shown in Table 4.3, *Vanuatu Daily Post* had 23 *development reports* out of its total of 50 articles. There were 27 *other reports*. As shown in Table 4.4, the newspaper published only three articles from its own reporter, five from local or regional sources, 34 articles sourced from foreign sources, and eight press releases. 36 out of the 50 were *news reports*, there were six *opinion/analysis* pieces, seven *press releases* and a *feature* (See Tables 4.1 & 4.2). All of the six *opinion/analysis* pieces were also *development reports*. Looking specifically at

the *news reports*, three were written by the newspaper's reporters, 21 were from RNZI, seven from Radio Australia, or the ABC, one from the BBC and others from regional groups. And out of six *opinion/analysis* articles, three were from *Islands Business*, one from PACNEWS, one from UNICEF and one from *Pacific Scoop*. Thus this newspaper relied heavily on foreign sources for *news reports*, but at the same time relied heavily on local sources for its *opinion/analysis*. It did not contribute to that analysis with its own editorials. Although not taken into account in this final analysis, it is also worthwhile to note the sources of the *press releases* (14 percent of *Vanuatu Daily Post* coverage, see Figure 4.1). They were sourced from the PIF, Pacific ACP, the MSG, the Office of the Chief Trade Adviser (of the Pacific Island Countries), or OCTA and the West Papua National Coalition for Liberation, or WPNCL – all Pacific sources, and most of them groupings of regional leaders.

Therefore, the findings for *Vanuatu Daily Post* can be summarised as follows in Table 4.5:

Table 4.5: Vanuatu Daily Post Development Journalism Summary

Vanuatu Daily Post	
Development (as a percentage of total articles)	46%
Analysis (as a percentage of development reports)	26%
Locally- sourced news reports (as a percentage of news reports, which were 36 in total)	19%
Locally-sourced analysis (as a percentage of analysis pieces, which were 6 in total)	67%

Source: Perrottet, August 1 – September 30, 2011.

The Vanuatu Independent

As evidenced in Table 4.3, *The Vanuatu Independent* published 22 development reports out of its total of 37 articles. There were 14 *other reports* and one *colour report*. As evidenced in Table 4.4, the newspaper published 12 articles from its own reporter, 11 from local or regional sources, seven from foreign sources and published seven press releases. 26 out of the 37 were *news reports* while there were four *opinion/analysis* pieces, no *editorials* and seven *press releases* (See Tables 4.1 and 4.2). Looking specifically at the *news reports*, ten were from the newspaper's own reporter, seven were sourced from PACNEWS, three were from other Pacific newspapers (*FBC*, *Fiji Sun*, *Solomon Star*) and six were from foreign newspapers (*The Age*, *The New Zealand Herald*, the *Mainichi Daily*, *Radio Australia* and

TVNZ as well as *Stuff.co.nz*). Looking at the *opinion/analysis* pieces, two were from the newspaper's own reporters, one from the *Sydney Morning Herald* and one from the PINA news editor. All of the four *opinion/analysis* pieces were also *development* reports. Again, by way of noting *press releases*, the *Vanuatu Independent* sourced its press releases (eight percent of its coverage, see Figure 4.1), from the PIF, the Pacific ACP, and the MSG – all Pacific groupings of regional leaders.

The findings for the *Vanuatu Independent* can be summarised as follows in Table 4.6:

Table 4.6: Vanuatu Independent Development Journalism Summary

Vanuatu Independent	
Development (as a percentage of total articles)	59%
Analysis (as a percentage of development reports)	18%
Locally- sourced news reports (as a percentage of news reports, which were 26 in total)	77%
Locally-sourced analysis (as a percentage of analysis pieces, which were 4 in total)	75%

Source: Perrottet, August 1 – September 30, 2011.

The New Zealand Herald

As demonstrated in Table 4.3, *The New Zealand Herald* published 18 development reports out of its total of 28 articles. There were 9 *other reports* and one *colour report*. As evidenced in Table 4.4, the newspaper published 20 articles from its own reporter, five from local or regional sources, and three from foreign sources. There were no press releases. 20 out of the 28 were *news reports* while there were seven *opinion/analysis* pieces, and one *editorial* (See Tables 4.1 and 4.2). Looking specifically at the *news reports*, 15 were from the newspaper's own reporter, four were from APNZ/AAP and one from NZPA. Looking at the *opinion/analysis* pieces, (25 percent of its overall coverage, see Figure 4.1) two were from the newspaper's own reporters, two more were local writers: Maire Leadbeater and Sitiveni Halapua. Leadbeater is a prominent New Zealand human rights campaigner and current spokesperson for the Indonesia Human Rights Committee. Halapua is an academic and former member of the Tongan Parliament, who also lives part-time in New Zealand, and is thus classified as a local source. Another was from the Australian-based "think tank" The Lowy Institute, one was from the United States Government, and the final one from the

global NGO, Oxfam. It also contributed with one editorial (See Table 4.2). It did not publish any press releases (See Figure 4.1). However, one *opinion/analysis* piece, from one of *The New Zealand Herald's* own reporters, was not classified as a *development report* (McCully scores with his A-list Forum, *New Zealand Herald*, 10 September, p. 23).

The findings for *The New Zealand Herald* can be summarised as follows in Table 4.7:

Table 4.7: New Zealand Herald Development Journalism Summary

New Zealand Herald	
Development (as a percentage of total articles)	64%
Analysis (as a percentage of development reports)	33%
Locally- sourced news reports (as a percentage of news reports, which were 20 in total)	100%
Locally-sourced analysis (as a percentage of development analysis pieces, which were 6 in total)	50%

Source: Perrottet, August 1 – September 30, 2011.

The Fiji Times

As shown in Table 4.3, *The Fiji Times* published 39 development reports out of its total of 83 articles. There were 42 *other reports* and two *colour reports*. As evidenced in Table 4.4, the newspaper published 49 articles from its own reporter, 12 from local or regional sources, 18 from foreign sources and published four press releases. Seventy-seven out of the 83 were *news reports* while there was one *opinion/analysis* piece, one *editorial* and four *press releases* (See Tables 4.1 and 4.2). Looking specifically at the *news reports*, 48 were from the newspaper's own reporters, 11 were sourced from PACNEWS, and one from the *Cook Islands News*, then ten were sourced from AAP/AFP, one from the NZ Newswire, four from RNZI, one from TVNZ, and one from *The Age*, based in Australia. Looking at the *opinion/analysis* piece, there was one, from the Australia-based *New Matilda*, and it was a *development report*. There was also one editorial. Again, by way of noting *press releases*, *The Fiji Times* sourced its four press releases from the PIF and the Cluster Munition Coalition.

Therefore, the findings for *The Fiji Times* can be summarised as follows in Table 4.8:

Table 4.8: The Fiji Times Development Journalism Summary

Fiji Times	
Development (as a percentage of total articles)	87%
Analysis (as a percentage of development reports)	3%
Locally- sourced news reports (as a percentage of news reports, which were 77 in total)	78%
Locally-sourced analysis (as a percentage of analysis pieces, which was 1 in total)	0%

Source: Perrottet, August 1 – September 30, 2011.

The Fiji Sun

As demonstrated in Table 4.3, *The Fiji Sun* published 30 development reports out of its total of 89 articles. There were 58 *other reports* and one *colour report*. As evidenced in Table 4.4, the newspaper published 45 articles from its own reporter, five from local or regional sources, 21 from foreign sources and published 17 press releases. 65 out of the 89 were *news reports* while there were four *opinion/analysis* pieces, three *editorials* and 17 *press releases* (See Tables 4.1 and 4.2). Looking specifically at the *news reports*, 42 were from the newspaper's own reporters, three were sourced from PACNEWS, one from FBC, one from the *Solomon Star*, then nine were sourced from RNZI, one from *International News*, one from NZPA, one from the *Sydney Morning Herald*, two from Radio Australia, and four from AAP. Looking at the four *opinion/analysis* pieces, there was one from *Pacific Scoop*, one from New Zealand's *Sunday Star-Times*, one from *The Australian*, and the fourth from the World Socialist Web Site (a United States-based Marxist publication). However, only two out of the four *opinion/analysis* pieces were classified as *development reports*. The *Fiji Sun* also published more editorials than any of the other newspapers, with three editorials, or three percent of its coverage (See Table 4.2, Figure 4.1).

Therefore, the findings for the *Fiji Sun* can be summarised as follow in Table 4.9:

Table 4.9: The Fiji Sun Development Journalism Summary

Fiji Sun	
Development (as a percentage of total articles)	34%
Analysis (as a percentage of development reports)	7%
Locally- sourced news reports (as a percentage of news reports, which were 65 in total)	72%
Locally-sourced analysis (as a percentage of development analysis pieces, which was 2 in total)	0%

Source: Perrottet, August 1 – September 30, 2011.

Conclusion

There is a considerable difference between newspapers that all share the common problems of a lack of resources. *The Fiji Times* stands out in its coverage of development, with the highest percentage of reports dedicated to development issues, and far more than the *Fiji Sun*. However, both Fijian newspapers published very little analysis on those issues, and none of it was sourced from the region (apart from their own editorials). The Vanuatu newspapers stood out both in their level of analysis, and in their sourcing of that analysis from within the region, despite having fewer overall articles. *Vanuatu Daily Post* did source a great deal of its basic information and news from foreign outlets, but looked within the Pacific for the analysis. The *Vanuatu Independent* favoured the local sources for both. As a Western comparison, *The New Zealand Herald* covered the development issues broadly and a third of those development reports were *opinion/analysis*, and half of the *opinion/analysis* was from New Zealand and the other half from foreign sources.

To practice development journalism the Vanuatu newspapers and the *Fiji Sun* need to cover the development issues more broadly in their news reports, while the *Fiji Times* and the *Fiji Sun* arguably need to provide more analysis on those issues. The fact that there were so few *opinion/analysis* pieces from the Fiji newspapers makes it difficult to judge what sources the two newspapers would seek for analysis, however the Vanuatu newspapers proved that the sources are there and are not only “top-down” sources but news outlets as well as other groups and individuals in the Pacific that provide critical appraisals, propose solutions and advocate for the underdeveloped.

Conclusion

The media setting in the Pacific is considerably varied and each country has its own particular news focus. However, in each developing country, development can be classified as a Pacific news value, and development journalism can be a worthwhile endeavour in the news coverage of each of the island states. This thesis has examined the history of the term “development journalism”, from its first use in the mid-20th Century, its link to the broader term “development communication”, the 1980s UNESCO-sponsored effort to re-shape the global communications structure, and the history of the Asian approach to development journalism. Pacific, or Oceania-originated academia, characterised by analysts such as Papoutsaki, Robie, Romano and Loo, has brought a focus on the term with a Pacific application and these writers support the notion that there is much to be gained by defining it further and rejecting the suspicion that the term connotes some form of self-censorship or acquiescence to government control. Academics based in the Pacific, such as Singh, Prasad, Bhim, Prakash and Gounder have found a consensus that there is much to be gained by pursuing the aspirations of a brand of journalism that provides more analysis and deliberation, and that involves more work eliciting information from “bottom-up” sources rather than “top-down” ones. They also qualify their stance to argue that this approach does not mean that Western models of journalism are to be disregarded. Many in fact argue with a counter-narrative that a development journalism approach could be applied in so-called developed countries and contribute greatly to the mediascape with a more critical and deliberative approach. This thesis has engaged with the literature produced by those writers and formed a definition of development journalism (p. 35) that has been applied in this case study, as an exercise in discovering what level of development journalism is currently being practised in the Pacific. It has also analysed the developmental status of countries in the Pacific, based on data provided by the United Nations and other sources. This data, coupled with the input of journalists and editors from the Pacific, emphasises the point that the topic of development remains a crucial issue in the Pacific and is justified as a Pacific news value.

This thesis has discussed the application of the Galtung and Ruge news values as taught in schools of journalism and questions whether those principles, while global, are appropriate for all countries and regions specifically. It is concluded here that there are specific news values such as development that are not only appropriate but crucial to the daily news agenda in developing countries. The Galtung and Ruge news values were based on a global survey and the outcome was influenced by what was important to news consumers, editors and agenda-setters of the day. They were not the gold standard of what should always be the leading principles of what makes, or does not make, the front pages. Newsrooms in developing countries have a role to play to provide the public with the information needed to realise their own development and thus there is even more reason for those newsrooms to not necessarily imitate the newsrooms of more developed countries, that have different cultural considerations besides. Furthermore, the inclusion of such a news value of development would also be beneficial in the so-called developed countries as an important educational agenda item.

This definition of development journalism was applied to four Pacific –based newspapers and one New Zealand newspaper over a two-month period, focusing on coverage of the 2011 Pacific Islands Forum Leaders Meeting:

A brand of journalism focused on providing analysis and proposing solutions, from the “bottom-up” – both involving the key stakeholders in nation-building, and providing a level of advocacy in favour of the underdeveloped.

What emerged from the content analysis was evidence that there is certainly more to be done in highlighting development issues, and an even greater need to source Pacific minds and voices to provide in-depth analyses on those issues, so that local solutions are proposed through the media, and communicated both to the “ordinary people” as well as governments and others in positions of power and influence.

The field of development journalism requires much further analysis in the Pacific. Each country has its own development issues and further research in the practice as applied to each country would provide helpful insights. Further content analyses on Pacific newspapers would also shine a light on the models of journalism being practised across the region, and

which countries require their media outlets to provide more crucial development information to their communities. Undoubtedly, the field of journalism education, which was largely untouched in this thesis, provides a broad field for further research, as journalism education in the Pacific is currently forming the journalists of tomorrow.

One of the notable Pacific democracy campaigners and journalists of the 1980s and 1990s has been the Tongan broadcaster and publisher, 'Akilisi Pohiva. On 30 December 2014, he became the country's first commoner to assume office as Prime Minister. In 1995, he wrote:

The history of human society can be viewed as a continuing struggle between the advocates of development and the guardians of the status quo. (Pohiva, 1995, p.206)

Now that Pohiva holds the key government seat in Tonga's maturing democracy, he has an opportunity to drive the development that he has advocated for so long, and not fall foul of his own words. As shown in Chapter Three, Pacific governments are supported substantially by foreign aid, but turning that assistance into real development remains an out-of-reach goal for many Pacific island countries. The media, an industry that Pohiva represented for many years, albeit at the fringe of the monarchist establishment, has a crucial role to play in providing all stakeholders with the information they require to bring about development, as well as informed opinion and analysis. There are many challenges to development, including development of the media, but making and keeping development issues a priority in news reporting remains crucial to Pacific Island countries.

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- New Caledonia:
<http://mdgs.un.org/unsd/mdg/Resources/Static/Products/Progress2014/Snapshots/NCL.pdf>
- Nauru:
<http://mdgs.un.org/unsd/mdg/Resources/Static/Products/Progress2014/Snapshots/NRU.pdf>
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<http://mdgs.un.org/unsd/mdg/Resources/Static/Products/Progress2014/Snapshots/COK.pdf>

French Polynesia:

<http://mdgs.un.org/unsd/mdg/Resources/Static/Products/Progress2014/Snapshots/PYF.pdf>

Marshall Islands:

<http://mdgs.un.org/unsd/mdg/Resources/Static/Products/Progress2014/Snapshots/MHL.pdf>

Niue:

<http://mdgs.un.org/unsd/mdg/Resources/Static/Products/Progress2014/Snapshots/NIU.pdf>

Samoa:

<http://mdgs.un.org/unsd/mdg/Resources/Static/Products/Progress2014/Snapshots/WSM.pdf>

Tonga:

<http://mdgs.un.org/unsd/mdg/Resources/Static/Products/Progress2014/Snapshots/TON.pdf>

Tuvalu:

<http://mdgs.un.org/unsd/mdg/Resources/Static/Products/Progress2014/Snapshots/TUV.pdf>

Vanuatu:

<http://mdgs.un.org/unsd/mdg/Resources/Static/Products/Progress2014/Snapshots/VUT.pdf>

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Appendix A: Table of Articles

Newspaper	Date & Page	Article Title	Article Typology	Development Issue	Other issue	Colour / Light	Source, if Outsourced	Author, if Original
<i>Vanuatu Daily Post</i>	6/8, P10	Right to economic self-determination	Opinion	Trade, economy, independence			Islands Business	
<i>Vanuatu Daily Post</i>	8/8, P9	Celebrating 40 Years of the Pacific Islands Forum	Release	History and relevance of the PIF			PIF	
<i>Vanuatu Daily Post</i>	9/8, P5	Aid for trade: Addressing the Pacific's unique challenges	Release	Trade in Pacific and EU			Pacific ACP	
<i>Vanuatu Daily Post</i>	12/8, P2	Special MSG Senior Officials meeting opened yesterday	Release		On meetings with MSG, summit, EPA etc.		MSG	
<i>Vanuatu Daily Post</i>	12/8, P6	Give West Papua MSG membership: Sope	Report	Minister's comments on WP status				Thompson Marango
<i>Vanuatu Daily Post</i>	12/8, P7	Pacific Forum Summit to focus on sustainable economic development	Report	PM Key's comments on theme of PIF – sustainability			RNZI	
<i>Vanuatu Daily Post</i>	15/8, P10	Wallis and Futuna: Forever French	Report	Independence of Pacific colonies			Radio Australia	
<i>Vanuatu Daily Post</i>	18/8, P6	Making the Forum accountable and honest	Opinion	Purpose and history of the Forum			Islands Business (Dr Roman Grynberg)	
<i>Vanuatu Daily Post</i>	26/8, P7	Tahiti opposition lobbies against decolonisation bid	Report		French Poly criticism of Temaru, seeking PIF support		RNZI	
<i>Vanuatu Daily Post</i>	26/8, P7	UN secretary-general to visit Solomon Islands and Kiribati	Report		Ban Ki-moon movements on way to Forum		RNZI	

Newspaper	Date & Page	Article Title	Article Typology	Development Issue	Other issue	Colour / Light	Source, if Outsourced	Author, if Original
<i>Vanuatu Daily Post</i>	30/8, P7	Tonga gets budget support from several donors	Report	Tonga aid to be finalised at Forum			RNZI	
<i>Vanuatu Daily Post</i>	30/8, P7	Cook Islands bans cluster bombs	Report	PIF members ratifying treaty			Radio Australia	
<i>Vanuatu Daily Post</i>	31/8, P7	Tahiti claims Pacific church support in decolonisation bid	Report		French Poly claim PCC support, and seek PIF support		RNZI	
<i>Vanuatu Daily Post</i>	31/8, P7	Dissident queries MSG's support for Fiji regime	Report		Ratu Mara on MSG and Fiji around Engaging with Fiji meeting		RNZI	
<i>Vanuatu Daily Post</i>	1/9, P2	Foreign Affairs DG represents Vanuatu in special MSG meet	Report		DG Sese to attend MSG then PIF in Auckland			Jane Joshua
<i>Vanuatu Daily Post</i>	1/9, P7	Fiji gathering ahead of Forum meeting is no coincidence – Ratuva	Report		Geopolitics in the region		RNZI	
<i>Vanuatu Daily Post</i>	3/9, P13	Solomons Minister says Fiji gave answers to key questions	Report		MSG pressure on PIF		BBC	
<i>Vanuatu Daily Post</i>	5/9, P1&3	New MSG Director General announced	Press Release		Results of MSG meeting		MSG communiqué	
<i>Vanuatu Daily Post</i>	6/9, P1&2	Pacific's Chief Trade Advisor resigns with a warning for Australia	Report	Risk of PACER plus talks failing			Radio Australia	
<i>Vanuatu Daily Post</i>	6/9, P5	Will the right to self-determinism prevail at the Forum Leaders' Meeting?	Opinion	Control of OCTA by Pacific countries			PACNEWS	
<i>Vanuatu Daily Post</i>	6/9, P7	Forum challenge for Pacific leaders	Report		Tough choices at Forum, Lowy Institute		Radio Australia	

Newspaper	Date & Page	Article Title	Article Typology	Development Issue	Other issue	Colour / Light	Source, if Outsourced	Author, if Original
<i>Vanuatu Daily Post</i>	6/9, P7	France again speaks out against French Polynesia's decolonisation bid	Report		French foreign minister to attend PIF		RNZI	
<i>Vanuatu Daily Post</i>	7/9, P2	PM not attending Forum meeting	Report		PM represented at Forum			Godwin Ligo
<i>Vanuatu Daily Post</i>	7/9, P7	NZ PM says consensus likely to keep Fiji out of Forum	Report		Key on Fiji		RNZI	
<i>Vanuatu Daily Post</i>	7/9, P7	Climate change to dominate Pacific Islands Forum	Report	Small island states and climate change			Radio Australia	
<i>Vanuatu Daily Post</i>	7/9, P7	Tahiti opposition to lobby against decolonisation bid at Auckland Forum	Report		Tong Sang to join French on decolonisation		RNZI	
<i>Vanuatu Daily Post</i>	7/9, P7	Indonesia to change Papua policy, says official	Report	West Papuan issue at Forum			RNZI	
<i>Vanuatu Daily Post</i>	8/9, P2	Office confirms resignation of Chief Trade Advisor	Press Release		OCTA resignation		OCTA	
<i>Vanuatu Daily Post</i>	8/9, P7	French Polynesia president claims success in decolonisation lobbying	Report		Temaru confident ahead of PIF		RNZI	
<i>Vanuatu Daily Post</i>	8/9, P7	Australia and New Zealand increase funding for Pacific education	Report	Aid for education			RNZI	
<i>Vanuatu Daily Post</i>	9/9, P6	Forum in Conflict?	Opinion / analysis	PIFS/PACER trade talks			ISLANDS Business, Samisoni Pareti	
<i>Vanuatu Daily Post</i>	9/9, P9	Lack of Investment could result in "Lost Generation" of Pacific Youth: report	Opinion	Engaging and investing in youth			UNICEF	

Newspaper	Date & Page	Article Title	Article Typology	Development Issue	Other issue	Colour / Light	Source, if Outsourced	Author, if Original
<i>Vanuatu Daily Post</i>	10/9, P2	West Papuan coalition expresses disappointment	Release	West Papua excluded			WPNCCL	
<i>Vanuatu Daily Post</i>	10/9, P10	Forum leaders endorse Slade's second term as SG	Release		Re-election of head of PIF		PIF	
<i>Vanuatu Daily Post</i>	10/9, P14	NZ to boost Pacific fisheries sector	Report	Sustainable fisheries			RNZI	
<i>Vanuatu Daily Post</i>	10/9, P14	Fiji suspended from Forum, invited to trade talks	Report		Talks and people at Forum		Radio Australia	
<i>Vanuatu Daily Post</i>	12/9, P7	Pacific backs Australia for UN Security Council seat	Report		UN Bid despite Fiji pressure		ABC	
<i>Vanuatu Daily Post</i>	12/9, P7	PNG's Trade Minister says PNG wants more active role in Pacific region	Report		PNG PM only at Forum for one day		RNZI	
<i>Vanuatu Daily Post</i>	13/9, P2	US joins forum to advance climate change adaptation	Report	Climate change / SPC / SPREP			SPC	
<i>Vanuatu Daily Post</i>	13/9, P7	US satisfied with Forum attendance	Report		Kurt Campbell on the US and Pacific		RNZI	
<i>Vanuatu Daily Post</i>	13/9, P7	New Polynesia Group no threat to Forum, says Samoa PM	Report		Sub-regional group formed		RNZI	
<i>Vanuatu Daily Post</i>	14/9, P7	Tahiti opposition targets decolonisation advocates	Report		Accusations of using funds to lobby		RNZI	
<i>Vanuatu Daily Post</i>	14/9, P7	Tonga PM says 40 years on Forum is on target	Report		PM's general comments		RNZI	
<i>Vanuatu Daily Post</i>	15/9, P7	Flosse public funds abuse case in French Polynesia deferred	Report		Corruption case re funds		RNZI	

Newspaper	Date & Page	Article Title	Article Typology	Development Issue	Other issue	Colour / Light	Source, if Outsourced	Author, if Original
<i>Vanuatu Daily Post</i>	17/9, P13	Next year's Forum summit in the Cook Islands to focus on environmental concerns	Report	Renewable energy technology			RNZI	
<i>Vanuatu Daily Post</i>	19/9, P7	Threat from lifestyle diseases impacting on Pacific economic development	Report	WHO and SPC on health systems at PIF			RNZI	
<i>Vanuatu Daily Post</i>	23/9, P3	New MSG Secretariat Director General arrives in Vanuatu	Report		New head arrives, ex-PIFS		News wire	
<i>Vanuatu Daily Post</i>	24/9, P2	East Timor contributes towards MSG	Report	Observer status to Timor-Leste at MSG				
<i>Vanuatu Daily Post</i>	26/9, P4	China plays own game for 'constructive' Pacific aid	Analysis	China's aid in Pacific and independence			Pacific Scoop Sarah Robson	
<i>Vanuatu Daily Post</i>	27/9, P7	Pacific Islands Nations showcase their products to the world	Feature		Pacific Trade and Invest showcase			
Vanuatu Independent	30/7 – 5/8, P4	Lack of capacity a challenge to monitor says Compol	Report	Police, surveillance and development				Non-attributed own report
Vanuatu Independent	30/7 – 5/8, P12	MSG officials deliberate on a new Director General	Report		Leadership of MSG		PACNEWS	
Vanuatu Independent	13 – 19/8, P3	Sope wants West Papua on MSG	Report	West Papua status				Evelyn Toa
Vanuatu Independent	13 – 19/8, P7	Auckland summit make or break for Forum	Opinion	Fiji, leaders, PACER, RAMSI overview			PINA online editor	
Vanuatu Independent	13 – 19/8, P16	Pacific Islands Forum turns 40	Release		Forum anniversary, purpose		PIFS	

Newspaper	Date & Page	Article Title	Article Typology	Development Issue	Other issue	Colour / Light	Source, if Outsourced	Author, if Original
Vanuatu Independent	13 – 19/8, P16	Japan eyes sending Foreign Minister to PIF-related meetings in NZ	Report		Japan and geopolitics		MAINICHI Daily	
Vanuatu Independent	20-26/8, P6	Fisheries remain key to Pacific trade negotiations	Release	Pacific ACP and trade			Pacific ACP	
Vanuatu Independent	20-26/8, P18	Fiji still a concern to Pacific Island Forum	Report		Political situation of Fiji and PIF		PACNEWS	
Vanuatu Independent	3 – 9/9, P2	Sports Ministers' decisions to be presented at Forum leaders meeting	Report		Outcomes of sports meeting at PIF		PACNEWS	
Vanuatu Independent	3 – 9/9, P3	PM Kilman travel plans uncertain	Report		Movements of PM re MSG and PIF meetings			Evelyn Toa
Vanuatu Independent	3 – 9/9, P4	Pacific Islands accuse Aussie aid agency of coercion	Report	Australia's influence through aid			The Age	
Vanuatu Independent	3 – 9/9, P5	NZ to host Pacific leaders meeting	Release		PIF theme and NZ hosting		NZ National Party (Government Party)	
Vanuatu Independent	3 – 9/9, P6	Bainimarama reassures Pacific of Fiji elections	Report		Engaging with Fiji summit, elections		Fiji Broadcasting Corporation	
Vanuatu Independent	3 – 9/9, P7	Fiji regime bashes Pacific Forum secretary	Report		Accusations Slade is not interested in Fiji		Fiji Sun	
Vanuatu Independent	10-16/9, P2	Sea levels Pacific's big worry, say leaders	Report	Climate change, sea levels, Fiji, general Forum summary			New Zealand Herald	
Vanuatu Independent	10-16/9, P4	Vanuatu at the Pacific and world conference in New Zealand	Report	RSE workers, Lowy Conference				Evelyn Toa
Vanuatu Independent	10-16/9, P5	Vanuatu maintains firm support for West Papua and Fiji	Report	West Papua self-determinism				Evelyn Toa

Newspaper	Date & Page	Article Title	Article Typology	Development Issue	Other issue	Colour / Light	Source, if Outsourced	Author, if Original
Vanuatu Independent	10-16/9, P5	Protesters say leaders 'not listening'	Report	West Papua self-determinism				Evelyn Toa
Vanuatu Independent	10-16/9, P5	Concern over Vanuatu ACP Conference venue	Report		Readiness of Vanuatu for ACP, talks with leaders at PIF			Attributed, own article
Vanuatu Independent	10-16/9, P6	Leaders vow to improve gender equality record	Report	UN Sec-Gen comments on women in Pacific			New Zealand Herald	
Vanuatu Independent	17-23/9, P3	East Timor leader's first ever visit to Vanuatu	Report	Development issues for Timor-Leste following PIF				Evelyn Toa
Vanuatu Independent	17-23/9, P4	EU Pledges 10 million Euros for climate change in Pacific	Report	Aid money for climate change for poorer countries			PACNEWS	
Vanuatu Independent	17-23/9, P4	Hunger and malnutrition 'to increase unless steps taken soon'	Release	Climate change, ADB report			ADB	
Vanuatu Independent	17-23/9, P4	Fiji invited to trade talks	Report		Fiji's inclusion in talks		Radio Australia	
Vanuatu Independent	17-23/9, P5	Vanuatu the most successful at RSE	Report	Workshop on RSE pre-forum				Evelyn Toa
Vanuatu Independent	17-23/9, P5	Next SG must come from MSG: Shanel	Report		MSG push to lead PIF		PACNEWS	
Vanuatu Independent	17-23/9, P6	Time for women to represent the Pacific	Opinion	PNG and Pacific issues for women			SMH, Meredith Burgmann	
Vanuatu Independent	17-23/9, P6	Aid has become an industry	Opinion	Aid issues for Pacific, donors from Forum				Kevin W.Trueman
Vanuatu Independent	17-23/9, P7	US commit funds for climate change in the Pacific	Release	\$21 m fast start finance			SPREP	

Newspaper	Date & Page	Article Title	Article Typology	Development Issue	Other issue	Colour / Light	Source, if Outsourced	Author, if Original
Vanuatu Independent	17-23/9, P7	Pacific welcome China's aid: Forum chair	Report	China's influence not a threat, aid welcomed			PACNEWS	
Vanuatu Independent	17-23/9, P12	I'm sorry, miss, this seat is for the PM: Julia Gillard mistaken for a spouse at leaders' forum	Report			Incident on leader's bus	Stuff.co.nz; TVNZ	
Vanuatu Independent	24-30/9, P4	Korea helps Pacific fight NCDs	Release	Korea support through Forum for health			PIFS	
Vanuatu Independent	24-30/9, P4	New MSG boss arrives in Vanuatu	Report		DG of MSG Forau arrives		Solomon Star	
Vanuatu Independent	24-30/9, P4	Members to take ownership of the Forum says President Tong	Report	Sub-regional groups under Forum no threat			PACNEWS	
Vanuatu Independent	24-30/9, P7	Call for laws to make gender equality a reality	Report	Leader's retreat and gender goals				Evelyn Toa
Vanuatu Independent	24-30/9, P7	'No strings' to China aid in the Pacific	Analysis	China's aid, economic development				Evelyn Toa
Vanuatu Independent	24-30/9, P18	New MSG director general takes up appointment	Release		MSG director starts work in Vila		MSG	
New Zealand Herald	9/8, PA4	Tonga PM set to meet Key ahead of Forum	Report		Arrival of Tonga PM		NZPA	Audrey Young
New Zealand Herald	18/8, PA2	Band noise falls foul of Forum	Report		Music sound checks and disturbing forum			Wayne Thompson
New Zealand Herald	18/8, PA3	EU Chief's visit in doubt	Report – 'Brief'		Barroso's visit under crisis cloud		NZPA	

Newspaper	Date & Page	Article Title	Article Typology	Development Issue	Other issue	Colour / Light	Source, if Outsourced	Author, if Original
New Zealand Herald	30/8, PA9	Pacific Islands Forum ignores deadliest issue in its patch	Opinion	West Papua and PIF leaders' help				Maire Leadbeater
New Zealand Herald	31/8, PA3	Zuma pulls out of visit to NZ	Report – 'Brief'		Sth Africa president not attending PIF		APNZ, AAP	
New Zealand Herald	3/9, PA13	UN vote pulls big names to forum	Analysis	UN vote, Fiji, Rugby, Fisheries, renewable energy – summary				Audrey Young
New Zealand Herald	3/9, PB9	Top EU figures due in Auckland next week	Report	Economy, Eu and NZ, climate change				Catherine Field
New Zealand Herald	5/9, PA6	Leader wants to cut French strings	Report	French Polynesia self-determinism				Audrey Young
New Zealand Herald	5/9, PA6	Change of stance on Fiji highly unlikely, says Key	Report	MSG influence and Fiji's status				Claire Trevett
New Zealand Herald	5/9, PA6	The Issues	Report, briefs	Climate change, trade, aid				Claire Trevett
New Zealand Herald	5/9, PA9	Pacific faces vital choices on Asia	Opinion	Economic power and geopolitics			Lowy Institute speech, Michael Wesley	
New Zealand Herald	6/9, PA8	Guests enjoy full cultural spectacular	Report			Leaders welcome	APNZ, Amelia Romanos	
New Zealand Herald	6/9, PA8	'Old boys club' leadership style rife in islands, conference told	Report	Corruption and nepotism, women issues in islands – Lowy conference			Amelia Romanos	Audrey Young,
New Zealand Herald	6/9, PA8	McCully wants more bang for education aid bucks	Report	Development aid needs re-think				Audrey Young
New Zealand Herald	6/9, PA11	US eager partner in region's future	Opinion	Role of US in Pacific			USGOVT, Thomas Nides	

Newspaper	Date & Page	Article Title	Article Typology	Development Issue	Other issue	Colour / Light	Source, if Outsourced	Author, if Original
New Zealand Herald	6/9, PA11	Our neighbours need help with tackling poverty	Opinion	School and drinking water in Pacific			OXFAM, Barry Coates	
New Zealand Herald	7/9, PA2	UN Chief warns on climate change	Report	Ban ki-Moon on rising sea levels and security				Audrey Young
New Zealand Herald	7/9, PA2	Solomons wants slow exit for RAMSI troops	Report	Security in Solomons				Claire Trevett
New Zealand Herald	7/9, PA2	\$303m to get more kids in school	Report	Education aid by Australia and NZ			APNZ, Amelia Romanos /	Audrey Young
New Zealand Herald	7/9, PA2	Slums hot spots of sex abuse	Report	Gender-based violence in Sols			APNZ, Amelia Romanos	
New Zealand Herald	7/9, PA10	High Profile leaders give Forum clout	Editorial		Diversity of leaders at Forum			Ed
New Zealand Herald	8/9, PA10	Sea levels Pacific's big worry	Report	Climate change				Claire Trevett
New Zealand Herald	8/9, PA10	Palestinians ask NZ to back bid for UN membership	Report		UN bids by leaders			Claire Trevett
New Zealand Herald	8/9, PA11	US and China join post-talks dialogue	Report		US and China influence			Audrey Young
New Zealand Herald	9/9, PA15	Pacific's diversity key to finding peace and prosperity	Opinion	Decolonisation, sovereignty and the forum				Sitiveni Halapua
New Zealand Herald	10/9, A23	McCully scores with his A-list Forum	Opinion		Running of forum and world cup			Audrey Young
New Zealand Herald	10/9, A23	Troops out but Timor still wants our help	Report		Timor-Leste observing forum, NZ military involvement		APNZ, Amelia Romanos	
New Zealand Herald	10/9, A23	China's aid its own to spend, says Key	Report	China's investment in Pacific and independence				Claire Trevett

Newspaper	Date & Page	Article Title	Article Typology	Development Issue	Other issue	Colour / Light	Source, if Outsourced	Author, if Original
Fiji Times	6/8 P43	Celebrating 40 Years of the Pacific Islands Forum	Release	History and relevance of the PIF			PIF	
Fiji Times	8/8 P19	PNG hosts PACP Forum	Report		Foreign Minister in PNG for meeting			Ioane Burese
Fiji Times	10/8 P3	PACP meeting	Report		Meeting – who is there			Ioane Burese
Fiji Times	12/8 P18	Study on NCD's launched in Tonga	Report	NCD's				Mary Rautio in Tonga
Fiji Times	13/8 P33	Special MSG meet	Report		Officials meet in Vanuatu ahead of Forum		PNS	
Fiji Times	15/8 P13	Forum leaders discuss Pacific island issues	Report		Preparatory meetings in Suva			Ioane Burese
Fiji Times	16/8 P18	NZ-bound Cooks PM	Report		Pre-forum visit		RNZI	
Fiji Times	17/8 P5	Support disabled people: Forum	Report	Support disabled people – Teo comments in Nadi				Sera Whippy
Fiji Times	17/8 P13	Deadline extended	Report	EPA extension on negotiations			Islands Business	
Fiji Times	27/8 P48	Cooks ratifies cluster bomb ban	Release	Banning cluster bombs			Cluster Munition Coalition	
Fiji Times	29/8 P18	'Island issues Important'	Report	SIDS issues before forum				Ioane Burese
Fiji Times	30/8 P19	Forcible tactics in tiny isles	Report	Aus bullying small states with foreign Aid			The Age	
Fiji Times	30/8 P20	Climate on agenda	Report	Climate change on forum agenda			PACNEWS	

Newspaper	Date & Page	Article Title	Article Typology	Development Issue	Other issue	Colour / Light	Source, if Outsourced	Author, if Original
Fiji Times	31/8, P2	Pacific needs a united voice	Report		Fiji Government statement on Pacific unity			Felix Chaudhary
Fiji Times	31/8, P5	Fiji pushes for more dialogue	Report		Fiji Government on dialogue and the 'Pacific Way'			Felix Chaudhary
Fiji Times	31/8, P5	Pacific leaders confirm attendance	Report		Pre-forum MSG meeting			Felix Chaudhary
Fiji Times	31/8, P5	Kanaks in for talks	Report		FLNKS in for MSG meeting			Felix Chaudhary
Fiji Times	31/8, P5	Leaders to ink treaty	Report	Treaty on knowledge and culture				Felix Chaudhary
Fiji Times	31/8, P8	Call for unity	Editorial	Pacific unity required for economic prosperity				Fred Wesley
Fiji Times	1/9, P2	Pacific Islands Forum; heads of world bodies to attend meet	Report		UN and EU heads to be in Auckland			Mary Rauto
Fiji Times	1/9, P3	Treaty Setback	Report		Leaders' Failure to turn up to sign			Felix Chaudhary
Fiji Times	1/9, P5	Island meet setback	Report		Moving meeting due to leaders' delays			Felix Chaudhary
Fiji Times	2/9, P3	Poll Promise	Report		Bainimarama promising elections			Felix Chaudhary
Fiji Times	2/9, P32	UN recognises Pacific power	Report		UN Asia group changes name to Asia-Pacific		Australian Federated Press	
Fiji Times	3/9, P3	Minister endorse plan for return to democracy	Report		MSG commends Fiji's plans			Felix Chaudhary
Fiji Times	3/9 P3	Keep your word, leaders urge Fiji	Report		MSG commends Fiji's plans			Felix Chaudhary

Newspaper	Date & Page	Article Title	Article Typology	Development Issue	Other issue	Colour / Light	Source, if Outsourced	Author, if Original
Fiji Times	3/9 P3	Skills for export	Report	Regional employment opportunities				Felix Chaudhary
Fiji Times	5/9, P6	MSG considers economic bloc	Report	Fostering labour with economic MSG ties				Felix Chaudhary
Fiji Times	5/9, P6	Leaders say their agreement is the best	Report	MSG Trade Agreement best for Pacific				Felix Chaudhary
Fiji Times	5/9, P6	Tonga wants more trade with Fiji	Report		Tonga disappointed with failing to meet trade rep in Fiji			Felix Chaudhary
Fiji Times	5/9, P6	Backing for Tahiti	Report		Support for decolonisation			Felix Chaudhary
Fiji Times	5/9, P6	Trade tops agenda at Pacific meet	Report	Trade for small island states				Felix Chaudhary
Fiji Times	6/9, P12	Trade problems in NZ	Report		Politics around OCTA		AAP	
Fiji Times	6/9, P18	Ban's warning	Report	Problems with climate change			AAP (from Honiara)	
Fiji Times	6/9, P18	Pacific leaders band for French Polynesia bid	Report		Support for Temaru in Auckland		PACNEWS	
Fiji Times	6/9, P19	Pacific Constraints	Report	McCully says to "get serious" re development, investment in region			NZ Newswire	
Fiji Times	7/9, P3	Fiji Stays out of Forum	Report		Fiji remains excluded			Avinesh Gopal
Fiji Times	7/9, P17	'Protect the world for future generations'	Report	Ban ki-Moon on Climate change, mangrove planting				Mary Rauto
Fiji Times	7/9, P17	Tuvalu wants Fiji back in PIF	Report		Tuvalu expresses desire, but avoids crossfire			Ioane Burese
Fiji Times	8/9, P2	UN chief stands by Fiji soldiers	Report		UN soldiers, human rights			Avinesh Gopal

Newspaper	Date & Page	Article Title	Article Typology	Development Issue	Other issue	Colour / Light	Source, if Outsourced	Author, if Original
Fiji Times	8/9, P2	9 states want Fiji back in	Report		Tong comments on countries scared to speak their mind		AAP	
Fiji Times	8/9, P2	NZ after PACER move	Report		Key wants progress on PACER plus		PACNEWS	
Fiji Times	8/9, P19	SPC and SPREP sign MOU	Report	Sustainable development commitment			PACNEWS	
Fiji Times	8/9, P19	Leaders meet	Release		Meeting between Ban Ki-moon and Tuiloma Neroni Slade		PIFS	
Fiji Times	8/9, P19	Push forward, leaders urge	Release	Push on EPA trade negotiations			PIFS	
Fiji Times	8/9, P19	Climate change a danger: Forum SG	Report	Climate change threats			PACNEWS	
Fiji Times	8/9, P19	Pressure to find overstayers	Report		Tongan seasonal overstayers		TVNZ	
Fiji Times	9/9, P2	Official level only at PACER Plus meet	Report		Fiji's involvement in PACER Plus talks			Timoci Vula
Fiji Times	9/9, P2	Call for genuine talks	Report		Call for more dialogue with Fiji			Timoci Vula
Fiji Times	9/9, P2	Slade back at the helm	Report		Slade endorsed for second term			Timoci Vula
Fiji Times	9/9, P19	Thumbs up for PM and free media	Report		Lowy Institute poll results			Felix Chaudhary
Fiji Times	9/9, P19	Fijians positive of relations	Report		Lowy Institute poll results			Felix Chaudhary
Fiji Times	9/9, P29	Poor trade deals	Report	Stalling over trade deals			RNZI	
Fiji Times	9/9, P29	Keep talking to France, says Ban	Report	Decolonisation bid – dialogue encouraged			PACNEWS	

Newspaper	Date & Page	Article Title	Article Typology	Development Issue	Other issue	Colour / Light	Source, if Outsourced	Author, if Original
Fiji Times	9/9, P29	Pacific leaders in AB colours	Report			Black shirts for leaders (RWC)	AFP	
Fiji Times	9/9, P29	\$24m for climate change from EU	Report	EU pledge for those without GCCA support			PACNEWS	
Fiji Times	9/9, P29	Time for serious talk	Report		Leaders' retreat		AAP	
Fiji Times	9/9, P30	US to help China with Pacific aid	Report	US increasing development aid in Pacific; Kurt Campbell			AFP	
Fiji Times	10/9, P2	Continued suspension expected	Report		Lack of aid for Fiji			Felix Chaudhary
Fiji Times	10/9, P2	Ball now in Fiji's court: NZ	Report		Fiji participating in PACER Plus		PACNEWS	
Fiji Times	10/9, P18	Riding the wave of success	Report		Sec-General re-appointment			Elenoa Baselala
Fiji Times	10/9, P31	Australia wants more	Report	RSE workers from Nauru and Kiribati			AAP	
Fiji Times	10/9, P31	French minister in New Zealand	Report		First French minister in NZ since Rainbow Warrior		AFP	
Fiji Times	11/9, P2	Invest in youth, Governments told	Report	Findings of State of Pacific Youth report				Frederica Elbourne
Fiji Times	11/9, P2	'Young people could falter'	Report	Un warning on aid and youth independence				Frederica Elbourne
Fiji Times	12/9, P3	Un proposal	Report	State of Pacific Youth Report				Avinesh Gopal
Fiji Times	12/9, P15	UN calls for investment in young Pacific islanders	Report	Investment needed, Pacific youth report				Frederica Elbourne
Fiji Times	13/9, P17	Polynesia group no threat to Forum	Report		Samoa PM says no threat		RNZI	

Newspaper	Date & Page	Article Title	Article Typology	Development Issue	Other issue	Colour / Light	Source, if Outsourced	Author, if Original
Fiji Times	14/9, P14	Project to strengthen Tonga-Fiji relations	Report	High speed internet deal important for relations				Elenoa Baselala
Fiji Times	14/9, P21	Continue investment, youth report urges	Report	Youth numbers in the Pacific				Frederica Elbourne
Fiji Times	14/9, P21	Training options limited: Report	Report	Youth employment issues				Frederica Elbourne
Fiji Times	14/9, P21	Devote more to young people	Report	More resources needed for young – report				Frederica Elbourne
Fiji Times	15/9, P21	Island Leaders ... at forum	Analysis	Power at Forum, top heavy appearance, issues lost			NEW MATILDA	
Fiji Times	16/9, P24	UNICEF report raises concerns	Report	Concerns for youth – report				Frederica Elbourne
Fiji Times	16/9, P33	Timor forges ties with MSG	Report		Observer status at MSG		PACNEWS	
Fiji Times	17/9, P37	Get on the spouses bus, Gillard told	Report			Mix-up with Gillard	PACNEWS	
Fiji Times	19/9, P7	Fiji disadvantaged by trade treaties	Report		Fiji Commerce and Employers calling for re-engagement			Felix Chaudhary
Fiji Times	20/9, P19	Focus on economic development	Report	Sustainable economic development call			AAP	
Fiji Times	21/9, P15	Resolution 1325 gains more attention	Report	Women, peace and security resolution at PIF				Ioane Burese
Fiji Times	22/9, P18	Korea, uni sign deal	Report	Primary health care training deal				Ioane Burese
Fiji Times	22/9, P25	Cooks PM inspects cars in China	Report		China car deal for 2012 PIF		Cook Islands TV	

Newspaper	Date & Page	Article Title	Article Typology	Development Issue	Other issue	Colour / Light	Source, if Outsourced	Author, if Original
Fiji Times	23/9, P19	Korea joins NCD's fight	Report	Concern that 75 % of deaths are from NCDs				Ioane Burese
Fiji Times	23/9, P37	A close friend to Fiji	Report		PNG-Fiji relations			Harold Koi
Fiji Sun	5/8, P12	Disability meeting to stress challenges	Report	Helping people with disability – 800,000 people in the region				Ana Madigibuli
Fiji Sun	9/8, P7	US territories apply for Forum observer status	Report		US Pacific territories		Int'l news	
Fiji Sun	10/8, P3	Fish stocks remain instrumental in Pacific	Release	Negotiations of EPA and fisheries			Ministry of Information	
Fiji Sun	11/8, P5	Pacific ACP should work together	Report	EU-ACP negotiations – unity, Kava ban, economics				Rachna Lal
Fiji Sun	13/8, P3	That's no coup: USA to Aus, NZ	Report		Leaked cables reveal US stance		FBC news	
Fiji Sun	13/8, P11	Cook Islands PM makes first formal visit to New Zealand	Report		Puna to visit Key		RNZI	
Fiji Sun	16/8, P3	Forum members meet in Suva	Report		Preparations for Forum			Losalini Rasoqosoqo
Fiji Sun	16/8, P7	Broken Pacific Promises	Analysis	Human rights, aid, education			Pacific Scoop; Alexander Winkler	
Fiji Sun	23/8, P1-2	Fiji Calls for change	Report		Call to replace S-G of the Forum			Losalini Rasoqosoqo
Fiji Sun	26/8, P10	UN secretary general will visit Solomon islands, Kiribati	Report		Ban ki-Moon to visit islands on route to PIF		RNZI	

Newspaper	Date & Page	Article Title	Article Typology	Development Issue	Other issue	Colour / Light	Source, if Outsourced	Author, if Original
Fiji Sun	27/8, P11	Fiji to host Pacific Forum next week	Release		Engaging with the Pacific meeting		Ministry of Information	
Fiji Sun	28/8, P1	World on way here, Africa, Asia at our big Nadi meeting	Release		Visitors for Engaging with the Pacific meeting		Ministry of Information	
Fiji Sun	29/8, P1	PM challenges Pacific leaders	Report		Bainimarama's message to Pacific leaders at PIF			Losalini Rasoqosoqo
Fiji Sun	29/8, P1	O'Neil joins leaders' talks	Report		PNG PM to join Engaging Fiji meeting			Losalini Rasoqosoqo
Fiji Sun	29/8, P6	Pacific flocks to Nadi for meeting	Editorial		Engaging meeting			Epineri Vula
Fiji Sun	30/8, P1	MSG meets here too	Report		Engaging meeting			Losalini Rasoqosoqo
Fiji Sun	30/8 P1	Pacific Forum 'pointless without Fiji'	Report	Development of forum without Fiji; RSE scheme, AUSAID			AAP	
Fiji Sun	30/8, P3	First of leaders arrive	Release		Leaders arriving		Ministry of Information	
Fiji Sun	30/8, P3	Dialogue push from Government at meet	Report	Small islands Developing states and working together				Losalini Rasoqosoqo
Fiji Sun	31/8, P1	Tight security for regional meets	Report		Police involvement with MSG meeting			Losalini Rasoqosoqo
Fiji Sun	31/8, P3	Delegations head to Nadi	Release		Leaders in Nadi		Ministry of Information	
Fiji Sun	31/8, P3	FLNKS confirms attendance	Release		Kanak group in Nadi		Ministry of Information	
Fiji Sun	1/9, P1	Tavola eyed for top job	Report		Call to replace Sec-General of PIF with a Melanesian			Losalini Rasoqosoqo
Fiji Sun	1/9, P3	Leaders discuss M games	Report		MSG looking at games host			L. Rasoqosoqo

Newspaper	Date & Page	Article Title	Article Typology	Development Issue	Other issue	Colour / Light	Source, if Outsourced	Author, if Original
Fiji Sun	1/9, P3	Guard of honour for leaders	Report		100-men GOH for leaders			L. Rasoqosoqo
Fiji Sun	1/9, P3	MSG commends Fiji	Release		Thanks to Fiji for taking initiative		Ministry of Information	
Fiji Sun	1/9, P3	O'Neil, Kilman in today	Report		Leaders arriving			L. Rasoqosoqo
Fiji Sun	1/9, P7	Tavola right man for Forum job	Editorial	Geopolitics, trust and leadership of the forum				Epineri Vula
Fiji Sun	2/9, P1	Done Deal – Government 'firmly on course' for 2014 poll	Report		Election promises to leaders			L. Rasoqosoqo
Fiji Sun	2/9, P3	Our road map gets thumbs up	Release		Leaders endorse Fiji poll plans		Ministry of Information	
Fiji Sun	2/9, P3	Challenges can be dealt with: PM	Release		PM's address		Ministry of Information	
Fiji Sun	2/9, P3	Strong support	Release		Support for decolonisation of French Polynesia		Ministry of Information	
Fiji Sun	2/9, P3	Fiji reserves its comments on Forum	Release		No comments on PIF meeting		Ministry of Information	
Fiji Sun	2/9, P3	Government follows charter map	Release		PM's address		Ministry of Information	
Fiji Sun	2/9, P3	Fiji offers helping hand	Report	Fiji offers economic help to smaller states				L. Rasoqosoqo
Fiji Sun	3/9, P1	Let Fiji back, says PNG PM	Report	O'Neil calls Aus and NZ to work with Fiji				L. Rasoqosoqo
Fiji Sun	3/9, P2	We are still friends, says Tonga	Report		Friendship despite differences			L. Rasoqosoqo
Fiji Sun	3/9, P2	Tonga supports Fiji's recall	Report		Tonga supports call to welcome Fiji back			L. Rasoqosoqo

Newspaper	Date & Page	Article Title	Article Typology	Development Issue	Other issue	Colour / Light	Source, if Outsourced	Author, if Original
Fiji Sun	3/9, P2	Fiji volunteers to help Pacific	Report	Volunteers to help small states				L. Rasoqosoqo
Fiji Sun	3/9, P3	Bainimarama salutes meet	Report		Successful meeting			L. Rasoqosoqo
Fiji Sun	3/9, P3	Pacific concerns revealed at Nadi	Report	Global conservation; marine resources				L. Rasoqosoqo
Fiji Sun	3/9, P3	Regional academy here supported	Report	Regional police academy plans				L. Rasoqosoqo
Fiji Sun	4/9, P1	'Tell truth about Fiji'	Report		Leaders support need for accurate reporting on Fiji			Nanise Loanakadavu
Fiji Sun	4/9, P1	Traditional Knowledge Treaty	Report	Recognition of knowledge and art and culture				Sera Janine
Fiji Sun	4/9, P7	Fiji shadow looms over NZ forum	Report	Fiji issue, climate change, Forum funding			Radio Australia, Sean Dorney	
Fiji Sun	5/9, P3	Fiji: Key facing embarrassment	Analysis		Politics and situation of Fiji		NZ Sunday Star Times, Michael Field	
Fiji Sun	6/9, P3	Big boys at Pacific forum	Report		Big world leaders at PIF in Auckland			Maikeli Seru
Fiji Sun	6/9, P3	New Zealand strengthens 'Pacific Way'	Report	Lead-up to Forum – Fiji, sport, tourism, economy, climate change				Maikeli Seru
Fiji Sun	6/9, P3	Fiji definitely on Forum agenda	Report	Topics include youth, sexual and gender violence etc				Maikeli Seru
Fiji Sun	6/9, P3	Forum bosses challenge Pacific media	Release		Pre-forum media workshop		PIFS	
Fiji Sun	6/9, P7	Absent Fiji's shadow on Pacific Forum	Analysis	Fiji, leadership, free trade, China			The Australian, Rowan Callick	

Newspaper	Date & Page	Article Title	Article Typology	Development Issue	Other issue	Colour / Light	Source, if Outsourced	Author, if Original
Fiji Sun	6/9, P8	No surprise in Pacific Forum shirts	Report			Black jackets for leaders	NZPA	
Fiji Sun	7/9, P3	Forum return 'may take some time'	Report		NZ stance on Fiji the same			Maikeli Seru
Fiji Sun	7/9, P3	\$8m boost for Pacific maritime safety	Report	Disaster risk management and safety funding				Maikeli Seru
Fiji Sun	7/9, P3	Climate change challenge remains	Release	Challenge in development pursuits			PIFS	
Fiji Sun	7/9, P7	True Pacific brands	Release		Fiji Companies in PIF showcase		True Pacific	
Fiji Sun	7/9, P8	Despite domestic challenges, PNG PM expected at summit	Report		PNG parliament issues and O'Neil's attendance		RNZI	
Fiji Sun	8/9, P1	Fiji soldiers 'top choice'	Report		UN SG defends use of Fiji soldiers			Iliesa Tora
Fiji Sun	8/9, P1	Huge support for PM: Aust poll	Release		Lowy Poll on Fiji		Ministry of Information	
Fiji Sun	8/9, P3	Kiribati contradicts Key on Fiji	Report		Tong's breaking ranks to support Fiji		AAP	
Fiji Sun	8/9, P3	\$391m for Pacific education	Report	Aid from Aus and NZ for education				Maikelu Seru
Fiji Sun	8/9, P3	Music dance protest opens forum	Report	Opening ceremony – West Papua protest, tourism, sustainability, education				Maikelu Seru
Fiji Sun	8/9, P3	Fijians protest at forum	Report		Notable Fijians in protest			Maikelu Seru
Fiji Sun	8/9, P3	Tonga, NZ set up solar power plant	Report	\$7.9m investment in photovoltaic plant				Maikelu Seru

Newspaper	Date & Page	Article Title	Article Typology	Development Issue	Other issue	Colour / Light	Source, if Outsourced	Author, if Original
Fiji Sun	8/9, P3	Aid to Solomon Islands	Report	NZ, Sols, joint commitment on development				Maikelu Seru
Fiji Sun	8/9, P6	Vindication for our Iraq troops	Editorial		Peacekeeping, Fiji and UN and Aus, NZ failure to thwart			Epineri Vula
Fiji Sun	8/9, P7	Refugee processing left off	Report		Gillard not mentioning refugee plans with leaders		AAP	
Fiji Sun	9/9, P2	Forum locks Fiji out, again	Report		PIF decision on Fiji			Maikelu Seru
Fiji Sun	9/9, P2	Youths matter now: Nailatikau	Report	UNICEF youth report and needs for youth				Maikelu Seru
Fiji Sun	9/9, P2	Climate change cry at Forum	Report	Climate change work together to mitigate				Maikelu Seru
Fiji Sun	9/9, P7	PM rules, Gillard the target of our popularity jibe	Report		Lowy Poll and excerpts		AAP	
Fiji Sun	9/9, P8	Gillard pledges \$200 million to Pacific Islands nations	Report	Education, health and environment			SMH	
Fiji Sun	10/9, P2	Forum challenges Fiji on election promise	Report		Call to work towards democracy			Maikelu Seru
Fiji Sun	10/9, P22	Tahiti opposition pleased with Temaru rebuff by Forum	Report		Opposition delight at PIF decision not to endorse decolonisation		RNZI	
Fiji Sun	10/9, P34	Pacific Forum relevance questioned	Report		Post-Forum dialogue overshadowing PIF		RNZI	
Fiji Sun	11/9, P7	Washington intervenes at PIF, worries about growing Chinese influence, Australia's failure over Fiji	Analysis		Geopolitics of the Pacific, US comments		World Socialist Web Site, Patrick O'Connor	

Newspaper	Date & Page	Article Title	Article Typology	Development Issue	Other issue	Colour / Light	Source, if Outsourced	Author, if Original
Fiji Sun	11/9, P7	Amnesty pleads with Pacific to improve safety for women	Report	Petition to Kiribati PM on gender-based violence			RNZI	
Fiji Sun	11/9, P7	In pursuit of decolonisation, Tahiti leader bound for NY	Report		Temaru laments lack of support		RNZI	
Fiji Sun	11/9, P7	Kiribati considers moving to floating islands	Report	Climate change affecting life in Kiribati			RA	
Fiji Sun	12/9, P11	Poor sanitation, water supply high in Solomon	Report	Amnesty report on sanitation presented to PIF			Solomon Star	
Fiji Sun	13/9, P1,3	Come clean, forum told	Report		Fiji calls out NZ hypocrisy on PACER Plus negotiations			L. Rasoqosoqo
Fiji Sun	13/9, P9	'Sub-regional grouping good for Pacific Islands Forum'	Report		MSG		PACNEWS	
Fiji Sun	13/9, P9	EU commits US\$14 million	Report	Climate change funding from Europe			PACNEWS	
Fiji Sun	14/9, P9	Tonga PM says 40 years on Forum is on target	Report		Importance of Forum for small nations		RNZI	
Fiji Sun	14/9, P9	Tahiti opposition targets decolonisation advocates	Report		Accusations on assembly members		RNZI	
Fiji Sun	15/9, P3	'Forum missed golden chance'	Report		Criticism of Australia's approach to Fiji			Iliesa Tora
Fiji Sun	25/9, P1,3	PM Talks up MSG; UN hears Fiji's progress	Release		Fiji at UN talking up MSG		Ministry of Information	
Fiji Sun	27/9, P8	Democracy binds Australia and Pacific: Rudd	Report		Rudd speaking to the UN		PACNEWS	
Fiji Sun	28/9, P3	Kiribati continues support for Fiji	Report		President Tong supporting Fiji			Iliesa Tora

Appendix B: AUTC Ethics Approval



MEMORANDUM

Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTC)

To: David Robie
From: **Dr Rosemary Godbold** Executive Secretary, AUTC
Date: 14 May 2012
Subject: Ethics Application Number 12/89 **News values in three Pacific nations: a case study in development media and the representation of the Pacific Islands Forum in Fiji, New Zealand and Vanuatu. (Working Title: Clashing cultures, divergent priorities: the good, the bad and the ugly of Western and Pacific media.)**

Dear David

Thank you for providing written evidence as requested. I am pleased to advise that it satisfies the points raised by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTC) at their meeting on 30 April 2012 and I have approved your ethics application. This delegated approval is made in accordance with section 5.3.2.3 of AUTC's *Applying for Ethics Approval: Guidelines and Procedures* and is subject to endorsement at AUTC's meeting on 28 May 2012.

Your ethics application is approved for a period of three years until 14 May 2015.

I advise that as part of the ethics approval process, you are required to submit the following to AUTC:

- A brief annual progress report using form EA2, which is available online through <http://www.aut.ac.nz/research/research-ethics/ethics>. When necessary this form may also be used to request an extension of the approval at least one month prior to its expiry on 14 May 2015;
- A brief report on the status of the project using form EA3, which is available online through <http://www.aut.ac.nz/research/research-ethics/ethics>. This report is to be submitted either when the approval expires on 14 May 2015 or on completion of the project, whichever comes sooner;

It is a condition of approval that AUTC is notified of any adverse events or if the research does not commence. AUTC approval needs to be sought for any alteration to the research, including any alteration of or addition to any documents that are provided to participants. You are reminded that, as applicant, you are responsible for ensuring that research undertaken under this approval occurs within the parameters outlined in the approved application.

Please note that AUTC grants ethical approval only. If you require management approval from an institution or organisation for your research, then you will need to make the arrangements necessary to obtain this. Also, if your research is undertaken within a jurisdiction outside New Zealand, you will need to make the arrangements necessary to meet the legal and ethical requirements that apply within that jurisdiction.

To enable us to provide you with efficient service, we ask that you use the application number and study title in all written and verbal correspondence with us. Should you have any further enquiries regarding this matter, you are welcome to contact me by email at ethics@aut.ac.nz or by telephone on 921 9999 at extension 6902. Alternatively you may contact your AUTC Faculty Representative (a list with contact details may be found in the Ethics Knowledge Base at <http://www.aut.ac.nz/research/research-ethics/ethics>).

On behalf of AUTC and myself, I wish you success with your research and look forward to reading about it in your reports.

Yours sincerely

Dr Rosemary Godbold
Executive Secretary
Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee

Cc: Alex Perottet alexperro@gmail.com

Appendix C: Participant Information Sheet

Participant Information Sheet



Date Information Sheet Produced:

27/03/2012

Project Title

News values in three Pacific nations: A case study in development journalism and the reporting of the Pacific Islands Forum in Fiji, Vanuatu and New Zealand

An Invitation

My name is Alex Perrottet and I am currently undertaking this project to meet the requirements of a Master thesis in Communication Studies at AUT University. The project supervisor is Professor David Robie.

I am inviting you as a participant for the research project to make your contribution by providing relevant data about your publication. Your participation in this research project is voluntary and you may withdraw at any time without any adverse consequences prior to the completion of data collection.

What is the purpose of this research?

The aim of the research is to discover how development journalism may be applied in two Pacific nations that could be classified as developing countries, as opposed to a developed country in the region, such as New Zealand. An equal part of the research will be to determine how much the Western news values as taught in Western journalism schools and practised in newsrooms has infiltrated the newsrooms of particular newspapers in these developing countries. The research is aimed as a practical application of the theories of development journalism, as a field of development communication, to the contrasting reporting on a particular international event – the 42nd Pacific Islands Forum in Auckland during September 2011.

How was I identified and why am I being invited to participate in this research?

You were identified for this research as publishers, editors, and journalists of several media organisations in Fiji, Vanuatu in New Zealand. The participants were chosen for their ability to contribute relevant data pertaining to the study.

The study is a comparison of news reports on the 42nd Pacific Islands Forum in Auckland by the different publications.

What will happen in this research?

As a participant in this research you would be required to complete a simple questionnaire which includes questions about the news values of your publication and the newsroom priorities during the coverage of the Pacific Islands Forum.

There may also be a need for a short interview to follow up on the responses to the questionnaire.

Following the interview, you will be given an opportunity to review what has been discussed. You will be provided a copy of the interview transcript once it has been completed and given an opportunity to offer corrections, clarifications or additions. However, only amendments relating to accuracy will be guaranteed.

Once the research is complete you will be notified in writing.

What are the discomforts and risks?

The interview will focus on professional issues only and therefore all the comments made on the professional and work related issues are on-the-record. In addition, any comments made on personal level and unrelated issues for the proposed study will be excluded in a final research.

How will these discomforts and risks be alleviated?

The researcher will discuss the issue thoroughly with you prior to the interviews to ensure the risks could be avoided. If any risk is perceived to occur during the interview, the researcher will address them with you. The researcher may stop interviewing and recording for a while until you feel comfortable.

What are the benefits?

The findings of this study will be of particular interest to scholars as well as media professionals. It will give a contemporary case study for how much development journalism is applied in Pacific reporting, and will show how much the Western news values have influenced Pacific newsrooms. At the same time it will provide a practical example for how different the choices and decisions in New Zealand newsrooms or to those in the Pacific. There is a real lack of research undertaken regarding development journalism in the Pacific and this research may demonstrate that there are different priorities for Pacific reporting.

How will my privacy be protected?

Your publication will be the focus of a content analysis and therefore your comments and answers on the questionnaire will be in the capacity of editor of your publication.

It is not necessary that you be named in person in the research and you can indicate your preference to the researcher at any time.

The interview questions will focus on professional issues. If you unintentionally make any irrelevant or personal comments they will be discarded from the transcript. If at any time you would like to move 'off-the-record', or provide information on 'background', recording will be paused to ensure that you can discuss the issue with the researcher and reach an agreement on how the material is to be handled in the final report.

You will be provided with a copy of the transcript and will be able to alter the transcript in whatever way you wish before the data is analysed.

The content of the questionnaire will be the subject of presentations and publications within an academic context.

As previously mentioned you will have an opportunity to discuss this with the researcher prior to signing the 'Consent Form'.

What are the costs of participating in this research?

Participating in this research will require up to two hours of your time.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

You will have ten working days to consider this invitation and also you will be notified that your participation is voluntary. After that the researcher will contact you by phone or via e-mail to further arrange an initial meeting to discuss your participation. If you agree to participate in this research you will be asked to complete and sign the attached consent form and return it to the researcher, care of AUT University.

How do I agree to participate in this research?

You are free to respond to the letter anytime. The researcher will contact you after ten working days to see if you are interested in participating and furthermore to arrange an initial meeting to discuss your participation. If you agree to take part in this research then you will be asked to complete and sign the attached consent form and return it to the researcher, care of AUT University.

You can either send your response in post or e-mail a signed and scanned PDF copy to the researcher.

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

When the research is complete, you will be notified in writing and you are able to view the results of the research.

What do I do if I have concerns about this research?

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, *David Robie*, david.robie@aut.ac.nz +64 9 921 9999 xt 7834, mobile +64 21 1122 079.

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary, AUTECH, Dr Rosemary Godbold, rosemary.godbold@aut.ac.nz

Whom do I contact for further information about this research?

Researcher Contact Details:

Alex Perrottet
E-mail: alexperro@gmail.com
Mobile: +64 211 633 113

Project Supervisor Contact Details:

Professor David Robie
Director, Pacific Media Centre
School of Communications Studies
Faculty of Design and Creative Technology
AUT University
E-mail: david.robie@aut.ac.nz
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Mobile: +64 21 1122 079

***Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 14 May 2012, AUTECH
Reference number 12/89.***

Appendix D: Participant Questionnaires

QUESTIONNAIRE*



*Indicative questions for questionnaire and interviews

Project title: **News values in three Pacific nations: A case study in development journalism and the reporting of the Pacific Islands Forum in Fiji, Vanuatu and New Zealand**

Project Supervisor: **Professor David Robie**

Researcher: **Alex Perrottet**

Name of person responding:.....

Title:.....

Name of Publication:.....

Development journalism as defined by Dinesh Sharma (2007) includes an attempt not only to report on events but also to “interpret them, put them in a framework, and where possible, to draw solutions”.

- ☐ Did your publication make a decision to cover the 42nd Pacific Islands Forum in Auckland, September 2011 in a particular way? If yes, how would you describe your approach?

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- ☐ What news values would you say your publication attempts to subscribe to? For example, there are the Galtung and Ruge (1965) news values*: (Frequency, Threshold, Unambiguity, Meaningfulness, Consonance, Unexpectedness, Continuity, Composition, Reference to élite nations, Reference to élite persons, Personalisation) or perhaps you attempt to employ other news values. Please briefly describe them.

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☐ Would you say that your publication attempts to practice development journalism? If so, how?

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☐ What were the major news stories in your publication concerning the Pacific Islands Forum?

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☐ Why were they the main news stories for you?

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☐ Were you happy as an editor with the way the publication covered the event?

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Participant's name:

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Participant's Contact Details :

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Date:

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form

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Appendix E: Participant Consent Forms

Consent Form



Project title: **News values in three Pacific nations: A case study in development journalism and the reporting of the Pacific Islands Forum in Fiji, Vanuatu and New Zealand**

Project Supervisor: **Professor David Robie**

Researcher: **Alex Perrottet**

- ☐ I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 27/03/2012
- ☐ I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.
- ☐ I understand that the information I provide may be used in presentations and publications within an academic context.
- ☐ I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be audio-taped and transcribed.
- ☐ I understand that I may withdraw myself or any information that I have provided for this project at any time prior to completion of data collection, without being disadvantaged in any way.
- ☐ If I withdraw, I understand that all relevant information including tapes and transcripts, or parts thereof, will be destroyed.
- ☐ I agree to take part in this research.
- ☐ I am willing to be 'on-the record' for the purposes of this research and to have my name used in any publication arising from the project. ☐ Yes ☐ No
- ☐ I am willing to be quoted in any publication arising from this research, but do not wish to be identified. If yes, I request that in the published material I will only be identified by the following descriptor ☐ Yes ☐ No

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☐ I wish to receive a copy of the report from the research (please tick one): Yes ☐ No ☐

Participant's signature:

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Participant's name:

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Participant's Contact Details (if appropriate):

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Date:

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form.

***Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 14 May 2012, AUTECH
Reference number 12/89***