

***The Changing Representation of
the Chinese Diaspora in New Zealand Print Media***

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Attestation of Authorship

I 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 other person nor material which to a substantial extent has been accepted for the qualification of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning, except where due acknowledgement is made in the acknowledgments.

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Abstract

The study examines the print media's representation of the Chinese diaspora in New Zealand over the past decade. Understanding the news media is an important mechanism in constructing identity and affecting relations between host and diasporic minority. Recent alterations in Chinese representation are observed along with dynamics of culture, politics, and economy occurring in the New Zealand multicultural landscape.

Adopting the interview method, the study involved twelve participants from the migrant community and media outlets to clarify the contemporary meaning of the New Zealand Chinese diaspora and to discover aspects of the Chinese media construction of diasporic identity. It reveals that diverse historical backgrounds as well as cultural differences between them and the majority create varying levels of understanding of the Chinese, leading to differences in their representation between mainstream and Chinese newspapers.

Three case studies investigate mainstream newspaper reports of typical issues raised from the recent integration of Chinese immigrants. It shows that media portrayal has varied according to the degree to which the majority recognizes and perceives the immigrant minority. While there is an ongoing understanding, it exemplifies the continued presence of racial and negative stereotypes in mainstream news media.

Some critical issues have become apparent from this study. For the Chinese news media, it is urgent to solve their financial problems. Therefore, they may reinforce the power of influencing Chinese identity and bridging between the migrant community and mainstream society. It suggests that in addition to more understanding of the minority group, encouraging young Chinese to be part of the mainstream media would be an effective method of tackling underrepresentation or misrepresentation of Chinese.

Chapter I : Introduction

1.1 The goal of the research

This thesis investigates news reporting of the Chinese diaspora in the New Zealand print media over the past decade. It primarily concerns with the contemporary understanding of the ethnic group and then examines changes in the mainstream portrayal along with the dynamics occurring in the cultural, social, and economic context. The thesis further discovers differences between the mainstream and Chinese language newspapers in terms of diasporic identity construction.

1.2 Background of the project

The rationale for this investigation stems from the growing impact of the Chinese migrants on various sectors of society as well as intense controversy in recent Chinese representation provided by the mainstream news media.

New Zealand is traditionally a popular country for immigrants, including those from China (Ip, 2003a; Spoonley & Butcher, 2009). The population was largely dominated by the people from the UK and Ireland since colonization (Robie, 2009; Spoonley &

Butcher, 2009). During that period, the Chinese as gold miners and other labourers were considered “the first Asians” in the country (Ip, 2003a). The introduction of the 1987 Immigration Act has triggered another wave of non-European immigration. Over the past decades, an increasing number of Chinese people have migrated to New Zealand from places such as China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and other Southeast Asian countries. The new Chinese migrants have significantly affected the national demographics. The 2006 Census showed that the Chinese have become the largest Asian ethnicity in the country (Statistics NZ, 2006).

Brunton (2009) realizes the significant influence of the new Chinese. He reveals that New Zealanders generally regard China as the prominent region of Asia, “New Zealanders see the Asian region as important to New Zealand’s future and New Zealand can benefit economically from a relationship with Asia” (2009). The Lantern Festival is taken as an example in the study to demonstrate New Zealanders’ heightening awareness of Chinese culture. The signing of the 2008 Free Trade Agreement has promoted an economic partnership between New Zealand and China, and attracted more attention to the Chinese.

However, the Chinese immigrants have undergone paradoxical experiences in the process of their integration. The historical migrants were long regarded as aliens or *Others* in the past and they have still been in a marginalized position in the host society (Ip & Murphy, 2005). Although New Zealanders’ attitudes towards Asians have become positive, most New Zealanders “are unable to distinguish between Chinese and peoples from other parts of East and Southeast Asia” (Beal, 2002).

The news media plays a crucial role in constructing identity and brokering relations between host and immigrant minorities (Cottle, 2000; Spoonley & Butcher, 2009). The Chinese in Western countries have encountered discrimination and racial inequality, being misrepresented or underrepresented by the mainstream media (Alia & Bull, 2005). The New Zealand mainstream media treats Asian immigrants as a homogeneous group and hardly discern the complex nature of the Chinese (Baker & Benson, 2008). Since the early 1990s, they have been “demonized and scapegoated as a cultural and problematic *Other*”; while the negative reporting “has significantly decreased, it has not disappeared” (Spoonley & Butcher, 2009, p. 367).

Article “Asian Angst. Is it time to send some back?” is a salient example of the racial treatment in the mainstream media. It was published in 2006 in the *North & South* magazine, one of the widely read monthly magazines in NZ. The writer Deborah Coddington used relevant statistics in relation to Asian crimes, placing Asians, especially the Chinese in a position of cultural others in terms of their involvement in the crimes. The article provoked a mass of public complaints to the Press Council in terms of its inaccurate depictions of Asians, as well as the intentions of the author and the magazine. Robie (2009) criticizes that it shows “low points in mainstream media coverage of ethnic issues (p. 79). Spoonley and Butcher (2009) state that “Asian Angst” is a discriminatory article exemplifying almost negative aspects of Asian immigrants. The overwhelming response received from the public and media scholars attests a need for media workers to obtain a comprehensive understanding of Asians and to modify the reporting method regarding the Chinese.

The Chinese language media, especially newspapers, have rapidly developed and “become increasingly significant and influential in the ethnic Chinese community” (Liu, 2009, p. 404). Media studies acknowledge its important role for the migrant members, as well as a powerful impact on the diasporic identity formation (Liu, 2009). Critical issues embedded in the ethnic media are also identified, such as financial problems, business interests, and low quality of the news reporting (Liu, 2009; Qin, 2003).

Previous media studies have put more focus on the news reporting of crimes in relation to the Chinese. There is a relative lack of investigation into the new phenomena occurred during the recent integration of Chinese immigrants. The Chinese news media, particularly newspapers, have been examined, but not yet compared to mainstream media to identify differences between them in dealing with the ethnic relations as well as identity construction.

1.3 Hypothesis

The hypotheses for this thesis are thus proposed. The first hypothesis is that the meaning of the Chinese diaspora is changing and also perceived differently by various groups in the multicultural society. The second hypothesis is that the media portrayal of the Chinese has transformed at varying degrees in accordance with the cultural, social, and economic dynamics over recent years. Meanwhile, there are differences exist between the mainstream and Chinese language media in portraying the Chinese.

To test the above hypotheses, it is crucial to solve issues and questions pertaining to Chinese representation in the news media. First, I need to clarify the real meaning of the Chinese diaspora, discovering differences and/or similarities between the migrant community and host society in terms of the concept. The issue has been examined in previous studies by means of self-observation and questionnaires. In my thesis, however, I will approach the community and media outlets to obtain convincing answers to this question. Participants from the Chinese community, the Chinese ethnic media, and mainstream media will be interviewed for providing various ideas.

While Asian crime is still a major concern, dynamics in the cultural, social and economic context have generated new topics in the news media. Therefore, the research will observe news reporting of these phenomena to discover any changes to the mainstream media treatment. The study will also compare the mainstream and Chinese news media, exploring any differences between them in constructing the diaspora.

The research questions are designed accordingly: (1) How is the Chinese diaspora is recognized in the current New Zealand context? What differences, if any, between the Chinese community and host society in perceiving the conception? (2) What is the impact of the Chinese media on the diasporic group and its identity formation? (3) In the mainstream media, especially newspapers for this research, how the Chinese have been portrayed in the cultural, social, and economic environments? What changes, if any, has the news media made to its media treatment? (4) What differences between the mainstream and ethnic media in constructing Chinese identity?

1.4 Thesis structure

The preceding part of this chapter has indicated the rationale for the research, as well as background information on the Chinese diaspora and the media representation. Also, hypotheses and related questions have been proposed. The subsequent chapters will be outlined in the following part.

Chapter two reviews literature in line with the questions addressed, offering the theoretical frameworks for a research analysis. An anthropological approach is first adopted to evaluate key concepts related to the diaspora. The characteristics of ethnic identity and conflicts inside ethnic groups are illustrated. Race is explained in terms of its difference with ethnicity, for the later understanding of racism in the news media. The characters of the New Zealand Chinese diaspora are indicated. Second, the chapter assesses the news media regarding its role in constructing identity and powerful effect on ethnic relations. The chapter also provides historical perspectives of the Chinese representation, highlighting the racial and negative stereotypes adopted in the mainstream media. The role and functions of ethnic media are observed and further understanding of the Chinese language media in New Zealand is provided.

Chapter three outlines the methodologies of data collection and analysis employed in the study. Qualitative method is applied as the main technique given the nature of the research. As for media selection, the chapter chooses newspapers because of their powerful impact on society and accessibility for media research. The chapter illustrates

how primary and second data were gathered. The interviewing and case studies were adopted for data collection and analysis. Participants involved in the research are introduced and the reason for selecting them is explained. The Lantern Festival, Asian crime, and the Natural Dairy case are chosen as the case studies in an attempt to investigate the newspaper reporting in varied settings. A critical discourse analysis (CDA) is specified as to how this analytic method interprets the ideological meanings and constructions of diasporic identity behind the media discourse.

Chapter four critically reviews the interviews with leaders of the Chinese community as well as media workers from the Chinese and mainstream news media. All were asked the same questions to check and confirm their consistency regarding the Chinese and media representation. Based on their answers, two major issues are interpreted. The first clarifies the contemporary meaning of the Chinese diaspora, identifying differences between the majority and ethnic group in understanding the concept. The second is to elucidate major aspects of the Chinese language media, such as its role and functions, as well as the impact on diaspora members.

In the following three chapters, a CDA method is applied to examine the newspaper reporting of the Lantern Festival, Asian crime, and the Natural Dairy case. The analysis is conducted at two stages. First, it looks at the key characteristics of the new discourse, to observe a general description of the Chinese and then elaborate the ideological meanings behind the newspaper reporting. Secondly, a comparative analysis is undertaken to discover the ideological constructions in the mainstream and Chinese newspapers, and also identifies differences between them in shaping Chinese identity.

Besides, the participants' views on specific issues relating to the case studies are discussed to further check or confirm the findings of the news discourse analysis.

Chapter five observes the mainstream news articles about the Lantern Festival over the past decade. Celebrating the Chinese Festival has become a popular event in the New Zealand multicultural context. The chapter illustrates the majority's recognition of Chinese culture and further examines their changing attitudes towards the diasporic group. It also compares the mainstream and Chinese newspapers to identify differences between them in representing the Chinese.

Chapter six examines the Chinese representation in a criminal setting. Asian crime has long been the major issue in society rather than a specific event. As noted earlier, the mainstream media reporting of Chinese crime not only exposes a continuing use of the racial stereotypes, but also reveals problematics in distinguishing the Chinese as either victims or perpetrators. The chapter examines four criminal cases in relation to the Chinese, to test changes to the racial and negative stereotypes and discover differences in portraying victims and perpetrators. In particular, a comparative analysis of sample texts about the 2008 car-park murder is undertaken to evaluate differences between the mainstream and ethnic newspapers in depicting the Chinese.

Chapter seven investigates coverage of the Natural Dairy case, the intended plan of a Chinese-backed Company to buy one of NZ's largest dairy farming groups. It reflects a new phenomenon occurring in the economic context over recent years. Comparing with the Lantern Festival and Asian crime, this case poses a new challenge for the news

media. The chapter examines the coverage in the *NZ Herald* newspaper, to perceive the majority's attitudes toward the Chinese investment in the NZ dairy industry. The portraying methods are observed to explore the ways in which the mainstream media tackles this new phenomenon. It further ascertains differences between the mainstream and Chinese newspapers in constructing identity of the Chinese investors.

The final chapter highlights the findings from the interviews interpretation and case studies. The primary assertion is that the Chinese diaspora is recognized and understood at varying levels in either the migrant community or mainstream society. Dilemma in the mainstream media treatment is exemplified. On the one side, there is an ongoing awareness and acceptance of Chinese culture; the attitudes towards the Chinese become positive despite difficulties in recognizing their complicated nature and identity. On the other side, the racial and negative stereotyping is still deeply ingrained in the criminal reportage and also extending into the economic context. In line with the issues addressed in the research, some suggestions are made for journalists to improve or change their reporting methods to the Chinese.

Chapter II : Literature Review

The literature reviews two major categories in response to the issues raised in the first chapter. The first applies an anthropological approach to critically evaluate the concepts of ethnicity and diaspora, thereby examining diverse interpretations concerning the ways in which diasporic identity is formed and maintained throughout contemporary transnational processes. This is followed by a general overview of the Chinese diaspora at a global level, with a particular investigation into new Chinese immigrants in New Zealand, in terms of their dynamic nature in diasporic identity.

The second is to assess the role of news media in constructing national and ethnic identity, principally reviewing how an ethnic minority in a multicultural society has been dealt with through the news media in terms of diverse stereotypes and representations. On the basis of these theoretical frameworks, it then specifically focuses on significant changes to the coverage of the Chinese since the New Zealand 1987 Immigration Act.

2.1 Ethnicity and diaspora– Chinese in New Zealand

This section explores the notions of ethnicity and diaspora with a view to understanding the nature of ethnic identity in a diasporic setting as well as conflict between them and the majority in a multicultural society.

2.1.1 Definition of ethnicity

In the *Oxford English Dictionary*, ‘identity’ is understood in two paradoxical relations: similarity and difference. In terms of social relationships, identity is described as “how self is defined and categorized in relation to other people” (Li, Jowett, Findlay, & Skeldon, 1995, p. 343). According to Hall,

Identities are about questions of using the resources of history, language, and culture in the process of becoming rather than being: not ‘who we are’ or ‘where we came from’, so much as what we become, how we have been represented and how that bears on how we represent ourselves (1996, p. 4).

Hall illustrates that culture, history, and language are essential features constructing identity, which bring out ways of becoming oneself or ourselves. Schermerhorn (1970) maintains his standpoint on ethnic groups (p. 12):

An ethnic group is defined here as a collective within a larger society having real or putative common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past, and a cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements defined as the epitome of their people-hood. Examples of such symbolic elements are: kinship patterns, physical contiguity (as in localism or sectionalism), religious affiliation, language or dialect forms, tribal affiliation, nationality, phenotypical features, or any combination of these. A necessary accompaniment is some consciousness of kind among members of the group.

As Schermerhorn asserts, there are two fundamental aspects regarding ethnic groups.

The first manifests 'similarity', which refers to a collective consciousness gained through a set of cultural practices and beliefs in history by members of an ethnic group. This facet empowers the group to bind together as well as enabling individuals to become involved in and/or contribute to the group. Secondly when it comes to an external relation between the group and others; 'similarity' co-existing amongst 'us' turns into 'distinctiveness' or difference.

DeVos and Romanucci-Ross (1995) merge the notions of identity and ethnic groups, offering that ethnic identity is "in essence a past-oriented form of identity, embedded in the presumed cultural heritage of the individual or group" (p. 356). In line with the nature of identity, culture and history are the core elements characterizing ethnic identity as well as differentiating one ethnic group from others. It also argues that in the course of historical continuity, ethnicity not only represents an innate sense of belonging to a culture at an individual level, but also conveys the ways in which individuals feel about themselves rather than being observed by others (DeVos, 1995; Eriksen, 1996).

2.1.2 Conflict in ethnic identity

The nature of ethnicity refers to how and why individuals attach themselves to ethnic groups as well as maintain cultural boundaries with others. Then two schools of thought have been identified. The first is primordialism. Geertz (1963) emphasizes that physical

blood ties existing within ethnic groups is important, as ethnic attachments are innately “given” and unchangeably rooted in societies.

Another school of thought is instrumentalism, which suggests that ethnicity changes according to varied and complex situations (Collier & Thomas, 1988; Okamura, 1981). Radhakrishnan argues that ethnicity is context-specific and always in a state of flux (p. 119). From Lowe’s perspective, a particular group is “a socially constructed unity” rather than “a natural or static category” on account of their “situationally specific position” (Lowe, 2003, p. 151). Some scholars, such as Cohen, assert that it is a cogent argument in favour of the variations of ethnic affiliations and solidarity (Cohen, 1974).

Both provide the basis for comprehending conflict in ethnic identity. The sense of kinship, group solidarity, and common culture are consistently held by members of an ethnic group. Nevertheless, ethnic attachments are transformed over time rather than remaining stable because of diverse situations. Cultural differences and boundaries are bound to emerge while the ethnic group and others are co-existing and interacting in a multicultural society (DeVos, 1995; Eriksen, 2001).

The cultural differences are “not always obvious to an outsider” (Spoonley, 1993, p. 37) and ethnicity is interpreted in two ways. It is important for members of the ethnic group to retain their cultural characteristics. Meanwhile, it is difficult for others to adequately understand the significance of maintaining ethnic identity. Ethnicity does offer remote possibilities for establishing effective communication between the ethnic group and others. Spoonley (1993) asserts that constant conflict is more likely to constitute

discriminations - the powerful social forces that the ethnic group has to confront in the multicultural society. Hence, ethnicity “becomes a defensive means of providing support in a hostile environment” (p. 38).

2.1.3 Understanding race

‘Race’ is a sensitive word because of its close association and interchangeable use with ethnicity. It is “a biological fact” and should be “a matter of no social importance” (Hartmann & Husband, 1974, p. 205). Race is also sociologically and politically problematical (Spoonley, 1993, p. 1). In the Western imperialism and colonialism context, race was used to identify groups according to people’s appearance and physical characteristics. Furthermore, race becomes noteworthy as it has evolved continually from the old means of physically categorizing people to a new way of “classifying people into social groupings” (p. 2).

Most scholars claim that race and ethnicity are both “modes of identity construction” (Downing & Husband, 2005) because of the “physical characteristics” embedded in ethnic identity (Li, et al., 1995). Some theorists insist that they are significant different. Van Den Berghe (1978) argues that ethnicity is defined upon “cultural criteria” whereas race is “on the basis of physical criteria”. Anthias (1998) suggests that race “concerns with the negative categorization of population groups and their structural disadvantages” (p. 559). Hence, ethnicity is focusing on group identification of “us” whereas race deals more with categorization of other (Eriksen, 1996).

Spoonley (1993) indicates that both negative and positive evaluations of race contribute to “the basis for behaviour”, serving to “explain a number of things for many people”; it is crucial to employ the term in society as “a particular way of understanding and constructing social relationships” (p. 3).

2.1.4 Original and contemporary meaning of diaspora

As an ancient Greek word, diaspora bears a traditional meaning. Cohen (2008) and Esman (1996) share a common thought that diaspora refers to the traumatic experience of the original Jewish dispersion from their homeland. In the contemporary world, diaspora has been interpreted in various ways. The term can be perceived in a broader and more “generalized” sense (Ang, 2007, p. 286). Also, the characteristics of complexity and multiplicity embedded enable diaspora to describe all categories of people (R. Cohen, 2008) who experience transnationalism “across the borders of nation-states” (Vertovec, 1999, p. 1). Vertovec (1997) offers :

‘Diaspora’ is the term often used today to describe practically any population which is considered ‘deterritorialised’ or ‘transnational’, that is, which has originated in a land other than which it currently resides, and whose social, economic and political networks across the borders of nation-states or, indeed, span the globe (p. 1).

It should be noted that the Jewish historical experience has somewhat continued its profound impact on the essential characteristics of diaspora. It still maintains “a collective memory of their original homeland” (Cohen, 2008, p. 4). Ethnicity therefore implies twofold consequences in a diasporic setting. First, the diaspora pursues their

position in the country where they reside; also, they uphold their culture acquired from the homeland over historical continuity (Rex, 1996). The dual associations of the diaspora are bound to stir up cultural conflict between “where you are from” and “where you are at” (Ang, 2001; Gilroy, 1990; Hall, 1990). Hall (1990) argues that the circumstances that diaspora has to tackle in a host society involves not just the cultural conflict, but also a process of negotiation with the majority (p. 235):

The diaspora experience ... is defined, not by essence or purity, but by the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity; by a conception of ‘identity’ which lives with and through, not despite, difference; by hybridity. Diaspora identities are those which are constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference.

In the contemporary era, scholars show more interest in the outcomes of the mediation between this and majorities (Berkeley, Khan, & Ambikaipaker, 2006; Clifford, 1994; Cohen, 2008; Greif, 1995; Ongley & Pearson, 1995; Van Oudenhoven, Ward, & Masgoret, 2006; Ward & Masgoret, 2008). Clifford (1994) points out the negative consciousness of diaspora that in a host society, it is “constituted ... by experiences of discrimination and exclusion” (p. 311). Cohen persists that diaspora can produce positive transnational characters, forming a collective identity in the place of settlement as well as sharing the common identity with the rest of the same ethnic group in other countries (Cohen, 2008).

2.1.5 Overview of the Chinese diaspora

Scholars show a growing interest in the new Chinese diaspora (Liu, 2005; Skeldon,

1996, 2003; Wang, 1991; Wu, 1991). Unlike the labour movements of earlier Chinese migrants in history, Liu (2005) categorizes the new diaspora into four major types: students-turned-migrants, emigrating professionals, chain migrants, and illegal immigrants (p. 293). From Skeldon's perspective, these new immigrants from mainland China are mostly emerging as "the highly educated and of families" (Skeldon, 2003, p. 61). Chan (2006) suggests that the new diaspora "may be seen as a contemporary extension of the long historical tradition of Chinese migration" (p. 2). Given the earlier migrants scattered globally in the past, Nyiri (1999) argues that there has been a particular social phenomenon, which is that the new Chinese migrants have widely and intimately interwoven with the historical dispersion of the Chinese from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Southeast Asia in host countries (p. 24).

The characteristics of the new Chinese diaspora become obvious. The Chinese diaspora display "considerable internal sub ethnic diversity" (Ma, 2003, p. 25) since they come from different places at different stages. Such a heterogeneous nature means "the existence of differences and differential relationships within a bounded category" (Lowe, 2003, p. 138).

They also show the feature of homogeneity. Ma (2003) emphasizes that "all diasporas have common spatial characteristics, areas of experience with porous boundaries, specific places of encounter, and networks facilitating the movement of people, capital, goods and information" (p. 22). Regardless of different immigration experiences and place of origin, all Chinese share the same identity, which is constituted by language, culture, and history.

2.1.6 The Chinese diaspora in New Zealand

In New Zealand, Ip (1995, 1996, 2003a; Ip & Murphy, 2005) has been influential for her studies on Chinese migrants. While British immigration appeared as the primary and predominant intake to the nation, the Chinese were “the first Asians” and “remained the only Asian group until ...the end of the nineteenth century” (Ip & Murphy, 2005, p. 19). Ip (2003a) observes that the early Chinese arrivals “were never treated equally” (p. 339); they were “so long regarded as aliens” in the past (Ip & Murphy, 2005, p. 37). In the current setting, the Chinese immigrants are still considered “a more marginalized position” and “can never be fully assimilated by mainstream New Zealand society” (Ip, 2003a, p. 354).

Ip (2003a) argues that “the sources of immigrants have been much more diverse” (p. 346) since the 1987 Immigration Policy change. As a result, heterogeneity and homogeneity characterize the diasporic identity, which causes a growing awareness of “valuing their cultural heritage and ethnicity” (Ip, 1996, p. 144). In addition, the community continually reinforces “social cohesiveness to the Chinese who are non-English speaking and less integrated into the mainstream New Zealand society” (Ip, 2003a, p. 349). Ip (2003a) emphasizes the significance of the Chinese language news media in terms of their crucial role in constructing diasporic identity (pp. 354-355).

2.2 News media and ethnic identity: how the Chinese are represented

2.2.1 Roles and power of the news media

The media is a powerful and effective means that extensively affects people and society.

Cottle (2000) states that “the media occupy a key site and perform a crucial role in the public representation of unequal social relations and the play of cultural power” (p. 2).

In the news media’s context, Gray (1987) argues that “the media do more than simply reflect and describe significant events; they engage, select, define, and label certain events and actors as important, while they exclude and ignore others” (p. 381). Hence, news is seen as a functional instrument operating a key part in constructing identity.

Regarding the power of the news media, Spitulnik (1993) claims that they act “as vehicles of culture”, providing “audiences with ways of seeing and interpreting the world, ways that ultimately shape their very existence and participation within a given society” (p. 294). Williamson and DeSouza (2006) concede that the news media are “establishing and disseminating cultural references and are pivotal in representing and giving voice to community members” (p. 20).

Van Dijk (1996a) emphasizes the social power, an important aspect to manipulate and facilitate the news media to have “privileged access to socially valued resources” (van Dijk, 1996, p. 10). It also empowers the news media to control “the actions and/or the minds of another group, thus limiting the freedom of action of the others, or influencing

their knowledge, attitudes or ideologies” (van Dijk, 1996, p. 84). Van Dijk (1996) also argues that “power is generally based on special access to valued social resources” (p. 11); thus, different news media institutions have varied degrees of ability to control “patterns of media access” (p. 12).

2.2.2 Racism in the News Media

Racism has been a major issue in the news media. Van Dijk (2000) states that in the modern world, racism no longer exists with the old face of “slavery, segregation, apartheid, lynchings, and systematic discrimination, of white superiority feelings” (p. 33). Rather, as “minorities are not biologically inferior, but different” (pp. 34-35), van Dijk proposes a new notion of racism (p. 25):

Contemporary racism is a complex societal system in which peoples of European origin dominate peoples of other origins, especially in Europe, North America, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand. This relation of dominance may take many forms of economic, social, cultural and/or political hegemony, legitimated in terms of, usually negatively valued, different characteristics ascribed to the dominated people(s).

Racism has evolved into “a system of group dominance” as social settings in host countries become more complicated (van Dijk, 1991, p. 27). The new racism exercises its social functions to protect the interests of the majority and to maintain their power relationships and structures. Thus, it can be applied in any sectors of society, including economic, social, and cultural contexts. However, ethnic minority groups might be treated as inferior and therefore have to confront “prejudice and unequal treatment” (Spoonley, 1993, p. 274).

2.2.3 The news media's representation of an ethnic minority

Van Dijk (1991) states that the Western news media portrays ethnic minorities in a negative and stereotypical way (p. ix), and also point out some major topics that the mainstream news media deliberately target (van Dijk, 1996, p. 153):

- Immigration and reception of newcomers;
- Socioeconomic issues, (un) employment;
- Cultural differences;
- Crime, violence, drugs, and deviance;
- Ethnic relations, discrimination.

Fleras (2005) also outlines the main aspects of negative portrayals:

They are (a) miniaturized as irrelevant or inferior, (b) demonized as a social menace to society, (c) scapegoated as the source of all problems, (d) 'otherized' for being too different or not different enough, (e) refracted through the prism of Eurocentric fears and fantasies and (f) subjected to double standards that lampoons minorities regardless of what they do or didn't do. (9)

The problematic coverage of minorities, as Alia and Bull argue, is because that the making of news, especially during "the editing process", is driven by "the particular editorial policies and perspectives" (Alia & Bull, 2005, p. 18). Hartmann and Husband (1974) point out that negativity causes "a real potential for harm" as "positive stories of harmonious race relations are less likely to be carried than stories of racial conflict, and the negative behaviour of minority groups becomes more noteworthy than their positive achievements" (p. 154).

2.2.4 The New Zealand's media portrayal of minorities

Racism in New Zealand, as Macpherson and Spoonley state, has been apparent over “a considerable period of time” and coverage of this “was dominated by newspapers which were owned and controlled by British, and later British settler, interests” (Macpherson & Spoonley, 2004, p. 228). Recently, Spoonley and Trlin (2004) contend that “the New Zealand media have played a variety of roles and presented a variety of images concerning immigrants and their settlement since the early 1990s” (p. 17). Robie (2009) indicates that the point at issue is the continuous marginalizing or ignoring of the Asian and other ethnic minorities and the mainstream media “has been slow to adapt to the changes heralded by biculturalism, and it is now also confronted with having to reflect and respond to a rapidly changing and increasingly complex multicultural society” (p. 68).

Spoonley and Butcher (2009) categorize the news coverage of immigrants into two phases. It first began with a series of the *Inv-Asian* articles published in 1993. The publications not only conveyed “a moral panic about the recent and dramatic increase in the arrival of Asian immigrants”, but also “set the tone for much of the print media coverage” which led to negative consequences for Asian immigrants (p. 363).

Following that, crime reports were found in most of the coverage of Asian people.

Meanwhile, some politicians' anti-immigration stances received extensive coverage and significantly influenced the public sphere.

In the second phase, particularly after 1996, a discernible shift emerged; in addition to the traditional stereotypes, new approaches had been attempted by media workers who had an increasing chance of interacting with immigrant communities. Although this occurred in editorials and columns rather than in the whole news media, at least it showed “a much more positive view of ... Asian immigration” (p. 365).

The Chinese migrants, as Spoonley and Butcher note, “have been demonized and scapegoated as a cultural and problematic *Other* ... and negative reporting in the mass media has significantly decreased, it has not disappeared” (Spoonley & Butcher, 2009, p. 367). In their investigation into the news coverage of crimes relating to Chinese, Baker and Benson (2008) indicate that the mainstream media fails to notice the sheer complexity of the Chinese diaspora. The criminal reporting not only casts the Chinese victims into the category of the *other*, but also treats the Chinese group as perpetrators. In fact, the mainstream media lack the ability “to deal with complex stories and deliver a thorough and fair representation of ethnically diverse groups” (p. 199). Baker and Benson (2008) claim that change is needed to ensure the news media has a comprehensive understanding of “the Asian community and its diversity” by “spending more resources” because “a simplistic approach to any complex story is going to leave the audience short changed” (p. 199).

The *Asian Angst* article published in 2006 in *North & South* magazine is a typical example showing the racial and negative framing of Chinese crimes. It provoked a mass of public complaints to the Press Council for its inaccurate descriptions of Chinese.

Robie (2009) criticizes it is “a xenophobic article” presenting “low points in mainstream

media coverage of ethnic issues” (p. 79). Hannis (2009) arrives at a similar conclusion, that “Asians have been depicted in Western media as a threatening Other, either a Yellow Peril that can overwhelm White society or an over-achieving model minority” (p. 126).

With the increasing and diverse immigrations into New Zealand over recent years, the country is in a rapid transition from biculturalism to multiculturalism which highlights the central issue of the news media’s reporting of ethnic diversity. Prime Minister Helen Clark (2008) emphasizes the importance of “understanding diversity” and that the news media should be “a positive force for building understanding” instead of “misconceptions and stereotypes” (p. 12).

2.2.5 Overview of ethnic media as a genre

According to Williamson and DeSouza, the rationale behind the growing use of ethnic media in the host society is because the mainstream media “fails to reflect the lives and concerns of minorities” and also that “having representation in the media is important for minority groups” as it provides “not only a platform for the community but a bridge to that community for others” (Williamson & DeSouza, 2006, p. 20).

Most scholars concur in the significance of ethnic media but interpret their role in different ways. Williamson and DeSouza (2006) expound that the main function of ethnic media is to “provide an alternative to an increasingly homogenised mainstream media” and enable “the health of a civic society and ... an essential contribution to

promoting and sustaining social movements” (p. 20). However, Gandy (1998a) argues that minority media “provide information that the other media do not provide” rather than being “alternative” or “in direct competition with mainstream media”. They are “the primary”, representing “another world which is invisible in the mainstream media” (p. 148). Jeffres (2000) claims that ethnic media play the same role as the mainstream in terms of acting as vehicles. However, there is one marked difference from the mainstream that ethnic media rely crucially on their cultural characteristics to exist. In Jeffres’ words, “the ethnic media use is correlated with measures of ethnic ties, ethnic behaviours, and ethnic identity” to “retain attachment to their culture over time” (p. 522). Ethnic media is expected “to be positively related to the strength of one’s ethnic identification” (p. 505).

Viswanath and Arora (2000) investigate ethnic media in America and consider them part of diasporic institutions in terms of sustaining diasporic identity as well as facilitating immigrants’ transition into the host society (p. 40); they appraise the social functions of ethnic media at length. From one perspective, given the racial and negative coverage of immigrants in the mainstream media, the ethnic media must “perform its role as a community sentinel against external threat” (p. 49). From another, the ethnic media acts as cultural vehicles of “reviving the ethnicity” as well as “a community booster” in an attempt to “present the community in a positive light” (p. 48). At this point, Shi (2005) elaborates that the ethnic media plays “a constitutive rather than a reflexive role” (p. 50) and therefore has consequences for collective diasporic identity and imaginations in a host society. Another significant role is emphasized that ethnic

media creates a bridge for immigrants to their homelands by providing the latest information (Viswanath & Arora, 2000, p. 50). As Shi notes, diaspora connections with the homeland are offered to satisfy their desire for “memory, myth, search, and discovery” (2005, p. 57).

2.2.6 The Chinese language news media in New Zealand

Scant attention is devoted to the Chinese news media which have rapidly developed over recent years. According to Lin (2007), “language barriers” are the reasons for such a paucity of study on the subject and therefore cause difficulties for most scholars in accessing “trivial and ephemeral” publications (p. 11).

The significance of Chinese news media concerning its powerful impact on the diaspora identity formation has brought up an important subject matter in the culturally diverse landscape. Some Chinese researchers have investigated far-reaching changes in the ethnic media, gaining various perspectives regarding how the identity is constructed and sustained. No matter what kind of media outlet, such as print, television and radio broadcasting, or cyber, as Liu discusses (2009), the number of Chinese language media in New Zealand has been increased along with the influx of new immigrations and “become increasingly significant and influential in the ethnic Chinese community” (p. 404). Also, Liu (2009) argues that Chinese news media should be responsible for providing a solid base for new immigrants’ coexistence as well as access to information and issues relating to their adopted country (p. 405).

In her survey for exploring the perceptions of new immigrants towards the ethnic media, Liu (2009) finds that “the local Chinese news media has a very high coverage in the Chinese community and reaches almost every member of this community” (p. 411). In particular, the print media, including newspapers and magazines, “were in the leading position of the Chinese media consumption” mostly because these “are free to be picked up” (p. 411) from major Chinese business premises.

According to Liu, such a heavy consumption of local Chinese news media rests with the strong social needs among the diaspora members for information about their homeland. The Chinese news media use Chinese language catering to new migrants who have “a strong Chinese cultural background” (p. 413) as well as “limited English skills” (p. 414).

Problems of the Chinese news media are also clearly indicated. Qin (2003) considers that most are “disordered and not well organized”, largely focusing on “business interests and community issues” (p. 39). Liu (2009) also asserts that the quality of Chinese news media is much lower than that of mainstream media since the Chinese news media is free of charge and commercially driven (p. 423). As a consequence, Chinese media workers have to adopt “a low-cost and sensational approach to journalism” (p. 424) as well as the strategy of making money from advertisements. As for reporting the local news and events, the Chinese news media relies heavily on mainstream media by copying and translating its coverage (p. 424). It also argues that most Chinese media workers lack relative responsibility and have low journalistic

standards, reflecting “their own judgments and opinions in reporting some news events” (p. 424).

The increase of Chinese and their growing impact on the host country have evoked a considerable amount of media research on the ethnic group. However, recent studies rarely focus on typical issues raised from the recent integration of Chinese immigrants while the dynamics have emerged in various sectors of society. It is necessary to stimulate further research and further thinking about this particular topic. Therefore, this thesis will draw on the literature reviewed to identify changes in the newspaper reporting of the Chinese diaspora over the past decade.

Chapter III: Research Methodology

3.1 Qualitative research method

This chapter outlines the methodologies of data collection and analysis employed in this study, illustrating the significance of adopting these research methods in line with the questions addressed in the preceding chapters. A brief description in terms of data collection for a research analysis is also provided in this chapter.

Qualitative and quantitative research is the two main research methods, their choice depending on researcher questions and goals. According to Wimmer and Dominick (1991), “quantitative researchers strive for breadth, whereas qualitative researchers strive for depth” (p. 139). Thus, quantitative research is ideal for research designed in the wider context whereas qualitative is employed in a particular or complicated setting. Jensen (2002) argues that the qualitative method should be adopted when researchers want to transform “theoretical concepts into empirical, researchable phenomena” or “perform sampling of cultural settings, communities, informants, locales, periods, and activities” (p. 236).

According to the questions raised from my study, direct involvement is required in the research process to catch a clear image of the Chinese diaspora in the print media. It is

important to ensure that data collection covers a certain time frame so that media treatment over that period would be thoroughly examined, and that any changes in mainstream media approaches may be revealed.

Qualitative research was applied to the research; case study and interviewing method were adopted for data collection. The Lantern Festival, Asian crime, and the Natural Dairy case were selected as the case studies. Data collection was undertaken in two stages. The first gathered secondary data on news reporting related to the case studies with the NZ news media in both English and Chinese languages. Second, relevant information and professional opinion on the case studies were obtained as the primary data by interviewing participants selected from some mainstream media outlets, the major Chinese media outlets, and the Chinese community. Ethics approval had been gained from the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (Ethics Approval No.:10/87).

3.2 Media Selection

In media selection, I chose newspapers, even though there are a large number of news media outlets available in New Zealand. As one of the traditional news media, newspapers have a big influence on the public sphere reinforcing and shaping social structures. A rising tendency has emerged in the news media with the Internet disseminating news rapidly and broadly. Many newspapers have established online websites where audiences can consume the latest news and also take an active part on

the burgeoning platform to present their ideas and thoughts on special issues.

Newspapers are thus considered an accessible and valuable source for media research, scholars taking advantage of their websites to collect data.

Consequently, I have opted for New Zealand newspapers in both the traditional format and online versions. Readership and circulation were taken as the main criterion for media selection. I have chosen three newspapers - the *New Zealand Herald* (henceforth referred to as the *Herald*), the *New Zealand Chinese Herald* (the *Chinese-Herald*) and the *United Chinese Press (UCP)*, which have the biggest Chinese readerships and circulations in Auckland, New Zealand's largest city.

Although the *Herald* is mainly distributed in the Auckland region, the newspaper connects "half a million of New Zealanders each day" (*The New Zealand Herald*, 2010). A national readership survey by Nielsen Media Research in 2008 showed that 583,000 people aged over 15 years read an average issue of the *Herald* (*Nielsen Media Research National Readership Survey Results* 2008). According to a recent report from the New Zealand Audit Bureau of Circulation, the *Herald* reached a circulation of more than 167,000 as of July 2010 (ABC, 2010); this is considered the largest newspaper circulation in New Zealand. Additionally, the *Herald* online news service has drawn an increasing number of readers since it was established in 1998. The *Herald* was named Best News Website at the 2007 and 2008 Qantas Media Awards and also won Newspaper of the Year (over 30,000 circulation) and Best Front Page at the 2010 Qantas Media Awards (*Qantas media awards 2010*, 2010). It can be seen as a very influential newspaper in New Zealand, with a powerful impact on mainstream society.

In contrast, it was more difficult to make sample choices from the Chinese language newspapers, which have flourished over the past decades. There have been more than 20 Chinese print media, most of them available free to the public. Largely dependent on advertising to survive, many have ceased to exist due to a lack of finance. The others have had to overcome many issues. Inadequate funding has made it difficult to operate, both in-house and in the field. This has led to relatively low standards of reporting and a heavy reliance on mainstream media for local and relevant current affairs.

Therefore, none of the Chinese newspapers is comparable with the *Herald* financially or in their quality of news reporting. Nevertheless, these have persisted in presenting topics and issues pertaining to the Chinese diaspora. Anecdotal evidence suggests that the angles from which they report the migrants are different from those of the mainstream media. Hence, it is necessary to take the Chinese newspapers into consideration, examining differences or similarities between the mainstream media and Chinese news media regarding Chinese representations.

Aside from readership and circulation, news content and quality are key factors in choosing media samples from the Chinese newspapers. Indeed, some have offered a copious amount of news articles on a regular basis. Both the *Chinese-Herald* and *UCP* meet the selection criterion that mentioned above and therefore were chosen as media samples for my study.

The *Chinese-Herald* was founded by the *Herald* in 1994, frequently changing hands until 2002 when the current owner took over the business. It is now published four

times a week - Tuesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday - with a circulation of 12,000 copies per issue. In 2008, the *Chinese-Herald* launched its online news website.

Regardless of place of origin, the newspaper targets all Chinese people in New Zealand who can speak and read Chinese language, and like the other Chinese newspapers is entirely reliant on advertising. However, one salient characteristic is that the newspaper insists on exclusive news on the front page by reporting local current affairs as well as investigating major issues concerning the Chinese diaspora. In providing such information and news, it has considerable effect on the Chinese community, assisting diasporic members to integrate into the host society. Witnessing most of the period since the new immigration wave, the *Chinese-Herald* maintains its leading position within the Chinese print media.

UCP is a young newspaper, which was set up in February 2010. Copies of the paper are available for free, throughout Auckland. It is published three times a week on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays with a circulation of 10,000 copies, close to that of the *Chinese-Herald*. Similarly, both *UCP* and the *Chinese-Herald* are commercial-driven newspapers, that is, making money from advertisements. Yet, *UCP* is crucially different from the *Chinese-Herald* in terms of readership and news content. Unlike the *Chinese-Herald* that mainly reports current affairs both locals and from other countries, *UCP* shifts its focus on reporting the Chinese local community. Rather than operating as a private business, *UCP* attempts to report news in a new way by collaborating with the Chinese community.

In May 2010, *UCP* launched the *United Press*, an English language newspaper

established by the Chinese news media. Publishing on Saturdays with a circulation of 10,000 copies for each issue, the *United Press* targets the old, or Chinese immigrants who cannot read Chinese, as well as any New Zealanders who would like to invest in China. In order to meet such demand, the *United Press* pays more attention to Asian cultures and economies, assisting mainstream society to better understand the Chinese community, and economic development in China. The *United Press* also features editorials written by local columnists discussing current affairs in New Zealand and Asian countries. *UCP* has also established an online website, aiming to draw world-wide Chinese people who want to know about New Zealand Chinese immigrants.

Another reason for choosing *UCP* was because Natural Dairy (NZ) Holdings Ltd is its founder. The Company was in the spotlight since it announced plans for buying the Crafar farms, largest family dairying group. The farms' bid received huge attention from the news media, including mainstream such as the *Herald*, and the Chinese media as well. Regarding the Natural Dairy's purchase, *UCP* published more news and editorials than the other Chinese newspapers. It is thus crucial to consider the media discourse from *UCP* to discover the attitude that Chinese news media may take to the case, examining any differences between the Chinese newspaper and the *Herald* in terms of media approaches to this highly controversial issue.

3.3 Interviews

Interview is "a conversation between a *researcher* (someone who wishes to gain

information about a subject) and an *informant* (someone who presumably has information of interest on the subject)” (Berger, 2000, p. 111). When it comes to scholarly research, Berger (2000) suggests that the interview method is “one of the most widely used and most fundamental research techniques”, because it is useful for providing information that researchers cannot obtain by observation alone, or any other way (pp. 111, 113).

Priest (1996) also argues that “some aspects of the social world of someone not exactly like ourselves, and some aspects of what it means to be a member of a certain group, are simply not visible to us as observers” (p. 106). Hence, applying the interview technique enables researchers to ‘get inside’ people for insightful investigation into their associated communities and organizations. Researchers can seek a wealth of information about what things the communities and organizations do as well as why and how they do these things.

Many media researchers have recently put focus on the ways in which the New Zealand Chinese diaspora has been framed (Lin, 2007; Liu, 2005; Liu, 2009; Qin, 2003). They have either collected publications provided in the news media or gathered primary data from members of the migrant community. However, it seems that none has individually approached leaders of those community, journalists or media publishers to discuss issues related to the ethnic group and their media representations.

The interviewees selected for the study were required to present their professional opinion given their close connections with media production or coverage. The

interviews also had another purpose. With the many and varied backgrounds of the interviewees, ie, media publishers, journalists, leaders of the Chinese community, I was able to get a cross section of opinions on their thoughts of the new challenges posed by the 1987 Immigration Policy change. Furthermore, a range of issues concerning the construction of Chinese diasporic identity were put forward, such as how these migrants are identified within the community and news media, particularly after the new immigration wave, what major issues existed in the Chinese news media in terms of constructing Chinese diasporic identity, and identifying differences and similarities in portraying them between the mainstream and ethnic media. Their answers, however various, similar or different, would clarify the impact of ethnic media on diasporic identity construction. Further, the interviews would aid the researcher in exploring the majority's recognition of the minority group.

In total, twelve participants were involved in the research. Each participant is a skilled practitioner working in their community or news media agency. They are well informed on the subject of Chinese diaspora or Chinese language news media. During the process of recruitment, the researcher has achieved as much diversity as possible regarding participants' roles, journalistic experience, and their publications relating to the migration subject. More importantly, the recruitment considered each participant's ability to contribute meaningful and professional opinion as well as data pertaining to the study. The interviewees cover mainstream news media, the Chinese community, and the major Chinese language news media outlets, including newspapers, television, radio broadcasting, and new media. With their participation in the research, it was hoped to

get as varied as possible answers to each interview question, enabling the researcher to gain a broader perspective on the issues raised.

Prior to interviewing, participants were all required to sign a consent form under the Privacy Act provisions and also provided details of their participation. Upon their request, the participants were allowed to have another option of being anonymous and therefore not being identified in the final research report. An interview with Charles Mabbett, media adviser of the Asia New Zealand Foundation, was carried out in writing as the participant is Wellington-based. The other interviews were one-on-one for 50 to 90 minutes and digitally audio recorded. After the interviews, all participants were provided with a PDF format copy of the interview transcript and given an opportunity to offer corrections, clarifications or additions.

A brief description of the participants is provided here. Three came from the Chinese community. As Chairman of the Auckland Chinese Community Centre, Arthur Loo has been actively involved in the Chinese community work. In 1990, he was awarded the New Zealand 1990 Commemoration Medal in recognition of services to the country. Kai Luey is Chairman of the New Zealand Chinese Association Auckland Inc. (NZCA). Incorporated in 1935, NZCA is the oldest national Chinese organization in New Zealand. Both communities were established for the earlier immigrants. In contrast, the Chinese New Settlers Services Trust (CNSST) was launched in the 1990s, serving new immigrants from Mainland China since the Policy change. The manager of CNSST, Gloria Gao, was invited as a participant.

The other seven were selected from the major Chinese news media outlets. Upon her request, the manager of *UCP* was identified as Anne in the research. Portia Mao is an influential freelance reporter, who emigrated with her family from Mainland China to New Zealand and then started as a journalist in 2003. Portia has reported extensively for a number of Chinese newspapers. She has also contributed to the mainstream news media, such as *Herald* on Sunday, *Sunday* on TV One, and *60 Minutes* on TV3. The documentary *Bad Milk* co-produced in 2008 by her and other media workers for TV One, was named Best Current Affairs Reporting for a weekly programme at the 2009 Qantas Film and Television Awards (*Qantas Film and Television Awards 2009 Finalists*, 2009). The World TV Ltd (WTV) was launched in 2000 as the first Chinese language television station, starting its Chinese radio broadcasting in Auckland in 2004. Two people from WTV were interviewed, including Chief Operating Officer Gary Chang and David Cheng, who is in charge of news and programme control. Unlike most of the Chinese media workers who come from Mainland China, Chang and Cheng both hail from Taiwan. Kylie is the Executive Director of Skykiwi.com, considered the largest Chinese website in New Zealand. During 2007 and 2008, Skykiwi.com both ranked #1 based on market share of visits among all New Zealand websites in the Hit wise “News and Media - Community Directories and Guides” industry. Conney Zhang was an experienced journalist in Mainland China before moving to New Zealand. She is now a reporter for the *Chinese –Herald*. Another participant from the newspaper was entered under the name of May; she bought the *Chinese –Herald* in 2002 after emigrating from Mainland China.

Two interviewees were selected from mainstream news media. Charles Mabbett is media adviser for the Asia New Zealand Foundation. He was a print and broadcast journalist for over ten years for media organizations such as New Zealand Press Association, Australian Associated Press and Radio New Zealand. Bill Ralston was a long-time journalist as well as a former head of TVNZ's News & Current Affairs. He is now running his own company, specializing in public relations communication, crisis management, and media training. Bill was also a media spokesman for Natural Dairy (NZ) Holdings, Ltd. regarding its plans to buy the Crafar dairy farms in New Zealand.

3.4 Case Study Research

3.4.1 Theoretical framework

The importance of employing the CSR method in the field of social science and communication studies is well known. It is commonly adopted when “a researcher desires to understand or explain a phenomenon” (Wimmer & Dominick, 1991, p. 150). More specifically, as Jensen claims, using CSR in research is conducive to “descriptions and typologies which have implications for other, or larger, social systems” (2002, p. 239).

It is also suggested that CSR is by and large reliant on the questions that the researcher has. According to Yin, the case study is “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (2009, p. 18). The

CSR method becomes more applicable when the researcher endeavours to tackle issues raised in situations that have recently occurred or changed (p. 4).

The CSR is suitable for both data gathering and analysis. Yin (2009) explains that the case study deals with “the technically distinctive situation” which encompasses “many more variables of interest than data points”. The CSR method does not merely rely on “multiple sources of evidence”, but benefits from “the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis” (p. 18).

Apart from the reasons for using the CSR, ways of conducting the technique in practice have been suggested as well. Yin (2009) recommends multiple case studies (p. 19).

According to Wimmer and Dominick, gathering more sources of data can help “improve the reliability and validity of the study” and therefore, interviews and documents can be taken as useful sources of data for case studies (1991, p. 152).

However, for achieving an in-depth understanding of the case studies, Woodside (2010) points up a triangulation of multiple research methods, including: “(1) direct observation by the researcher within the environments of the case, (2) probing by asking case participants for explanations and interpretations of operational data, and (3) analyses of written documents and natural sites occurring in case environments” (p. 6).

The case studies are conducted in a multi-level manner. In addition to analyzing the Chinese representation in varied situations, it is necessary to consider opinions offered by the participants who have been either familiar with or reported Chinese diaspora in relation to case studies. A multi-level investigation into the case studies would help

generate a thorough understanding as to how and why the Chinese diaspora has been portrayed.

3.4.2 Transformation and Discourse

The study focused on some representative settings emerging in the wake of the latest Chinese immigration wave. I have chosen three different case studies, which feature an array of typical events and issues in which these migrants have been involved throughout their integration into the host society. The case studies raised major issues that the majority have concerned in terms of their cultural, social, and economical association with Chinese diaspora. Thus, a systematic analysis of media discourse on the case studies appears essential. I would first elucidate the ways in which the mainstream news media has portrayed the Chinese in these situations. Then a comprehensive understanding of Chinese representations would be able to establish. I would also examine any differences between mainstream and Chinese language newspapers in forming the diasporic identity.

3.4.3 The Lantern Festival

The first case study focused on the Lantern Festival, a Chinese cultural event which is considered one of the most important Chinese traditional festivals with a history of over two thousand years. The Lantern Festival can be seen as crucial to Chinese culture and to some extent symbolizes the Chinese cultural identity. In countries where Chinese

immigrants reside, a widespread phenomenon has emerged that the traditional Chinese culture that accompanies them has been absorbed by the mainstream society. The significance of celebrating the Lantern Festival overseas is to promote Chinese culture as well as maintain strong ethnic ties and traditions within the Chinese community. The Lantern Festival is also an opportunity for cultural exchange and participation for those who attend.

In New Zealand, the Lantern Festival has been held by the Asia New Zealand Foundation and the Auckland City Council for more than ten years. News media coverage of the event has continued to grow. Exploring news articles on the event, especially mainstream media discourse, would determine the ways in which the host-culture public sphere perceives the ethnic group as well as its cultural identity; studying the media portrayal of the Lantern Festival since its inception, might help illuminate whether any changes in the majority's attitudes towards Chinese diaspora have occurred during that time.

It is necessary to analyze the Lantern Festival prior to Asian Crime and the Natural Dairy; the unique Chinese characteristics embedded in the Lantern Festival can be taken as a starting point from which Chinese diaspora and cultural identity may be understood. In news reporting methods, it can be assumed that the nature featured in the media discourse on the Lantern Festival would be to some degree related to the tone conveyed in the news coverage of Asian Crime and the Natural Dairy. In this regard, it can be also presumed that the implications of the coverage of the Festival would help validate media approaches adopted in the following case studies. Therefore, a contextual

presentation in the news media could be set up: analysis of media discourse on the Lantern Festival might contribute to an examination of mainstream news reporting on the other case studies.

There were difficulties in gathering newspaper data on the Lantern Festival since the case study covered a period of more than ten years, and material was not fully archived. It was necessary to turn to the database of *Newztext*, an archive of the full text of New Zealand's key news publications. The focus was on news articles covering the event while it was being held and celebrated.

As a media adviser of the Asia NZ Foundation, Charles Mabbett was closely involved in the Lantern Festival and was therefore approached for information. His professional viewpoint on mainstream news coverage of Lantern Festival was also provided in the interview. The Chinese news media's perspective was sought from reporter Conney Zhang based on her exclusive article in the *Chinese-Herald*. Some participants from mainstream media and the Chinese community such as Bill Ralston and Kai Luey also gave their valuable insight.

3.4.4 Asian Crime

The second case study concerned Asian crime, although in my research Asian crime is referred to as "Chinese crime". Asian crime was chosen for two reasons. Firstly, some Chinese people have been highly involved in high-profile criminal activities as victims or perpetrators of crimes, such as the "Wan Biao suitcase murder" in 2006, the "Baby

Pumpkin” case in 2007, the “Joanne Wang Car-park murder” in 2008, and the “Kiko” case in 2010. These contributed to one of the most controversial issues widely discussed in the Chinese community and mainstream society.

Secondly, Asian people in the country are generally regarded as Chinese by most New Zealanders, and, from a historical perspective, Chinese immigrants were commonly misrepresented or underrepresented as *Others* and crime perpetrators within the mainstream news media. Recent media studies (Hannis, 2009; Robie, 2009; Spoonley & Butcher, 2009; Spoonley & Trlin, 2004) show that Asian crime in New Zealand has still been one of the racial problems retained within mainstream media reporting. The case study pieced together crimes committed by Chinese criminals to get a more in-depth analysis of the ways in which mainstream media has represented Chinese criminal cases. More importantly, it would capture the real essence of Chinese representation provided by the mainstream and then reveal whether the traditional stereotype of Chinese immigrants has changed in society. Further, differences or similarities in constructing the Chinese diasporic identity in a criminal setting would be perceived by a comparative analysis of coverage between mainstream and Chinese news media.

Data on the above mentioned crimes were collected from the *Herald* and the *Chinese-Herald*. Rather than criminal details, I have specifically focused on media portrayal of the personal characters of those Chinese victims or perpetrators. Editorials and comment on the crimes from the *Herald* were also considered necessary to give perspective.

Primary data was collected from the interviews with Kai Luey and Arthur Loo, who have long been concerned about Asian crime in their roles as leaders of the Chinese community. Chinese journalist Portia Mao was interviewed since she extensively reported on criminals for the Chinese newspapers. She also provided her views on mainstream coverage of Asian crime.

3.4.5 Natural Dairy Case

The third case study involved Natural Dairy. In 2010, Natural Dairy (NZ) Holdings, a China-backed Company, announced its plan to buy the Crafar dairy farms, the nation's biggest privately owned dairy farming business. Natural Dairy's application for approval from the Overseas Investment Office (OIO) caused deep concern in New Zealand, attracting intensive coverage from the mainstream news media, and sparked off national debate over ownership of New Zealand's dairy farmland. The farm deal and the news reports quickly fueled a public fear of the Chinese.

There are two reasons for choosing Natural Dairy in this research. First, the case relates to both the majority and the Chinese diaspora even though mainstream society is more concerned given the national interest. Secondly, the Natural Dairy case is different from the Lantern Festival and Asian crime. The other case studies illustrate Chinese representation in the cultural and social context. However, the Natural Dairy case reflects the recent economic phenomenon where Chinese investors like Natural Dairy have become involved in NZ's economy. It can be assumed that this economic shift

might have affected ethnic relations between the majority and the Chinese.

Hence, it is worth examining media discourse on Natural Dairy, especially of the reporting methods to the Chinese diaspora adopted by the mainstream news media, to discern whether any changes in mainstream media portrayals of the Chinese diaspora altered the situation in an economic context. For a thorough understanding of Chinese representation, it is essential to merge the findings of the Natural Dairy case with the findings of Lantern Festival and Asian crime.

There has been intensive mainstream news coverage of the Natural Dairy case since it was first reported in March 2010. As the leading newspaper, the *Herald* followed the entire story, providing full coverage of the farm bid. In an attempt to explore media images of the Chinese in this particular situation, I have focused on news articles about the Chinese investors behind the purchase, such as May Wang, a front person of Natural Dairy Company as well as Jack Chen and Tang Jun, two investors involved in the farm deal. It was essential to incorporate editorials and political comments on the dairy farm case, which reveal a variety of perspectives from mainstream society concerning Chinese investment in NZ's economy.

Data collection also included articles from the newspaper *UCP* and its English version the *United Press* as it is necessary to see how the Chinese community and the media responded to the farm bid to explore any differences in reporting the economic issue. Primary data was gathered mainly from Bill Ralston, who has been a PR for Natural Dairy Company and offered his point of view on the farm deal, as well as mainstream

media coverage.

3.5 Critical Discourse Analysis

Content analysis has been widely employed as the analytic method in media studies on Asian immigrants (Baker & Benson, 2008; Hannis, 2009; Lin, 2007; Qin, 2003; Spoonley & Trlin, 2004). However, Wimmer and Dominick (1991) indicate its method is “frequently time-consuming” and requiring “a large body of media content to find sufficient quantities for analysis” (p. 161). According to Wimmer and Dominick, different researchers may “use varying definitions and category systems to measure a single aspect” and “arrive at different conclusions” (pp. 160,161). In this research, the case studies vary from 12 months to 10 years and it is unlikely to use the content analysis technique. The conceptions and theoretical frameworks adopted are also different from other media studies.

The research follows the analytic model of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). CDA is a new method that has recently risen to prominence regarding media research about social problems, such as ethnic relations. Originally rooted in critical linguistics, CDA is seen as “a form of social practice” given its use of language (Janks, 1997, p. 329). McGregor (2003) argues that CDA functions as a tool helping “understand the meanings of the words spoken and written by others” (p. 1). Discourse is being used for not just “expressing oneself using words”, but “building power and knowledge and for hegemony” (p. 2). Wodak (1999) also asserts that the method is to interpret

“socially relevant phenomena”, helping reveal social problems, then impel people “to learn how to cope with supranational identities and totally different political and economic organizations” (p. 185). In such a specific situation, it is understood that words and language are not only manipulated in discourses to reflect or describe issues, but also conceptualized with social power and functions to serve the interests of those who speak or write.

A similar thought is also offered by van Dijk (1996), who claims that the research method is specially to “account for the relationships between discourse and social power” (p. 84). At this point, van Dijk (2001) defines that

CDA is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysts take explicit position, and thus want to understand, expose, and ultimately resist social inequality (p. 352).

According to van Dijk, both language use and discourse “belong to the micro-level of the social order” and “power, dominance, and inequality between social groups are typically terms that belong to a macro-level of analysis”, and using the CDA in social or media studies can “theoretically bridge the well-known *gap* between micro and macro approaches” (2001, p. 354). The CDA method is thus appropriate for analyzing mainstream media discourse in reinforcing and shaping diasporic identity.

Teo (2000) explains the CDA “goes beyond the description of discourse to an explanation of how and why particular discourses are produced” (p. 11). In particular, Teo argues that the word critical in CDA is “a key theoretical concept” (p. 12), which

shows significant aspects of the critical approach. At first, as he puts it, ideology is generally recognized as “common belief” or “common sense” so it is necessary to adopt the method to “unpack the ideological underpinnings of discourse that have become so naturalized over time that we begin to treat them as common, acceptable and natural features of discourse” (p. 12). Teo considers that CDA approach is a prerequisite for typically investigating data, such as news reporting and interviews. As a social phenomenon, racism is used by the in-group for its own interests and ideology. Thus, the critical approach is necessarily employed to examine whether the mainstream news reporting conveys prejudice, dominance, or xenophobia, ensuring an understanding of racism in the news discourse.

It also needs to focus on structural analysis to disentangle the ideological structures in the media discourse. To achieve this requires another analytic framework, which is Halliday’s Systemic-Functional Grammar (SFG). SFG is a lexico-grammatical theory constructing “networks of interlocking options” (Halliday, 1994, p. xiv). When it comes to the newspapers reporting, media workers make a choice of choosing a certain resource to write up texts and therefore “the meaning conveyed” in the texts is “directly dependent on what option within the system is chosen or, indeed, not chosen” (Teo, 2000, p. 24). Hence, SFG is “a grammar of meaning” which “construes language as a system of meanings realized through the functions that grammatical options embody” (p. 24).

Rather than macro-structuring meaning at the discoursal level, SFG is significant for understanding the selections and categorizations of those grammatical options at the

clause and phrase levels. It is essential to draw on the analytic framework to uncover the motivations and perceptions driving the make-up of the news texts under analysis. The SFG approach was used in the case studies for a comparative analysis of sample texts from the mainstream and Chinese newspapers, to identify any differences or similarities in terms of diasporic identity construction.

To sum up, the CDA methodology is applied as an analytic approach in my study to primarily interpret the ideologies and social meaning reproduced in the news discourse for a general understanding the mainstream media representations of the Chinese. This is followed by the SFG framework, which compares the mainstream and Chinese newspapers in terms of the ideological motivations behind the texts.

Chapter IV: Understanding Chinese diaspora and ethnic media

The 1987 Immigration Act Policy has resulted in an influx of new Chinese immigrants to New Zealand. Together with the earlier Chinese who came to the country during the 19th century, they have even made the Chinese diaspora a complicated group. Studies on Asian immigrants expose that the historical dispersion was long considered *Others* in the past (Ip, 1996, 2003b; Ip & Murphy, 2005) and now has still been marginalized in mainstream society (Ip, 2003a). Recent research reveals New Zealanders' problematic understanding of Chinese identity (Beal, 2002; Brunton, 2009) as well as the racial portrayals of Chinese in the news media (Baker & Benson, 2008; Hannis, 2009; Robie, 2009; Spoonley & Butcher, 2009).

The increase of Chinese migrants over the past few decades has been a great boost to the Chinese language media. Its significance and problems have been investigated (Lin, 2007; Liu, 2009). However, these studies have been conducted through media discourses or survey observations, rather than gaining factual information from those who have been involved in the media industry. In this respect, it is hard to claim that their examination has been highly informative and persuasive.

The aim of this chapter is to tackle the above issues. The first is to clarify the real meaning of the Chinese diaspora in the current New Zealand context. It not only focuses

on how the migrant community and ethnic media define themselves, but also explores the ways in which the majority recognizes the ethnic minority. The second is to observe the Chinese language media concerning the roles as well as the ways of constructing a diasporic identity.

It is necessary to fully understand the contemporary meaning of the Chinese diaspora, as the answer will help examine and interpret the media portrayal at the later stage in the thesis. Meanwhile, it is essential to concentrate on the Chinese media, to observe the ways in which they represent and construct the diaspora members. Understanding this will assist the researcher in exploring the differences between the mainstream and Chinese media in forming the Chinese identity.

My research questions in this chapter include: (1) What does the Chinese diaspora mean in the migrant community and mainstream society? What is, if any, the difference between the Chinese and the majority in understanding this concept in the contemporary setting? (2) How does the Chinese language media influence diasporic members and construct their identity? Answers will be obtained by interviewing leaders of the migrant community, and journalists from the main news media outlets.

Twelve participants were selected from the Chinese migrant community, Chinese language media, and mainstream news media. Their strong association with the Chinese community as well as various media experiences in representing them would help generate as diverse as possible interpretations of the same question. Besides, the interviewees from the majority might give different accounts of the diaspora, which

should be taken as primary data to further analyze mainstream media coverage as well as understand any differences between the mainstream and Chinese media concerning the representation.

4.1 Understanding the Chinese Diaspora

4.1.1 Definition by the migrant community

This part presents and interprets the perceptions of the diaspora community about the Chinese diaspora. Throughout immigration history, a number of diaspora communities have emerged and it is essential to observe them given their close connection with diaspora members. Three Chinese migrant organizations have been approached: the NZ Chinese Association (NZCA), the Auckland Chinese Community Centre (ACCC), and the Chinese New Settlers Services Trust (CNSST).

Incorporated in 1935, NZCA has been the longest national Chinese organization in New Zealand and it is always open to all people of Chinese origin. Its basic motivation and reasoning is to “help the new community integrate into New Zealand society quicker” (Interview 9). Kai Luey, chairman of NZCA, considers that:

People who immigrated to the western world were from the Canton areaare the main migrants in New Zealand. But after the initial surge...since the late 1880s right through the late 1990s and 2000, most of the migrants from China, come from Mainland China (Interview 9).

Luey illustrates two aspects of the Chinese diaspora. First, the term does not simply refer to a certain period of immigration flow, but covers the whole migration history.

Second, it should include all Chinese immigrants, no matter their place of origin.

However, Luey stresses that the new immigrants from Mainland China appear more significant than the earlier ones, mainly because that “China has built up so strongly as an economic force”. In addition, Luey points out “fragmentation”, which has been caused by “a language barrier in the Chinese community” - the key reason why a number of migrant communities, including old and new ones, were organized for different language-speaking people (Interview 9).

Moreover, Luey indicates that the Chinese includes second and even 1.5 generation. 1.5 generation, as Luey explains, refers to those who came to New Zealand with their parents as a child. Immigration was not their choice but that of their parents. They are “educated in the NZ system and got a reasonably good grasp of English”; also, “they still have a Chinese cultural background and heritage from an early age because they are not born here” (Interview 9). The second generation means the New Zealand Chinese or children of migrants or *bananas* (outside retains the Chinese look, inside more like white New Zealanders) and therefore they would not know much about Chinese culture and tradition. However, in Luey’s opinion, they are still considered diaspora members.

Overall, Luey gives a comprehensive view, a conception framed with the widest possible diaspora members, including all immigrants and their descendants. Obviously, Luey defines the term on the basis of physical blood ties existing within the ethnic group rather than the varied and complex situations occurring through the migration experiences.

ACCC is another old migrant community launched in 1960 and has been “in the role of providing a meeting place for Chinese people” (Interview 8). Chairman Arthur Loo regards himself as a member of older migrants who speak Cantonese, and arrived earlier than those newcomers since the 1980s. Loo has a similar view with Luey:

The original immigrants from Guangdong, so from South China ... up until 1987. But the new immigrants from 1987, a lot of the Hong Kongers were Cantonese people speaking Cantonese. The people from Taiwan... spoke Mandarin, and the ones from mainland China were from all over the country. Some of them were from Guangdong and were all Cantonese speaking, but a much larger number were from northern China and were Mandarin (Interview 8).

Both Luey and Loo share the same cultural background and migrating experience as other old migrants. Thus, it can be argued that their views represent the old migrants’ understanding of the Chinese diaspora. Their argument indicates a broad range which covers all the immigration flows, worldwide. In particular, they recognize that the new migrants from Mainland China are becoming a major part of diaspora in New Zealand. Also, they acknowledge that language speaking and migrating experience define differences between the old and new migrants. Such a widened scope of the ethnic group displays a considerable internal sub ethnic diversity. Despite the sheer complexity of Chinese diaspora, Luey and Loo suggest that a common culture and tradition have made a strong cohesion among the diaspora members.

CNSST was established in 1998. According to its manager Gloria Gao, CNSST targets new settlers from Mainland China, which is different from NZCA and ACCC.

Nevertheless, the organization plays the role of facilitating the successful integration of immigrants into wider NZ society, which is similar to the old community. Gao insists

that there is no borderline between the old and new immigrants:

The Chinese diaspora should include Chinese people who have Chinese culture and background, regardless of which one place they come from, such as Taiwan, Hong Kong, mainland China, Singapore, and Malaysia (Interview 5, 17 August 2010).

Gao's perspective shows the difference and similarity between CNSST and the old community. The language issue, which is quite often mentioned by Luey and Loo, is overlooked within the new community. Apart from those differences, what all the leaders do emphasize is that Chinese culture is always considered innately given, and unchangeably rooted in the diasporic identity.

4.1.2 Definition by the Chinese media

Given “a strong Chinese cultural background” and “limited English skills” (Liu, 2009, pp. 413,414), the new immigrants have to rely on Chinese news media for information about their homelands and the host country. Thus, it is important to explore how the concept is recognized within the ethnic media.

Participants were chosen from a range of Chinese media outlets, including print press, television, radio broadcasting, and the internet. Owners of these media outlets are also diaspora members from different origins, such as Mainland China, Hong Kong, Taiwan. It can be assumed that the selected media outlets might target different sub ethnic groups according to their historical and geographical background. Their attitudes towards the Chinese diaspora might be considerably dependent on the readers

specifically targeted.

The *Chinese-Herald*, according to May, targets “all Chinese people who can speak and read Chinese language and no matter where they come from”; the Chinese diaspora covers “people with yellow skin and their ability to read Chinese, no matter what they speak, Mandarin or Cantonese” (Interview 11). Conney Zhang, reporter for the *Chinese-Herald*, contends that the Chinese diaspora ““should be a wider conception” on condition that the diaspora members should “understand Chinese language and culture” (Interview 10). May and Zhang both emphasize that defining the Chinese diaspora is based largely upon the ability to read Chinese language.

Another Chinese newspaper *UCP* gives a different account. Anne, manager of *UCP*, claims that:

As long as people can speak Chinese language and also consider themselves descendants of Chinese, we all define them as the Chinese diaspora. Although some of the second generation immigrants cannot understand Chinese, we don't think they should be excluded from the Chinese diaspora (Interview 1).

Anne's attitude is similar to the perception of the community other than the viewpoint of Chinese newspapers. Anne states that the ability to understand language affects readership, but has no impact on the identification of Chinese diaspora.

Freelancer Portia Mao describes that the Chinese diaspora “mainly refers to new immigrants, because many native-born Chinese cannot speak Chinese at all” (Interview 3). Mao's explanation seems to be the narrowest definition among the above interpretations.

It can be seen that the above participants interpret the Chinese diaspora in different ways. Arguably, there are two main reasons for such varied understandings of Chinese diaspora. For one reason, they all come from Mainland China but had different working and migrating experiences. For another, it is clear that current position, different motives for involvement in media, and specifically targeted readership, generate diverse understanding. However, there is no doubt that they believe Chinese culture and tradition are fundamental aspects of Chinese identity.

Launched in 2000, World TV Ltd (WTV) was the first Chinese language television station in New Zealand. Four years later, it also began Chinese radio broadcasting in Auckland. CEO Gary Chang and news program controller David Cheng were interviewed. Chang indicates that as an essential part of the Chinese news media, WTV is to satisfy a growing demand for Asian culture and to “perform as a bridge closely connecting the Chinese diaspora and mainstream society together” (Interview 4). Although Chang and Cheng come from Taiwan, they state that the definition should cover the Chinese from different places.

Skykiwi is one of the largest online portals for Chinese people in New Zealand. As a new medium, *Skykiwi* provides an online platform to spread news and information and is significantly different from traditional media, such as newspapers, television, and broadcasting. Director Kylie Liu offers her alternative opinion that the concept specifically refers to new immigrants to New Zealand since the late 1990s. It also includes those who were previously international students and then become immigrants when they acquired a job after graduation. At least, as Liu points out, the diaspora

should “ have Chinese background in common and speak Chinese language” (Interview 12).

To summarize these interviews with the migrant community and Chinese language media, the participants became aware that fragmentation and dynamics occurred in complex situations or contexts throughout the history of Chinese immigration.

Nevertheless, they appear to show a strong sense that the Chinese culture and tradition are regarded as fundamental characteristics of their identity and also attach all members to the diaspora group. The Chinese diaspora, as revealed by most of the participants, is generally defined as a wider conception inclusive of all immigrations regardless of varied memories from place of origin or migrating experiences to the host country. More importantly, all participants recognize the significance of new immigrants and therefore these new migrants are the target of the Chinese language media.

4.1.3 The majority’s understanding

Given the growing impact of Chinese migrants on the mainstream society, it is crucial to understand how the majority recognizes the diaspora. The degree to which the majority clarifies the Chinese can influence, either directly or indirectly, their attitude towards the ethnic group and further affect the relations between them. In addition, their understanding of the Chinese is closely related to the mainstream media portrayal.

Bill Ralston, a long-time journalist as well as a former head of TVNZ's News & Current Affairs, argues about the ways in which the Chinese migrants have been treated in the

mainstream society:

The Chinese diaspora has been going on for a very long time and was staunchly resisted in the late 19th century, through a lot of the 20th century, and only a lot more recently have people begun to lose some of that fear, some of that xenophobia (Interview 6).

According to Ralston, there has long been a racial attitude towards the Chinese and even recently, New Zealanders were still being overwhelmed by Asian immigration since they were worrying about they would lose control of their own country. Apart from a long period of fear or distrust of Asians, Ralston points out another critical issue within the mainstream society, that most New Zealanders simply regard Asians as the Chinese because they are unable to distinguish them from other Asians (Interview 6).

From Ralston's perspective, the Chinese should include people from everywhere other than a certain place of origin and he also recognizes the meaning of Chinese diaspora is varying from the earlier migrants to the recent new arrivals from Mainland China.

However, Ralston doubts that New Zealanders have realized such a change despite that their attitudes towards Asians "are far more positive":

There is a level of ignorance in New Zealand about what the Chinese diaspora actually means. I don't think they fully understand it... the fact that they probably don't even want to know (Interview 6).

From what Ralston has said we can clearly see that the majority generally regards the Chinese and Asians as a homogenous group. Therefore, two issues have emerged. First, New Zealanders have maintained a racial and negative attitude towards the Chinese diaspora on the account of a fear or xenophobia. It thus makes clear that why the

Chinese were considered ‘aliens’ or *Others* despite a long period of integration into the host society that they have gone through. Secondly, such an attitude results in less attention of the majority and therefore it is unlikely for them to recognize the complicated and dynamic characters in Chinese identity.

Charles Mabbett, media advisor for the Asia NZ Foundation, has been a journalist in the mainstream media for over ten years. Compared with Ralston who focuses on how the public perceive the Chinese, Mabbett is more concerned about the ways in which the ethnic group has been portrayed in the mainstream media. As he notes, “the NZ news media has been very slow to break down the ethnic category of Asian and to recognize the contextual differences within one very broad ethnic category”(Interview 2). Hence, it is unsurprising that ‘there is a slowly growing awareness’ of categorizing NZ-born Chinese and overseas-born Chinese as well as further clarifying those overseas-born in terms of their place of origin.

Mabbett briefly exposes that given cultural differences, and less contact with Asians of different nationalities, it has long been difficult for mainstream journalists to clearly identify Chinese diaspora. As a result, a greater differentiation has to be made between mainstream and Chinese language media in terms of which specific group of Chinese is portrayed and to what extent it is related to the real meaning of Chinese.

Mabbett further points out some issues and significant changes in the mainstream media portrayal of the Chinese:

Up until a few years ago, there was a worrying trend in the NZ news media to

highlight crimes committed by Chinese...the Chinese diaspora is now reflected in a more holistic way – in crime stories... in politics, in cultural and business stories ...Asians are by and large still underrepresented in the mainstream media but that coverage is becoming more nuanced and sophisticated. The change has been especially evident over the past ten years (Interview 2).

To some extent, Mabbett's interpretation corroborates what Ralston argues about the stance that the majority takes towards the Chinese. Therefore, it is worth pointing out that the degree to which the majority understands the diaspora and the ways in which mainstream media represents them are inextricably linked. In other words, not just would racial attitudes of the majority affect the media approaches to Chinese, but also negative portrayals and inequality reproduced by the mainstream media would further manipulate the majority's perceptions about the ethnic group.

Both Ralston and Mabbett reveal that the majority holds paradoxical attitudes towards the Chinese. To be more specific, the longstanding racist sentiment against the migrants has been compounded by a positive feeling that emerged recently throughout the accelerating integration of the Chinese. In the meanwhile, they both agree that problematic understanding of the Chinese does exist in the host society. In particular, the reason that they are unable to distinguish Chinese is because of the cultural differences as well as the lack of communication between them and the diaspora.

Some participants from the Chinese community and media outlets address the same issues and also explain reasons. May, CEO of the *Chinese-Herald*, claims that not much understanding can be seen between the locals and Chinese:

Although it looks like we have much more communication with mainstream society than ever, what I need to say is that it has just been superficial. Actually,

there has not been any strong intention for us to know them; in addition, it is hard to ask them to understand us (Interview 11).

May's discussion not just proves the majority's recognition in the present circumstances, but points out that the Chinese should also be responsible for improving mutual understanding.

4.2 Recognizing the Chinese media

This part takes a deep insight into the Chinese language media, to recognize how the role of ethnic media has been performed to serve identity construction of the Chinese diaspora. To gain an in-depth understanding of the subject, the Chinese media outlets that participants were selected from include newspapers, television, radio broadcasting, and the Internet.

4.2.1 The role of Chinese media

The significance of ethnic media is that they are the primary to rely on their cultural characteristics (Jeffres, 2000), and to provide information that the mainstream media do not provide (Gandy, 1998b). Shi (2005) argues that Chinese ethnic media are in the diaspora's mother tongue and therefore they "have no problem in comprehension"; as Shi emphasizes, "the meaning that diaspora members attach to their consumption of news and other ethnic media content is far more than feeding information". Thus, ethnic

media assist diaspora members in “keeping alive old communal ties and uniting the dispersed population into an imagined transnational community” (p. 66).

The above role of ethnic media seems to be widely recognized by the Chinese media workers in New Zealand. According to Anne, manager of *UCP*, the Chinese media “have made a contribution to the diaspora community as well as the larger society of New Zealand by promoting the integration of immigrations into the mainstream society”. In Anne’s opinion, the Chinese media is to build up “a platform where both the community and host society can pass information one another” (Interview 1). May, owner of the *Chinese-Herald*, shares the same view with Anne, that the newspaper aims to “bridge the locals and Chinese immigrants” (Interview 11). Also, COO of WTV Gary Chang indicates that the Company is “to perform as a bridge closely connecting the migrants and mainstream society, encouraging their two-way cultural communications”; also it aims to “pass the Chinese culture to the next generations” (Interview 4).

Compared with traditional news media, the role of *Skykiwi* appears more diverse.

Director Kylie Liu states that *Skykiwi* devotes attention to news from both China and locally, for the diaspora community. However, it especially focuses on information about studying and the immigration policy to meet the demand of overseas students and new immigrants, in an effort to integrate them into the host society (Interview 12).

Regardless of various media types, these participants who are in charge of the major outlets appear to have reached a consensus on the role of ethnic media. On the one side, they concern and tend to satisfy the demand of diaspora members for their coherent and continuous identities. On the other, they are committed to fulfil the integration of

Chinese into the mainstream society.

Notably, with the increasing impact of Chinese, some variation in the functions has taken place in the past years. For example, Chang argues that the Government and host society become aware of the growing influence of ethnic media on the diaspora community and therefore they would like to take its advantage to do something related to the Chinese (Interview 4).

4.2.2 Main focuses of the Chinese media

To further interpret the role of ethnic media, it is important to know what the main aspects that Chinese media focus on in their news reporting. During the interviews, it is noteworthy that the answers to this question vary according to different media types and readership they target.

As Anne notes, *UCP* “tends to focus on a variety of ongoing activities held by the Chinese community as well as feedback from the immigrants”. Also, it reports the local news, particularly social and financial news (Interview 1). The *Chinese-Herald*, however, pays more attention to what the Chinese are concerned about, such as “political events, social breaking news, education issues, and daily life” (Interview 11). *Skykiwi* seems to place more importance on all aspects related to the local society since “localization is considered a key characteristic of the news reporting” (Interview 12).

According to Conney Zhang, the aspects in that the readers are most interested include

“financial and economic issues”. In particular, Zhang learnt during her reporting experiences that “education is another important issue that the diaspora have most concerned about” (Interview 10).

Based upon her extensive reporting for Chinese newspapers, senior reporter Portia Mao points out four aspects of the stories published. The first aspect is about social problems in New Zealand, such as crimes in relation to the Chinese. Reporting political events, such as general and local elections, is another aspect. Besides, “there has been a large amount of economic news, particularly the local business news”. Finally, the Chinese community has been an important part in the reportage” (Interview 3).

Apparently, the answers reveal that Chinese media focus on broad and diverse aspects. It can be argued that these aspects reflect what the diaspora members are most concerned about. Thus, we take a further look at them and it is not hard to see a rising tendency that the Chinese much prefer the local news that closely related to their diaspora lives in the host country. The aspects that are of interest to them demonstrate that the migrants are keen to be part of the mainstream society.

4.2.3 Identity construction

As mentioned earlier, identity construction by the ethnic media normally includes two aspects: the ways of sustaining diaspora identity as well as facilitating immigrants’ transition into the host society (Viswanath & Arora, 2000). Based upon this notion, the question was designed that in which ways that the Chinese media maintains diasporic

identity and connects the mainstream society.

In terms of the first aspect, most participants demonstrate their strong sense of collaborating with the migrant community for the maintenance of the cultural cohesion within the group. Anne stresses that *UCP* is a joint newspaper with the community and the content includes information on the Chinese tradition and culture. In Anne's words, the newspaper is considered "a Chinatown where the Chinese people may find their spiritual home" (Interview 1).

Some notice that specific subgroups have their particular demands. For example, Kylie Liu states that *Skykiwi* chooses the news and topics particularly related to overseas students and new migrants (Interview 12). In addition to news reporting, it is salient that some media, such as WTV, *UCP*, and the *Chinese-Herald*, hold a wide range of activities to strengthen the cohesion of diaspora.

As for bridging the host society, the method widely adopted by the Chinese media is to use news reports from the mainstream media. Anne mentions that *UCP* generally translates important news from them and meanwhile the mainstream utilizes Chinese media to deliver their information, such as the election. Also, "when the mainstream reports occurred in the diaspora community, they usually put the Chinese media as the second sources" (Interview 1).

WTV mainly translate the latest news provided by TV3 and then spread to the Chinese viewers as soon as possible. More significantly, as Chang puts it, WTV takes initiative to "hold interviews with key persons from the mainstream society to deliver relevant

information to the community” and also to “collect main issues that Chinese have concerned and give valuable feedback to the host” ((Interview 4). Hence, the Chinese media is not just playing the role of disseminating news, but also enabling the minority and host to discuss and exchange thoughts and ideas. Within *Skykiwi*, a point to note is that it also provides mainstream with news of the diaspora community, and also advises mainstream of topics of interest to the Chinese (Interview 12).

Apart from the traditional way of identity construction, we can see some new signs have emerged from the ethnic media along with the growing impact and integration of Chinese. For maintaining the Chinese identity, they are not content with merely reporting news, but tend to organize activities or cooperate with the diaspora community to raise their awareness of diasporic cohesion. On the other side, both mainstream and Chinese media have begun to communicate towards each other to enhance mutual understanding. Mainstream recognizes the powerful influence of Chinese media on the diaspora and where possible, are using this to their advantage.

4.2.4 Differences between the Chinese and mainstream media

The aim of asking this question is to elucidate how the Chinese media recognize and compare both media in reporting the Chinese.

Most participants share the similar views on this issue, arguing that there have been some major differences between the Chinese and mainstream media. As Anne states, “the mainstream media takes much account of the interests of majority rather than that

of ethnic groups. The Chinese news media focuses on the coverage relating to the diaspora much more than the host society” (Interview 1). Mainstream journalist Mabbett has the same opinion, indicating that “the Chinese media largely serves the Mainland-born overseas Chinese community” but the latter “tends to include New Zealand born Chinese in its definition of Chinese” (Interview 2). In May’s point of view, when it comes to the news relating to Chinese, however, the mainstream is inclined to negative aspects whereas the ethnic media is more willing to report positive sides (Interview 11). Kylie Liu argues that it is inevitable for both to come across cultural differences while reporting the Chinese (Interview 12).

In particular, Portia Mao points out that the mainstream reflects the dual nature in media approaches to the Chinese. As she asserts, “when it comes to Mainland China’s economic news and natural disasters, the reportage seems almost positive... and they cover the incident fairly and objectively... as for the coverage of Chinese immigrants, it is more relating to crimes” (Interview 3). Similarly, Liu indicates that mainstream media adopts different methods, especially in reporting Chinese crimes (Interview 12).

These answers expose that varied levels of understanding the differences exist among the participants. Nevertheless, it can be seen that they realize the cultural differences are contributing factors and also acknowledge that the mainstream media seems too much prefer negative aspects of Chinese and overlook positive stories about them. Hence, we can argue that the media workers show a clear understanding of mainstream media portrayal of the Chinese.

4.3 Conclusion

By interpreting the interviews with participants, we now can gain a clear understanding of the issues addressed earlier in this chapter. As for the meaning of the Chinese diaspora, the perception that commonly accepted by the ethnic minority and media is that Chinese is a homogenous group including all immigrants who share the same Chinese culture and background. Although the language issue has been a large obstacle to communicating with other Chinese migrants, it does not affect the diaspora members to take the common spatial characteristics as their inherent attachments to build up high cohesion in the group, nor limit the growth of Chinese language media to serve their demand for integration into the host society. The participants from mainstream society verify again that most New Zealanders neither recognize the sub ethnic diversity within the Chinese nor acknowledge the difference between Chinese and other Asians. In the meanwhile, the cultural differences between the majority and Chinese seem to heighten the fears about diaspora as well as their racial attitudes and reporting methods in the mainstream news media.

In terms of ethnic media's construction of diaspora identity, it demonstrates that despite the various types of Chinese media, they share a great deal in many aspects, such as the role and functions, main aspects that they focus on in news reporting, as well as the ways of constructing diaspora identity.

More significantly, all Chinese media realize the huge impact of new immigrants and also most media workers display their fully understanding of the changing and complex nature in Chinese identity, and accordingly adjust their functions to fit with the tastes of particular sub ethnic groups. In general, the Chinese media tend to be localized, reporting the local news and information to assist diaspora in integrating into the host society. Also, they are specifically tailored as the needs of the group they target are changing. In addition, no longer to content to provide information and news, the Chinese media are now more inclined to extend their role of holding a wide range of activities within the community to reinforce Chinese identity. Regarding the differences between the ethnic media and mainstream, most participants are aware of the fact that the racial and negative reporting of Chinese has long been critical issue in the mainstream media. However, it is hard to see their effective solutions to tackle the problem.

Aside from their efforts to enhance the diasporic cohesion, it is worth pointing out that the mainstream media also recognizes the significance of Chinese media, and shows its increasing willingness to take advantage of ethnic media to fulfil their goals. To put it another way, it is arguable that the mainstream media has been involved in the process of diaspora identity construction and it is their interests to participate in Chinese media and community. In comparison, we would say that the mainstream media appears more active than Chinese in terms of the mutual communications between host and the minority.

Prior to shifting focus to the newspaper reporting of Chinese in the following chapters, the above stated findings can provide valuable reference and basis for a thorough investigation into the mainstream media portrayal as well as a comparison of identity construction between mainstream and Chinese media.

Chapter V : Celebrating the Lantern Festival

5.1 Celebrating Chinese culture in New Zealand

The 1987 Immigration Act change has not only attracted an increasing number of Asians to New Zealand, but also allowed various ethnic cultures entering with immigrants, such as Auckland's Pasifika Festival from the Southern Pacific, and a Diwali Festival from India. At the same time, important Chinese cultural events, for example, the Chinese New Year and Lantern Festival have gradually acknowledged and accepted by the majority. Brunton (2009) shows in his survey that throughout these Chinese events, the majority have gained awareness of Chinese culture. As Brunton indicates, "Chinese New Year is the most common event ... with 29% of New Zealanders able to name ... this is followed by the Lantern Festival (27%)" (p. 17).

The Lantern Festival was first launched in 2000 in Auckland by the Asia New Zealand Foundation (Asia NZ) and Auckland City Council. It is now held annually in both Auckland and Christchurch. Charles Mabbett, media advisor of Asia NZ, indicates that holding the Lantern Festival is to showcase Chinese performing and visual arts, giving "all communities a way of celebrating and embracing Chinese culture" (Interview Two). Over the past ten years, the Lantern Festival has grown in size from one to over three nights, and drawn up to 150,000 people in Auckland each year. Despite overcrowding,

the event “is highly popular with all communities and all ages” and “has grown from one that attracted a Chinese majority to one that now a mix that is about 40 percent Asian and 60 percent non-Asian” (Interview Two).

A point to note is that the occasion has been held by mainstream organizations rather than local Chinese community. It demonstrates the willingness of the majority to absorb Chinese culture in the course of their integration. For this reason, it was important to choose the Lantern Festival as the first case study.

5.2 How Chinese is understood?

This chapter focuses on the newspaper reporting of the Festival from the *Herald*, and the *Chinese-Herald*. It first explores the majority’s attitude towards Chinese culture, discovering any changes to the media coverage over the past decade. It also examines how the *Chinese-Herald* approaches the same subject. A brief comparative analysis of news texts would illustrate differences or similarities between the mainstream and Chinese newspapers in recognizing Chinese culture and identity.

Within the *Herald*, “Dialogue: could middle NZ put on a parade” (Burgham, 2001) was the first article referring to the event. “Lantern Festival shines a light on Auckland’s many faces” (Harris, 2004) was the first key text providing a full description of the Festival. Another six key texts were seen afterwards in the *Herald*, offering a variety of aspects of the event. “Asian culture wave impacts on New Zealand” (Zhang, 2010)

published on February 26, 2010 was archived from the *Chinese-Herald*.

Table 5.1 outlines the source and content of the news articles. For a systematic analysis of the newspaper discourse, I have worked through two stages. The first is to draw a broad characterization of the coverage of the Lantern Festival, throwing a spotlight on the discursive methods exploited for potential ideological meaning, to expose diverse levels at which the media outlets have approached the new cultural phenomenon. What follows is a comparative analysis of two texts chosen from the *Herald* and the *Chinese-Herald*. At this stage, I intend to discover any differences between the mainstream and Chinese language media. Some media workers related to the Lantern Festival participated in my research, generating professional opinion on the event as well as the news reportage. Primary data gained from them is essentially included as it would assist in evaluating the impact of Lantern Festival as well as changes to its news coverage.

Tab.5. 1 Summary of news articles on the Lantern Festival under analysis

<i>S/N</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Headlines and Summary</i>
1	19 February 2001	<i>Herald,</i>	<p>Could middle NZ put on a parade?</p> <p>Mentioned as part of a series of cultural events held in a cosmopolitan city like Auckland, the Lantern Festival was briefly discussed in terms of New Zealanders' attitudes towards Asian culture and immigrants.</p>
2	9 February 2004	<i>Herald,</i>	<p>Lantern Festival shines a light on Auckland's many faces</p> <p>Some locals with different backgrounds offered a variety of viewpoints on the treatment of Asians and culture during the fifth annual Asia Lantern Festival.</p>
3	26 February 2005	<i>Herald</i>	<p>Chinese New Year lights up park</p> <p>The report mainly provided the information about the sixth Lantern Festival as well as Chinese New Year.</p>

4	9 February 2006	<i>Herald</i>	<p>Here's a great chance to snap dragons</p> <p>The seventh Lantern Festival featured more activities, including varied competition and performance.</p>
5	5 March 2007	<i>Herald</i>	<p>Lanterns by the hundred brilliant finale to festival</p> <p>The article introduced some Chinese folklore concerning the festival besides the description of the pageant in its eighth year.</p>
6	19 February 2008	<i>Herald</i> , C07	<p>Lighting the way for 2008</p> <p>The significance of celebrating the cultural event in New Zealand was acknowledged. Also, lanterns, traditional Chinese food, and performers from China became the striking features for the ninth Lantern Festival.</p>
7	20 January 2009	<i>Herald</i> , A07	<p>Islanders embrace old Chinese tradition</p> <p>The article depicted a Pacific Island family in terms of their ten-year experience as volunteers for the Lantern Festival.</p>
8	26 February 2010	<i>Herald</i> , A009	<p>Love is in the air for city's Chinese lantern festival</p> <p>In addition to the key characteristics of the Chinese festival, the Chinese event involved a new sense of celebration.</p>
9	26 February 2010	<i>Chinese-Herald</i> , p. 1	<p>Asian culture wave impacts on New Zealand</p> <p>The reporter had an interview with Dr Richard Grant, the CEO of the Asia NZ Foundation who talked about aspects of the Lantern Festival.</p>

The above-mentioned analyzing structures as well as methods to news discourse on the Lantern Festival have also been applied to other case studies in the following chapters.

Regarding a comparative analysis between mainstream and Chinese media, however, it should be noted that media selection of Chinese newspapers in each different case study is primarily dependent on the availability of news discourses and the degree to which the news discourse is related to my research questions.

5.3A general characterization of the newspaper discourse

5.3.1 Newspaper headlines and leads

In his article examining media discourse related to ethnic groups in Australian mainstream newspapers, Teo (2000) exemplifies several practical steps for utilizing a CDA technique to uncover the multi-faceted structures of media approaches to the ethnic minority. According to Teo, the first characteristic of the newspaper discourse is of headlines and/or leads because they are “the crux of the news event and to orient the reader to process the text in pre-determined direction” (p. 13). Hence, a very common principle of organizing news in the daily press is of “relevance or importance, along a dimension of decreasing prominence with respect to the macro-structure” (p. 13). Headlines and leads can quickly provide readers with the main direction as well as key points of a certain news article. Headlines and/or leads would further help construct or control the ways in which readers perceive the meanings of the report.

Table 5 lists the headlines in bold type. In the first key text “Lantern Festival shines a light on Auckland’s many faces” (Harris, 2004), ‘shine’ and ‘light’ both create an intimate atmosphere of celebrating Chinese culture amongst Aucklanders. It reveals a positive sign that Chinese culture gains a widespread acceptance. Such a bright and warm tone continues throughout the following reports, such as “Here’s a great chance to snap dragons” (Middleton, 2006), “Lanterns by the hundred brilliant finale to festival” (Ihaka, 2007), “Islanders embrace old Chinese tradition” (Tan, 2009), and “Love is in the air for city’s Chinese Lantern Festival” (Tan, 2010b). The use of ‘great’, ‘brilliant’ ‘chance’, and ‘finale’ shows the cordial attitude that the sub-editors adopt towards the

Lantern Festival.

“Could middle NZ put on a parade?” (Burgham, 2001) seems to be referring to the Festival for the first time. However, neither does the headline identify the cultural event, nor is the story reported in the article. Instead, the Festival is briefly discussed along with other cultural events held in Auckland. Although there is no indication of the Festival in the headline, point can be seen that the media framing tone conveyed is different from other headlines. More accurately, rather than a positive sentence, the headline appears a rhetorical question, hinting at a considerably ambivalent stance adopted by the majority on a multicultural environment that has recently developed. In addition, it is important to see ‘parochial attitudes’ in the lead, showing how foreigners feel about the country. From their perspective, New Zealanders seem reluctant to absorb exotic cultures. It can be assumed that the Lantern Festival might find it hard to be accepted by the majority.

These headlines reproduce a prevailing atmosphere of harmony and amity for the Festival even though the first report reflects the suspicion, fears, and prejudice that widely existed in the past during ‘the influx of immigrants from the East’. The other headlines largely relate to Chinese culture and tradition, such as ‘Lantern Festival’, ‘Chinese New Year’, and ‘dragons’, which significantly reinforce the awareness of Chinese identity in the mainstream news coverage.

From Teo’s perspective, space in the print media is at a premium. Therefore, “news headlines have to be crafted in such a way as to employ the minimum number of words

to package maximum information” so that “every word in a headline is carefully chosen and structured so as to maximize the effect of the headline” (2000, p. 14). It can be argued that on one level, headlines and/or leads summarize the news story to make sense to the reader; on another, the headlines and /or leads significantly reflect a newspaper’s ideological values and attitudes, which imperceptibly influence the readers’ mind concerning the ways in which they construct the sense of *us* and also perceive *others*. Thus, it is necessary to analyze the lexical choices of newspaper headlines in order to discover the ideological meaning lying beneath news discourse.

It is apparent that the headlines summarized in Table 5.1 repeatedly highlight words which carry strong sense of Chinese identity, such as ‘lanterns’, ‘Chinese New Year’, and ‘Chinese tradition and culture’. The use of them leaves the readers with a favourable impression on the event. The headlines are manipulated in both the literal and figurative senses. “Lantern Festival shines a light on Auckland’s many faces” (Harris, 2004) does not just indicate the key points of a news story, but unveils that the Chinese culture has been gradually recognized and accepted by local people. “Here’s a great chance to snap dragons” (Middleton, 2006) gives a clue that the Lantern Festival comes again. For Chinese people, a dragon is considered a beneficent symbol, and the use of ‘snap dragons’ represents the fundamental nature of Chinese culture and identity. It can be argued that the traditional value that lies in the Lantern Festival has been recognized by the majority. Apart from that, however, there is no further evidence suggesting that the real essence of ‘dragons’ is properly explained to the readers to ensure that the majority fully understands what the symbol really means to the Chinese.

All we can say is that the majority of New Zealanders might superficially or partially at best, understand Chinese culture.

“Islanders embrace old Chinese tradition” (Tan, 2009) clearly describes the ways in which another ethnic group – Pacific Islanders – recognizes and treats the Festival.

Apart from the white majority, other ethnic groups begin to accept Chinese culture. It also interprets the significance of the Festival in the culturally diverse landscape.

‘Embrace’ points out that the Festival is not just regarded as a certain cultural show or experience, but stimulates interest among other ethnic minorities. It shows a new phenomenon emerging where ethnic minorities blend through shared cultural experiences. “Love is in the air for city’s Chinese Lantern Festival” (Tan, 2010b) reveals a happy atmosphere, in which the whole city approaches an exciting climax of Chinese culture.

From when the Festival was first launched in Auckland and reported in the *Herald*, the articles show an obvious change in the media tone conveyed in headlines. To be more specific, the ideological attitude about Chinese culture among the public, particularly the white majority, has shifted from a sense of doubt or uncertainty to a common perception and awareness.

5.3.2 Generalization

Generalization is another striking feature of news reporting. Teo (2000) claims that “generalization refers to the extension of the characteristics or activities of a specific

and specifiable group of people to a much more general and open-ended set” (p. 16).

Moreover, a set of specific traits imply a fundamental ideology as to why these media workers have made such a decision in describing a certain group. Consequently, the use of generalization is to explore any stereotypes or racial framing that may be adopted in the news discourse.

Tab.5. 2 Generalizations related to the Lantern Festival and NZ Chinese group

<i>Source</i>	<i>Reference</i>
<i>Herald</i> (19/2/2001)	Eastern culture, “bloody Asian drivers” anti-Asian sentiment, Asian cultures are good
<i>Herald</i> (9/2/2004)	the large number of Asians, other people
<i>Herald</i> (26/2/2005)	Chinese New Year
<i>Herald</i> (9/2/2006)	the Spring Festival in China
<i>Herald</i> (8/3/2007)	Christmas for the Chinese
<i>Herald</i> (19/2/2008)	an amazing lantern lit atmosphere
<i>Herald</i> (20/1/2009)	a Chinese tradition
<i>Herald</i> (26/02/2010)	Chinese Valentine’s day, ethnic Chinese

References to the Lantern Festival and Chinese are listed in Table 5.2. The key characteristics such ‘Chinese New Year’(Dye, 2005), ‘the Spring Festival in China’(Middleton, 2006), and ‘a Chinese tradition’ (Tan, 2009) are highlighted frequently.

The references exhibit a subtle change within a ten-year period of media discourse.

Glancing at the first text “Could middle NZ put on a parade” (Burgham, 2001), a complex feeling about Chinese culture is clearly expressed. The Lantern Festival is referred to as ‘Eastern culture’, implying that it has not yet blended into the host society and is still regarded as an alien culture. Burgham (2001) also realizes that there is

“anti-Asian sentiment” within “predominantly white New Zealand”. But the writer still wishes to accept the notion that “Asian cultures are good”. It can be understood that the Festival was not yet acknowledged or accepted by the majority when it was first launched in the country given that the Chinese were still depicted as “the large number of Asians” or “other people”(Harris, 2004). Sometimes it is even worse that the ethnic group was referred to as “bloody Asian drivers”(Burgham, 2001).

During the following years, more depictions, such as “Chinese New Year” (Dye, 2005) and “the Spring Festival” (Middleton, 2006), demonstrate that the mainstream media workers begin to understand Chinese culture. “Christmas for the Chinese” (Ihaka, 2007) and “Chinese Valentine’s day (Tan, 2010b) appear to show that the Festival is acknowledged by mainstream society, particularly in the way in which the majority comprehends their own culture. Not only is the Festival treated as a crucial part of Chinese culture, but the traditional values are becoming progressively syncretic and blended within a multiculturalist setting. However, neither ‘Christmas’ nor ‘Valentine’s day’ is appropriate to reflect the true meanings of a traditional Chinese event. It can be argued that there is still problematics in understanding the Festival among the majority.

An analysis of references to ethnic minorities in the news discourse helps explore any stereotypes that might be adopted. References to the Lantern Festival expose a cognitive process in which the Chinese culture has been identified over the past decade. A significant change appears that the media framing has gradually transformed from a problematic unawareness to a better acknowledgement.

5.3.3 Quotation patterns

Quotation patterns are a third characteristic of the newspaper discourse. As mentioned earlier, the mainstream press that largely dominated by majority elites are seen as a powerful mechanism in shaping and constructing people's ideology. In this way, they are able to sense the in-group of 'us' and recognize the out-group of 'others'. The use of quotation, in Teo's words, "becomes a gate-keeping device that admits only those in positions of power and influence while shutting out the opinions and perspectives of those deemed by society to be powerless" (2000, p. 18). For ethnic minorities, their access to the mass media "is a critical condition for their participation in the public definition of their situation" (T. A. van Dijk, 1996, p. 92).

Table 5.3 displays both the ethnic minorities and the majority quoted in the news discourse, either directly or indirectly. It shows that the quotes attributed to the Chinese culture from the ethnic minorities are equivalent to those from the majority. In the fifth Asia Lantern Festival (Harris, 2004), four people are quoted directly, including two Asian people and two New Zealanders. The Asians provide varied viewpoints on how New Zealanders treat them. Ms Shi feels that "so many kiwis don't like Asians" and., as Lina, a former Taiwan resident who has lived in Howick for eight years, considers that it is "an opportunity for Asians to give back to the community". She "did not feel there was tension between New Zealanders and Asians", albeit "a little misunderstanding" among some locals.

The two New Zealanders quoted confirm the significance of holding the cultural event. For English-born David Newman, “the festival was a great chance to show how other people lived”. Ponsonby teenager Kristy Dixon thinks that it is important to “enhance cultural understanding” in such “a multicultural country”.

Tab.5. 3 Quotation patterns of news articles on Lantern Festival

S/N	Reference	Source of quotes	
		Ethnic minority	Elite majority
1	Herald (19/02/01)		A Euro-Asian Kiwi
2	Herald (09/02/04)	Student Ms Shi who has lived in Auckland for two years	
3		Former Taiwan resident Lina Hsiek living in Howick for eight years	
4			English-born David Newman who has lived in Auckland for nearly 40 years
5			Ponsonby teenager Kristy Dixon
6	Herald (09/02/06)		Culture director of Asia NZ Jennifer King
7	Herald (05/03/07)		Janine Chin of the Asia New Zealand Foundation
8	Herald (19/02/08)		Jennifer King from Asia New Zealand
9	Herald (20/01/09)	10-year-old Pacific Islander Denzel Hagai	
10		Denzel’s mother Helen Hagai, a financial controller at Auckland City Council	
11	Herald (26/02/10)	Malaysian Estelle Goh	
12		Estelle’s Hong Kong boyfriend Tim Chan	
13		Auckland University professor of Asian studies Manying Ip	
14	Chinese-Herald (26/02/10)		CEO of Asia NZ Foundation Dr Richard Grant

Three news articles (Ihaka, 2007; Middleton, 2006) show that staff from the Asia NZ

Foundation (Asia NZ), an mainstream organization, are mainly quoted. Chin's sentence "Christmas for the Chinese" is quoted when she briefly describes the Festival. Another staff member, Jennifer King, provides information and considers the festival "a lovely event to work on". Those quotes from Asia NZ imply that the event is becoming one of the most popular festivals in Auckland.

The 2009 and 2010 news reports, "Islanders embrace old Chinese tradition" (Tan, 2009) and "Love is in the air for city's Chinese Lantern Festival" (Tan, 2010b) can further prove the point argued above. Both articles quote directly from Chinese diaspora members. The former one describes an Island family regarding their passion about Chinese tradition as well as their experience with the Festival. In the latter, a young Asian couple, Estelle and Tim, describe how they celebrate and feel about the event. Manying Ip, a renowned scholar studying Asian immigrations, thinks that it "has played a pivotal role in promoting an important aspect of Chinese culture to mainstream New Zealanders". However, there are no quotes from the majority in the articles; it is not clear about what the majority thinks.

In general, the news discourse shows that the Chinese and the majority are quoted equally and both have same opportunities to access the mainstream media. However, more than half of the majority's quotations are from Asia NZ staff members introducing relevant information on the Festival. Those quotes do not really reflect perceptions of the majority. Also, the quotations from the majority appear relatively insufficient compared with those from Chinese. At this point, it is hard to demonstrate the majority's recognition of the Festival.

5.3.4 Over –lexicalization

The final part concerns over-lexicalization, which is a fourth feature of news discourse. It is taken as “a pragmatic strategy of encoding ideology in news discourse” to over-lexicalize powerless people (Fowler, Hodge, Kress, & Trew, 1979). As an ideological tool, over-lexicalization is applied to examine the ways in which “participants in the news discourse are described” (2000, p. 20). In Western countries, the news media use of over-lexicalization not just illustrates a prejudiced viewpoint of the majority but also generates a negative effect on minority groups (Teo, 2000; van Dijk, 1991).

Tab.5. 4 Lexical cohesion – Description of the Lantern Festival and the Chinese diaspora

<i>Source</i>	<i>Epithet</i>	<i>Reference</i>
<i>Herald</i> (9/2/2004)	Chinese, other, Asian	a showcase of Chinese and other Asian cultures
<i>Herald</i> (9/2/2006)	New Zealand’s largest	one of New Zealand’s largest cultural events
<i>Herald</i> (5/3/2007)	Auckland	next year’s Auckland Lantern Festival
<i>Herald</i> (19/2/2008)	Auckland’s major, amazing, lovely, traditional	one of Auckland’s major cultural events all in an amazing lantern lit atmosphere once again it’s been a lovely event to work on teaching filial piety and traditional values
<i>Herald</i> (26/2/2010)	other, ethnic Chinese	many other ethnic Chinese will also be seizing on the lantern festival
<i>Chinese-Herald</i> (26/2/2010)	Chinese traditional	The Chinese traditional festival is becoming a symbol of Asian culture that connects with more and more Aucklanders over the weekend

Table 5.4 lists the range of epithets used to refer to the Festival as well as Chinese.

From the perspective of Conney Zhang, a Chinese journalist, the event is ‘Chinese traditional’ culture. Within the *Herald*, it is ascribed with a set of epithets ranging from

Chinese, other, Asian, New Zealand's largest, Auckland, major, amazing, lovely, and traditional, in ascending order of neutralization and positivization. The descriptions show a clear indication of praising and favourable remarks. Over the past decade, a crucial point is also identified that the way of describing the Festival within the *Herald* is changing from ethnic or racial portrayals such as 'Chinese', 'Asian', and 'other' to a great sense of multiculturalism with words like 'Auckland', 'New Zealand', 'major', and 'amazing'. We can see that the cultural event is not just belonged to 'Chinese', 'other', or 'Asian', but also claimed as essential part of 'Auckland' and even 'New Zealand' mainstream culture. Hence, it exemplifies that in addition to being acknowledged by the majority, the Festival is absorbed into the mainstream society.

5.3.5 Summary

Prior to an investigation into the next stage, it is essential to give a brief account of the findings of my analysis so far:

- (1) The analysis of the literal and ideological meanings of the headlines and leads made it clear that there has been a subtle change to the framing tone about the Festival. The Chinese culture is depicted in a positive way, even though a paradoxical feeling still remains in the majority's recognition.
- (2) An examination of references to the Festival illustrated that the degree to which the majority understands the Chinese has dramatically shifted. The generalizing attributes given to the event in the *Herald* have scarcely stereotyped the Chinese

group. It has also demonstrated a startling cultural transformation throughout a ten-year celebration of the Lantern Festival. The event has contributed to the social cohesion between the majority and the Chinese.

(3) Analysis of the quotation patterns revealed an equal proportion of the ethnic minority's voice to that of the majority. However, an in-depth look at what the majority is saying shows that there is constructive and favourable feedback on the Festival, though still considered inadequate compared with the quotations from the Chinese.

(4) A brief exploration of over-lexicalization in the news discourse showed a positive tendency that the Festival is portrayed in a 'normal' way. The ownership of the event is shifting from 'Chinese', 'Asian' to Auckland and New Zealand owned Festival. The performance of the ideological characteristic is satisfactory since it shows little evidence of negative effects on Chinese culture.

The first stage has conducted a multifaceted analysis of the news discourse on the Festival over the past decade. It revealed at various levels how the *Herald* depicts the Chinese cultural event and reproduces the ideological meanings behind the reports. Examination into four characteristics of the newspaper discourse represented the ways in which the media approaches to the Chinese have been employed. More importantly, however, the ten-year coverage of the Festival exposed a gradual transformation process in the nature of news discourse concerning Chinese culture in New Zealand.

5.4 A comparative analysis of two sample texts

In the preceding section I have examined the newspaper discourse on the Lantern Festival by following the principles of a CDA method proposed in media studies on ethnic minorities. The ideological meanings of the Chinese conveyed have been clarified.

The second stage is to undertake a comparative analysis of two sample texts from the *Herald* and the *Chinese-Herald*, to examine differences or similarities between them in terms of the media approaches to Chinese culture. One is from the *Herald* entitled “Love is in the air for city’s Chinese lantern festival” (Tan, 2010b) and henceforth referred to as Text 1. The second is from the *Chinese-Herald*, “Asian cultural wave impacts on New Zealand” (Zhang, 2010) and henceforth referred to as Text 2.

Halliday’s Systemic-Functional Grammar (SFG) discussed earlier is applied to this section. Teo (2000) emphasizes that SFG comes to embody a set of grammatical functions to communicate and convey the meanings in terms of what kind of option is chosen within the system. In Teo’s words, SFG “does offer critical discourse analysts a useful tool to systematically uncover and interpret the underlying motivations, intents and purposes of text-producers as well as the attitudes, perceptions and prejudices that drive them” (p. 24). The first stage has carried out a macro-level analysis the discursal structures; the second follows the SFG analytic framework to explore the ideological constructions of the Chinese sample texts that underpinned at micro-level.

5.4.1 Transitivity

Transitivity is applied first to interpret the ideological constructions of news discourse because the principle serves to reflect who does what to whom. As Teo notes, transitivity is “a useful analytic tool” to “foreground the agency or, more accurately, the attribution of agency and process to the various participants in the text by the writer”. It helps investigate “the way language represents reality in terms of how the primary or dominant agents are constructed, what they do to whom and with what consequences” (Teo, 2000, p. 25).

Tab.5. 5 Transitivity analysis of Text 1

<i>S/N</i>	<i>Participant</i>	<i>Process</i>	<i>Participant</i>
1	Malaysian and her Hong Kong boyfriend Tim Chan	will be	when they celebrate Valentine’s Day
2	Estelle Goh	said	“we had to fulfil our family tradition and obligations by attending our respective family functions, and couldn’t be together on Valentine’s Day”
3			“the lantern festival, or Chinese Valentine’s Day, gives us the perfect second chance for us to celebrate our love”
4	Organizers of Asia NZ Foundation	said	It was expecting record crowds after more than 150,000 people attended last year.
5	The Foundation	pointed out	this is the Chinese Year of the Tiger
6			“the tiger is sign of courage, revered in the old days as the sign that wards off the three main disasters of a household – fire, thieves and ghosts”
7	Auckland University professor of Asian studies Manying Ip	says	the local festival has played a ‘pivotal role’ in promoting an important aspect of Chinese culture to mainstream New Zealanders.

Table 5.5 outlines the participants and processes that the writer arranged for Text 1. The

participants are divided into two groups: the Chinese diaspora and the majority. The in-group of Chinese includes Malaysian girl Estelle Goh and her Hong Kong boyfriend Tim Chan, together with Asian Studies scholar Manying Ip. They provide various perspectives but all point to the significance of celebrating the Festival in New Zealand. However, the young Chinese ethnic couple Estelle and Tim appear reluctant to follow the Chinese tradition, expressing more interest in a western way, such as Valentine's Day. Posing as the out-group of the majority, Asia NZ offers the media general information about the event rather than discussing the real impact on the host society.

Tab.5. 6 Transitivity analysis of Text 2

<i>S/N</i>	<i>Participant</i>	<i>Process</i>	<i>Participant</i>
1	Conney Zhang (Zhang)- Chinese journalist	writer's opinion	The Chinese traditional festival is becoming a symbol of Asian culture which connects with more and more Aucklanders over the weekend.
2	Dr Richard Grant (Grant) - CEO of Asia NZ Foundation	answered	Asian culture is increasingly recognized by New Zealanders.
3	Zhang	asked	Do you think that the Lantern Festival has made New Zealanders more interested in Chinese culture?
4	Grant	said	Absolutely. We hold the event for two reasons. The first is to showcase Asian culture to all New Zealanders. The second is to enhance the cohesion of our city.
5	Zhang	asked	Would there be some new programs for this year?
6	Grant	answered	We always bring people something new each year.
7	Zhang	asked	What do you think if the Lantern Festival would be treated as a public holiday?
8	Grant	answered	That is a really difficult question, which I think it should be decided by the Government.
9	Zhang	asked	Do you think that New Zealanders understand Asia?
10	Grant	answered	An Asia NZ-funded survey shows that an increasing number of New Zealanders understand and also like Asia.
11	Zhang	asked	How they understand Asia?

12	Grant	answered	It shows that many New Zealanders regard Asia as a very important source of tourists as well as an exporting market.
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As summarized in Table 5.6, Text 2 is more like an interview than a news report, which is significantly different from Text 1. It is mainly a conversation between Chinese journalist Conney Zhang and CEO of Asia NZ Dr Richard Grant, focusing on the transformation of the Lantern Festival and its growing influence on New Zealand's economy. The interview is processed by paying attention to the perceptions and awareness of the majority about Chinese culture. Grant is the only individual from the majority participating in the process. Regarding the questions about the Festival, Grant takes a positive attitude and confirms the growing impact of Chinese culture in the country.

There is doubt that Grant's answers are superficially favourable. Rather than making personal comment, Grant demonstrates the significance of the event with the figures from a survey funded by Asia NZ. There is an interesting question during the interview that Zhang asks whether the Festival should be treated as a public holiday. At least in part, the question reflects that the Chinese expect to use the cultural event as an opportunity to better integrate into mainstream society. However, Grant replies that it is difficult and complex question. In his response, we can detect that it might be neither possible nor appropriate for him to answer such a sensitive question on behalf of the majority people.

Now we compare how the participants and processes are constructed in the two texts. In terms of the participants, Text 1 has some Chinese people as well as the staff members

from Asia NZ. In Text 2, only one individual is from Asia NZ to demonstrate a growing awareness of Chinese culture. Obviously, the members from Asia NZ take part in both texts. What they have offered, whether in Text1 or in Text 2, appear superficially positive; but they mainly provide relevant information rather than insightful opinions. Asia NZ is also the organizer of the Lantern festival, we thus doubt that whether they can represent the whole majority to demonstrate their understanding of Chinese culture. Another point to note is that there are no participants from the Chinese community in Text 2 so we are unaware of whether or how much degree the Chinese people accept the ways in which the Festival has been held and celebrated in the host society.

In Text 1, a range of the positive subjects relating to Chinese culture, such as delicious food, lanterns, firework displays, as well as dazzling signs, are used to describe the Festival. Apart from those descriptions, however, little can be seen that the essence of Chinese culture is acknowledged. To most readers, it seems unclear that whether the majority recognizes the real meaning of the Lantern Festival for the Chinese. Less depiction of Chinese culture is provided in Text 2. The reason, as we assume, might be that most Chinese people are well familiar with their own culture and there is no needs to describe in the Chinese newspaper.

Text 1 sketches up a positive and predominant version of the Festival with descriptive words that are closely related to Chinese culture. Such an impression is reinforced in Text 2 by interviewing CEO of Asia NZ Richard Grant, who offers positive figures to support that the Festival has made an increasing impact on the majority.

In sum, both texts focus on the significance of the Festival in the multicultural society and much of the news content is dependent on the information from Asia NZ, the organizer of the event. Meanwhile, neither the majority nor the Chinese group really participates in the news reports to express their perceptions or attitudes towards Chinese culture. To some extent, both texts seem lacking mutual communication and understanding between the majority and Chinese people.

5.4.2 Thematization

As another important analytic tool, thematization is used for a more detailed structural analysis of the news texts. For Teo, a thematic analysis “looks at the organization of information within a clause” and “the positioning of a piece of information in a clause is indicative of the kind of prominence or foregrounding the writer wished to attribute to it” (Teo, 2000, p. 29).

This part explores the ways in which the information is organized and situated in sample texts, perceiving the real motivations as to how and why the information is arranged in a specific way. By comparing the texts, we might discover any differences between the mainstream and Chinese newspapers in ideologically constructing Chinese culture.

Tab.5. 7 Thematic analysis of Text 1

<i>S/N</i>	<i>Theme</i>			<i>Rheme</i>
	<i>Textual</i>	<i>Inter-pers onal</i>	<i>Topical</i>	

1		For Malaysian Estelle Goh and her Hong Kong boyfriend Tim Chan	this weekend will be when they celebrate Valentine's Day
2	and	Like Estelle and Tim, many other ethnic Chinese	will also be seizing on the lantern festival, also known as Chinese Valentine's Day
3		Auckland's lantern festival, which is into its 11 th year	starts this evening at Albert Park and runs until Sunday
4		Coinciding with the 15 th day of the first month of the lunar calendar, which falls on Sunday, it	also marks the closing of the Chinese New Year festivities
5		In Miss Goh's native Malaysia, single women	used to parade with lanterns and throw mandarins into rivers or the sea, believing it would bring them luck in finding a husband
6		Lantern festivals, known as yuan xiao jie	have been celebrated by the Chinese since the Han Dynasty in 206BC
7	and	Auckland	is one of the few places outside Asia to have a public celebration
8		Organizers Asia New Zealand Foundation	said it was expecting record crowds after more than 150,000 people attended last year
9		The foundation	pointed out that this is the Chinese Year of the Tiger
10		Some lanterns	had been shipped to Auckland from Shanghai, including a tiger lantern to mark the year
11		The festival	will also feature performances by local and Chinese troupes, including one of Shanghai's top music ensembles, Moon, Beijing's Mongolian folk rock group Hanggai and rolling lantern folk dancers from Southern China
12		Auckland University professor of Asian studies Manying Ip	says the local festival has played a "pivotal role" in promoting an important aspect of Chinese culture to mainstream New Zealanders.

Table 5.7 shows the thematic analysis of Text 1. It draws the readers' attention to most aspects of the Festival, such as its history in China (4, 6), general information (3, 10), and performances (11). Asia NZ, the organizer of the event, plays an important role in promoting Chinese culture (8, 9) and providing relevant information. The ways in

which some Chinese members acknowledge their culture are also indicated (1, 2, and 12). Importantly, the event is much more related to western festivals such as Valentine's Day (2).

In Text 1, both the history of the Lantern Festival and the current situation are described, enabling the readers to understand Chinese culture. A rising tendency is also observed that the Festival is becoming naturalized in the multicultural society. Zhang thus confirms that 'in a multicultural country, it is inevitable to exchange different cultures and therefore may form a new culture' (Interview 10).

Apart from the information given by the Asia NZ members, the text does not ask them to provide a real insight into the essence of the Festival, nor reveal any perceptions of the majority. However, only taking the mainstream organizer into account seems inadequate to exemplify the majority's awareness and acceptance of Chinese culture. In fact, the majority's understanding is largely dependent on the superficial description of Chinese culture, such as food, lanterns, and performances.

Tab.5. 8 Thematic analysis of Text 2

<i>S/N</i>	<i>Theme</i>			<i>Rheme</i>
	<i>Textual</i>	<i>Inter-personal</i>	<i>Topical</i>	
1			Auckland Lantern Festival	Is going to be held three days at Albert Park from today till Sunday
2			With the increasing significance of Asia for New Zealand, the Chinese traditional festival	is becoming a symbol of Asia culture that connects with more and more Aucklanders over the weekend
3			Regarding the Lantern Festival, it	is worth mentioning Asia NZ Foundation which has been co-sponsored the event together with the Auckland City council for

		more than 11 years
4	The Lantern Festival	has now become one of the cultural events in Auckland with increasing people over the period
5	The Chinese-Herald newspaper	carried out an exclusive interview with CEO of Asia NZ Dr Richard Grant prior to the Lantern Festival this year
6	The success in holding the cultural event	enabled more and more New Zealanders understand the Chinese culture
7	More importantly, New Zealanders	are acquainted with China and even Asia
8	A recent survey	shows that China is the first country that New Zealanders mostly mention
9	When it comes to Asian Culture	New Zealanders must first refer to the Spring Festival and the Lantern Festival
10	Dr Grant	Says that Asian culture is increasingly recognized by New Zealanders
	Conney	How many people do you estimate that will come to the event this year
11	Dr Grant	Hope that the figure would be much more than last year. There were about 220,000 people attending the Lantern Festival in 2009
12	Conney	How this idea was initially produced
13	Dr Grant: the idea	The idea was coming up with many aspects
14	Conney	Do you think that the Lantern Festival has made New Zealanders more interested in Chinese culture
15	Dr Grant	Absolutely
16	Conney: Would be some new programs	Presented in the lantern Festival this year
17	Dr Grant: we	Always bring people something new each year
18	Conney: do you think	If the lantern festival would be treated as a public holiday
19	Dr Grant: this	Is a really difficult question
20	Conney: do you think New Zealanders	Understand Asia
21	Dr Grant: it	Shows that many New Zealanders regard Asia as a very important source of tourists as well as an export market.

Table 5.8 presents a thematic analysis of Text 2. It reveals that the reporting manner is different from Text 1. In Text 2, an interview with CEO of Asia NZ Foundation Grant is carried out with an emphasis on positive aspects of the Festival. The items listed show that from one to nine, the significance of celebrating the Festival is pointed out. Clause ten to twenty-one displays the comment that Grant makes on the cultural impact of Chinese culture.

As noted earlier, the aim of the *Chinese-Herald* is to provide the diaspora members with information and to reflect their perceptions about mainstream society. However, there is no portrayal or description of Chinese diaspora in terms of how they take part in or respond to the event. Text 2 chooses to interview Grant rather than contacting other people from host society. We can also see that Grant's answers are largely dependent on a survey funded by Asia NZ.

Thus, Text 2 mainly relies on the organizer's opinion to highlight the growing impact of Chinese culture. The article does not attach great importance to the Chinese for their opinions nor pay attention to a wider majority group for a detailed understanding of Chinese culture. No doubt that the Chinese diaspora is keen to integrate into mainstream society, but the text fails to connect with the diaspora and the majority for a deeper understanding between them.

5.5 Discussion

We now discuss about differences or similarities between sample texts in terms of ideological constructions of Chinese culture. Two newspapers target different readership, that is, the *Herald* focuses on the white majority and the *Chinese-Herald* is for the Chinese diaspora. Text 1 is from the *Herald*, reporting the event in the way that mainstream society generally consumes. Text 2 is from the *Chinese-Herald*. We therefore assume that the content should be more related to the diaspora and help integrate them into the mainstream society.

Both texts share similarities. They show interest in the Festival and adopt satisfactory reporting manners. The reporters both emphasize positive aspects of the event for a favourable impression of Chinese culture. Text 1 points out that the event is changing and becoming more naturalized. The Festival is not just maintained as Chinese traditional style, but celebrated in a western way in which is more acceptable to the majority.

Some differences are also identified. Text 1 focuses on some Chinese diaspora members as well as the event organizer Asia NZ. But Text 2 just conducts the interview with one participant from the mainstream society and no Chinese are involved. The different attributions raise some issues. In Text 1, interviewing diaspora members helps prove the importance of celebrating the Lantern Festival in a multiculturalism setting. However, the problem is that the participants are from Malaysia and Hong Kong, the new

immigrants mainly from Mainland China are not taken into account. Here, we are not arguing about the issue concerning place of origin among the Chinese. The new immigrants are essentially major part of the diaspora group given their increasing impact. Text 1 reveals some misunderstanding of the Chinese diaspora or ignorance of new immigrants. Alternatively, it might be hard for the reporter to communicate with new immigrants because of language barriers.

Text 2 has the same issue. Although it focuses on the organizer of the event to bridge the mainstream society, it does not consider how the Chinese think about the celebration of the Festival in the host society. Such a reporting method is likely to leave a cultural gap between the Chinese and the majority, which might further affect the majority's understanding of Chinese culture and also the Chinese integration.

To prove or enhance my discussion, it requires opinions from some participants who have been involved in the Festival or closely relating to the Chinese. Charles Mabbett, media advisor of Asia NZ, commends that the mainstream media coverage of Lantern Festival is “generally satisfactory” (Interview 2). He also indicates that “the Western concept of news generally means that an annual event is not really news because it is an expected occurrence so each year” (Interview 2). Mabbett's view helps explain why the news articles in the *Herald* mainly focus on relevant information, such as the history, traditional food, and related activities. In this case, we consider the descriptions of the event in those articles superficial at best as they lack an in-depth discovery of the real essence of Chinese culture. Despite that the *Herald* keeps reporting the event every year; it is still unclear about how much degree that the majority understands Chinese culture.

Kai Luey, chairman of NZCA, agrees that the Festival is treated as ‘a great event’ but only at an entertaining level since the coverage is almost about introducing food and relevant items. Therefore, the majority might only gain a superficial understanding of Chinese culture (Interview 9).

Conney Zhang, the reporter of Text 2, emphasizes that ‘a rising number of Chinese people to New Zealand’ contributes to this cultural phenomenon. Besides, it is because ‘the booming economy in Mainland China is also affecting New Zealand’s economy’ (Interview 10). Zhang’s perspective represents the attitude of most diaspora members. Relating her opinions to Text 2 that Zhang reports, it can be perceived that within the *Chinese-Herald*, the ideological meaning of Chinese culture is constructed upon the majority’s attitude rather than Chinese.

As a crucial part of Chinese culture, the Festival certainly causes the cultural differences. However, they are “not always obvious to an outsider” (Spoonley, 1993, p. 37). In a dynamic setting in which the Chinese and other groups co-exist, it might be difficult or impossible for the majority to understand the uniqueness and significance of Chinese culture. Nevertheless, it is a welcome sign that some individuals from mainstream society like Grant and Mabbett are actively involved in the Festival and offer their insightful points. In order to better construct Chinese identity and to enhance the community cohesion, it is essential to urge the Chinese diaspora to participate in the media coverage, which is conducive to the majority’s understanding of Chinese.

5.6 Conclusion

Along with an increasing number of Chinese migrants as well as the economic influence of China, celebrating the Lantern Festival has become a new phenomenon in the multicultural society. The *Herald* followed the event over the past decade. The reporting illustrated that the discursive strategies for the Festival have been adopted at uneven levels. It showed that media workers have attempted diverse approaches for a deeper and comprehensive understanding of Chinese culture; and the depiction of the Festival is generally positive, satisfactory, yet superficial. The findings displayed an ongoing shift in the majority's awareness and acceptance of Chinese culture. The reporting in the Chinese newspaper revealed a strong desire of the diaspora for integration. Both newspapers recognize the significance of Chinese culture, sharing a sense of communicating with each other to strengthen their ethnic relations.

It also exposed the problematic in the majority's recognition of the Chinese, particularly the essence of Chinese culture and complicated nature of the ethnic group. The reports have generally been consumed at an entertainment and recreational level. In terms of promoting Chinese culture and presenting diasporic identity, neither newspaper devoted sufficient attention to acknowledging the complex characteristics in Chinese identity.

However, it is crucial for host and the minority to fully understand each other in the NZ multicultural context. The news media, both the mainstream and ethnic, need to shoulder more responsibility to assist the majority in recognizing Chinese culture and

the dynamic characters in identity.

Chapter VI: Asian Crime

6.1 Why always under the spotlight?

A series of high-profile crimes committed by or related to the Chinese diaspora have occurred in recent years and affected their integration into the host society. Asian crime, largely referred to as ‘Chinese crime’ in the research, has evolved into a major issue with negative overtones that concern the public. It has also become one of the topical themes run through the depiction of the Chinese in the mainstream media.

The Western news media have long been regarded as a crucial mechanism in reproducing racism against ethnic minorities (Gray, 1987; van Dijk, 1996). More significantly, crime is one of the preferred topics of ethnic affairs coverage. In New Zealand, it is often seen the negative or racial reporting of immigrants by the mainstream media (Baker & Benson, 2008; Hannis, 2009; Spoonley & Butcher, 2009, p. 367). As noted earlier, article “Asian Angst. Is it time to send some back?” illustrates concrete evidence of a racially hostile attitude and reporting manner in the mainstream media portrayals of Asian crime.

Asian crime and ‘Chinese’ crime are used interchangeably in this case. Most New Zealanders are unable to distinguish Chinese from other Asians according to their appearance or mother languages they speak. Former journalist Bill Ralston argues that there might “be a level of ignorance..... about what the Chinese diaspora actually

means” (Interview 6). Therefore, there is no surprise that the mainstream media portrays them “as a homogenous group” (Baker & Benson, 2008, p. 183).

The Chinese community is also deeply concerned about the crime issue given its close association with the migrants. Leaders of the migrant community contend that it is a chronic problem in New Zealand since the mainstream society has long treated the Chinese as *Others* or crime perpetrators. According to Kai Luey, chairman of the NZ Chinese Association, the Chinese representation provided by mainstream media is “always about some sensational aspect” (Interview 9). Arthur Loo, chairman of the Auckland Chinese Community Centre, stresses that Asian crime has been portrayed with a biased version of Chinese (Interview 8).

As a longstanding issue, Asian crime reflects secular conflict between the majority and Chinese diaspora. Therefore, it is important to observe the reportage to further explore any changes to the media approaches in an altered multicultural setting. We also need to have insight into the Chinese community and ethnic media regarding how they respond to this issue.

6.2 Analyzing Chinese crime

The chapter examines the newspaper reporting of Chinese crimes in recent years. Rather than focusing on a specific crime, the case covers a range of crimes in which some Chinese have been deeply involved, whether as victims or as perpetrators. There are two

reasons for doing this. First, Asian crime implies a social issue instead of particular events, examination of any single case would not produce detailed discussion. It is necessary to fuse a set of crimes into a unit to ensure convincing findings. Secondly, the mainstream media has categorized Asians into problematic crime perpetrators (Baker & Benson, 2008; Spoonley & Butcher, 2009). Using an amalgamation of Chinese-related crimes of recent years would provide an explicit and comprehensive image of Chinese in the social context.

An analysis is based on four different crimes in which Chinese people have been highly involved as either victims or perpetrators in recent years. The first is the 2006 ‘Suitcase murder’, which is closely related to some international students. Wan Biao was found dead in a suitcase floating in the Waitemata Harbour after being kidnapped by some of his fellows for a heavy ransom. A second, generally called the ‘Pumpkin case’, took place in 2007 when the body of a Chinese woman was found in the boot of a car. It was alleged that Nai Yin Xue killed his young wife An An Liu before abandoning their three-year-old daughter, who was later generally nicknamed ‘Pumpkin’ by police and the media. In 2008, a third case happened in the car park at Westfield Manukau, Auckland, where a Chinese businesswoman, Joanne Wang, chased an alleged thief who attempted to snatch her handbag. The car driven by the thief later ran her down and left her for dead. A fourth case occurred in May 2010, when a Chinese teenage girl Li, also known as Kiko, was murdered by her Chinese friends.

The news articles about those crimes were chosen from the *Herald*, except for one text from the *Chinese-Herald* regarding the 2008 car park murder. Table 6.1 outlines the

source and content of the news articles on Asian crime under analysis. According to the different criminal cases, the news articles have been divided into four separated parts.

Tab.6. 1 Summary of news articles on Asian Crime under analysis

<i>S/N</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Headline & Summary</i>
1	18 April 2006	<i>Herald</i>	<p>Suitcase murder victim very nice guy says flatmate</p> <p>The report offers personal information about the victim Wan Biao by approaching his flatmates and other people.</p>
2	22 April 2006	<i>Herald</i>	<p>Murdered student's family fly in today</p> <p>Police as well as resources from others provided further information about Wan Biao.</p>
3	6 December 2007	<i>Herald</i>	<p>Two jailed for 18 years for 'chilling' murder</p> <p>The Wan Biao suitcase murder was finally summarized by court.</p>
4	20 September 2007	<i>Herald</i>	<p>Qian a 'quiet, lovely and caring' girl</p> <p>The abandoned Pumpkin girl Qian Xun was described by the director of the day care where the girl used to attend.</p>
5	23 September 2007	<i>Herald</i>	<p>An An's shattered dreams</p> <p>The article told the story about the victim An An and the murder Nai Yin Xue.</p>
6	23 September 2007	<i>Herald</i>	<p>When tolerance is taken to extremes</p> <p>Columnist Deborah Coddington comments on the Pumpkin case from the perspective of mainstream media.</p>
7	6 January 2010	<i>Herald</i>	<p>Abandoned little girl and body in boot of car</p> <p>The story of the Pumpkin case is reviewed when Xue appears in court a few years later.</p>
8	29 June 2008	<i>Herald</i> , 15	<p>Loved mum farewelled</p> <p>A Chinese journalist reports the funeral for murder victim Ms Wang and describes how she was recognized by the community she belonged to.</p>
9	14 April 2010	<i>Herald</i> , A005	<p>Victim 'in wrong place at wrong time'</p> <p>The court told the whole process of the car-park murder and then it made its final judgment.</p>
10	26 June 2008	<i>Chinese-Herald</i> A01	<p>Car park murder case follow-up</p> <p>The article interviewed Joanne's family and then depicted her character from the perspective of the Chinese immigration community.</p>

11	3 June 2010	<i>Herald</i> , A001	Slain girl's broken dream Friends pictured Kiko's personality and gave further details about Kiko when she was last seen.
12	9 June 2010	<i>Herald</i> , A005	Li murder accused was close to victim A man accused of murdering Kiko was known to her family and was the first person they tried to contact after she vanished.

A critical discourse analysis of the news coverage is undertaken at two stages. The first sketches up a broad characterization of the news articles, with a particular glance at the discursive media approaches which have been adopted to manipulate ideological meanings. In addition, it would examine whether the *Herald* treats the victims and perpetrators differently. Following this, a more detailed structural analysis of two texts for contrastive purposes is carried out to unveil the ideological structures embedded within. This comparative analysis would discover potential distinctions between the newspapers in ideologically constructing the Chinese involved in the crimes.

6.3 A general depiction of the newspaper discourse

6.3.1 Newspaper headlines and leads

This part observes the headlines and/or leads of the articles under analysis to investigate how the values and ideologies are expressed in a premium space. Each word in the headline is carefully chosen and organized to provide a clear sense of direction as to what the article is about.

Table 6.1 lists the headlines of the news articles in bold type. There are three articles

about the suitcase murder. The first was published on 18 April, 2006, titled “Suitcase murder victim very nice guy says flatmate” (Kiong & Cleave, 2006). “Very nice guy” offer a positive attitude towards Wan Biao. However, this favourable description is not provided by the reporter, but his flatmate, “who declined to be named”. The headline shows no comments from New Zealanders so it is unclear about whether the majority is interested or cares about the victim. It can be presumed that Wan Biao might be disregarded in terms of his personality. “Two jailed for 18 years for *chilling* murder” was seen in the *Herald* on 6 December, 2007, (“Two jailed for 18 years for ‘chilling’ murder,” 2007), telling of the two Chinese men convicted of the suitcase murder. With the literal meaning of frightening, adjective ‘chilling’ is used to portray those perpetrators as exceedingly callous. Quoting from the judge, the word also expresses a critical attitude of the elite institutions towards the murders.

Four articles draw a mixed image of the Chinese involved in the ‘Pumpkin case’. The three-year-old Pumpkin girl Qian, who was abandoned overseas by her father Nai Yin Xue, is described in an article titled “Qian a *quiet, lovely and caring* girl” (A. M. Eriksen, 2007). Three adjective ‘quite’, ‘lovely’, and ‘caring’ are used to describe Qian as a cute, adorable, and innocent girl. These words are quoted from the director of the kindergarten which Qian had attended. The headline of another article “Abandoned little girl and body in boot of car” (Koubaridis, 2010a) suggests feeling of sadness for both Qian and her mother, An An. The use of the adjectives ‘abandoned’ and ‘little’ illustrates a subtle hint of sympathy for the girl. A painful emotion of losing a mother is also highlighted. The article “An An’s shattered dreams” gives an inside story of her

mother An An and her father Xue (Cook, 2007). The use of 'shattered' implies that An An experienced more suffering than happiness throughout her marriage with Xue.

Among the articles about Pumpkin case, "When tolerance is taken to extremes"(Coddington, 2007) expresses a strong anti-Chinese sense. The editorial is written by Deborah Coddington, who also wrote a controversial "Asian Angst" in 2006, constructing Asians as a "cultural *Other*" in terms of their involvement in criminal activities. In this editorial, 'tolerance', the ability to bear something painful and unpleasant, is used to link with 'extremes'. The headline echoes the position Coddington normally adopts on Asians. Also, there is a striking sentence in the article that 'No doubt I'll be called racist', which clearly indicates Coddington's racial and negative standpoint on Asian crime.

Two articles focus on the 2008 car park murder. For a comparative analysis at a later stage, I have chosen a third from the *Chinese-Herald*, written by journalist Portia Mao, who is also co-author of another text within the *Herald*. Her article headlined "Loved mum farewelled" (Mao & Coursey, 2008) shows deep sympathy for the son of the victim. "Loved" is used to describe Wang as a doting mother. Article "Victim *in wrong place at wrong time*" (Koubaridis, 2010b) is salient as the word 'wrong' appears twice to comment on the victim's behaviour in chasing the thief in the car park while her handbag was being robbed. "In wrong place at wrong time" is quoted, indicating how the judges summarize the murder. It seems to emphasize that it is the victims' mistake to turn up at the time. The robbery attempt, as well as the ruthless car crash appears quite natural and reasonable.

In the Kiko's murder case, the *Herald* carries the tragic news on its front page with the headline: 'Slain girl's broken dream' (Ihaka, Tan, & Binning, 2010). Adjectives 'slain' and 'broken' are used to depict victim Kiko, a young girl who came to New Zealand with golden dreams. The headline conveys mercy and compassion for the death of Kiko. However, in "Li murder accused was close to victim" (Tan, 2010a), the word 'close' indicates Kiko's complicated relations with the murderers for some reason. The headline could be perceived as an implicit suspicion concerning Kiko's character and behaviour.

We now summarize a general image of the victims and perpetrators represented in the headlines and leads. As for victims, there is a bit of mercy and sympathy evoked for Wan Biao and Kiko, yet no attempts to probe for the reasons of their death. We are even led to feel that there is doubt about their personality. The headlines for the car park murder case appear contradictory. On the one side, Wang is depicted as a loving parent by the Chinese reporter. On the other, according to the judges, the murder is primarily of Wang's own doing, not of the robbers. The headlines for the 'Pumpkin case' express much concern for the three-year-old girl. Thus, we can see that category of victims, the ideological meanings are illustrated that they are largely treated as '*Others*' rather than as part of the mainstream society.

The Chinese perpetrators are constructed in judgments from the court rather than objectively. They are simply portrayed as cruel, violent killers. In the 2008 car park murder, the killers were not Chinese and not judged in point. It can be argued that the mainstream media adopts different approaches in dealing with Chinese and non-Chinese perpetrators. Negative attitudes and perceptions drive the depictions of Chinese

perpetrators, but a more tolerant approach is given to those non-Chinese perpetrators.

6.3.2 Generalization

This part investigates the second aspect of the news discourse, that of generalization.

According to Teo, media reporters use this means to first “ascribe certain key qualities to the main participants of the news discourse without encumbering the reader with tedious details”; and those generalizing attributes might be suggested as “an underlying ideology” to potentially influence the readers’ perception and attitude towards those participants (Teo, 2000, p. 16). In Asian crime, it is necessary to explore the ways in which references to those Chinese have been made, to assist in clarifying whether or not they have been racially stereotyped or negatively reported.

Tab.6. 2 Generalizations related to the victims, perpetrators, and crimes

<i>Source</i>	<i>Reference</i>	
	<i>victims</i>	<i>perpetrator sand crimes</i>
<i>Herald</i> (18/4/2006)	a 19-year-old English language student; a studious person of reasonably sober habits	
<i>Herald</i> (22/4/2006)	a serious student	
<i>Herald</i> (6/12/2007)		cold, calculating and cruel privileged, isolated leading enriching lives one of the most chilling crimes
<i>Herald</i> (20/9/2007)	a lovely little girl	
<i>Herald</i> (23/9/2007)	a lovely girl	extremely arrogant and rude individual
<i>Herald</i> (23/9/2007)		one evil rejected husband

		these crooks
<i>Herald</i> (6/1/2010)		one of New Zealand's best known fugitives
<i>Herald</i> (14/4/2010)	businesswoman	
<i>Herald</i> (3/6/2010)	teenager	a mystery Chinese man
<i>Herald</i> (9/6/2010)		another Chinese man international student

Table 6.2 presents generalizing references to the crimes, victims, and perpetrators. A generalization of the victims is positive, yet monotonous. 'Student', 'lovely girl', and 'teenager' are used frequently to describe them. The references to the victims reveal that they are not racially stereotyped, but still largely categorized into an immature and juvenile group. References to the perpetrators appear diverse and negative. Adjectives such as 'cold', 'cruel', 'isolated', 'arrogant', 'rude' are applied to depict the perpetrators' personality and behaviours in relation to the criminal activities. The words 'Chinese' and 'international' are also repeated, resulting in the perpetrators as appearing as ethnic others. More significantly, in her editorial, Deborah Coddington describes Nai Yin Xue as an 'evil' and 'crook', which convey the explicit hostility towards the alleged murderer. Further, it seems that Deborah extends such a racial prejudice against the individual to the diaspora community. References to the crimes, such as "one of the most chilling crimes", and "one of New Zealand's best known fugitives", create an impression to the readers that the Chinese seems to be a horrifying group.

As Teo argues, "how we categorize a social group affects the way we perceive and relate to them" (Teo, 2000, p. 17). While the victims are treated compassionately, the

newspaper articles expose a tedious, repetitive way of categorizing. Such a monotonous portraying method could be hard for the readers to recognize their particular characters and explicitly relate to what they have been involved. Meanwhile, the negative stereotyping can be seen in the generalizing references to the perpetrators.

Another point to note is that the murderers in the car park case are non-Chinese and there are no references to them in the news discourse. It seems that the *Herald* adopts a more tolerant approach to them compared with that to the Chinese murders. Hence, we might argue that in Asian crime, the portraying methods have been adopted differently according to various groups.

6.3.3 Quotation patterns

The quotation characteristic of the news discourse implies “the reliance on various sources of information on which the news report is constructed” (Teo, 2000, p. 18).

Therefore, quotations are taken as a crucial part of the newspaper reporting to prove the authenticity of information. However, choices of a quote, either direct or indirect, as well as the ways in which it is arranged, are largely dependent on media workers’ intention and their position in the media organizations. In general, the mainstream media chooses quotations in favor of the majority other than ethnic minorities.

Therefore, such a way of selecting and arranging quotations can affect the perceptions and ideologies of the majority about the ‘out-group’.

Tab.6. 3 Quotation patterns of news articles on Asian crime under analysis

S/N	Reference	Source of quotes	
		Ethnic minority	Elite majority
1	Herald (18/04/06)	a flatmate of Wan Biao	
2			Detective Inspector, Bernie Hollewand
3			a fisherman, Oliver Woodward
4	Herald (22/04/06)		Detective Inspector, Bernie Hollewand
5	Herald (6/12/07)		Justice, John Priestley
6			Detective Inspector, Bernie Hollewand
7	Herald (20/9/07)		Director of a daycare, Ketu Grgicevich
8	Herald (23/9/07)		The Shakti Asian Women's refuge, Shila Nair
9		Long-time family friend, David Ma	
10		Joanna Chen, the NZ Golden Season Dance Academy	
11	Herald (6/1/10)		Xue's lawyer, Chris Comeskey
12	Herald (29/6/08)	Joanne's old brother, Jie Wang	
13	Herald (14/4/10)	Joanne's son, Edmund	
14			Crown prosecutor, Christine Gordon SC
15			Chris Wilkinson Smith
16	Herald (3/6/10)	A friend of Kiko	
17		Easin Xie, whose wife is Kiko's cousin	
18		Lucy	
19		Another friend	
20			Mr Parata
21			A young mother
22	Herald (9/6/10)	Easin Xie, whose wife is Kiko's cousin	

As listed in Table 6.3, twelve items are quoted from the majority and ten from the Chinese group. The quotes from both groups are seemingly equivalent. In particular, the diaspora members quoted include those who have close associations with the victims, such as relatives, friends, and schoolmates. Their quotations provide relevant information concerning the victims' background and experience. However, it is noteworthy that some of them decline to be named in the reporting. Lincoln Tan, a senior reporter from the *Herald* who reports immigration and ethnic affairs, points out the same issue that when he attempts to gain Asian views, don't use my name is one of the most common responses when he tries to interview Asians (Tan, 2007b). In this case study, four Chinese members are quoted for the Kiko's case, but two of them are not identified by name. In the suitcase murder, a flatmate of Wan Biao who says the victim was a "very nice guy" refuses to give his name as "I just don't want people to think all Chinese people are killers, murders" (Kiong & Cleave, 2006). His comments probably explain the reason for the above problem.

In the meanwhile, people quoted from the majority consist of police staff, Justice, lawyer, and witnesses, who are supposedly representative of the expert, authoritative voices and, more importantly, members of the 'in-group'. Their quotations for the Chinese perpetrators are derogatory. Detective Inspector considers the suitcase murder 'one of the most chilling crimes he had been involved in investigating' ("Two jailed for 18 years for 'chilling' murder," 2007). Justice Priestly describes the murders' actions 'as cold, calculating and cruel', and also 'cowardly'. Moreover, he comments that the murderers 'shared characteristics in coming from backgrounds that would be regarded

as privileged in China'. Priestley's judgments underscore those murders' ruthless characters and more significantly, relate them to a wider background of China, which hints at the Chinese might share the same personality. In the 'Pumpkin case', Nai Yin Xue is regarded as 'one of New Zealand's best known fugitives' (Koubaridis, 2010a). What is more, Deborah Coddington calls him 'one evil', 'a rejected husband', and also one of the Chinese 'crooks' in this country (Coddington, 2007). Thus, when it comes to crimes and perpetrators are Chinese, the majority as well as the news reporting shows an apparent racial prejudice, discrimination against them and further relates them to the diasporic community rather than treating the murderers individually.

However, a salient point can be seen in the car park murder case, which is different from other crimes since the murders are non-Chinese and also the judgment for them appears more tolerant than that for the Chinese perpetrators. For example, Crown prosecutor Christine Gordon judges the death of Joanne Wang is due to 'the wrong place at the wrong time' (Koubaridis, 2010b). Besides, Chris Wilkinson Smith, the lawyer for one of the murderers, claims that 'when a person acted unlawfully and someone lost their life when that wasn't the intention they could be found guilty of manslaughter' (Koubaridis, 2010b).

In addition, attitudes of the majority towards the victims appear varied. For those international students and Chinese migrants, they only show some sympathy but express no further attention. However, the three-year-old Pumpkin girl Qian is an exception. She is described as 'very motherly', 'softly spoken', and 'caring' (A. M. Eriksen, 2007). Qian is portrayed very nicely and attracts much more attention than other victims.

Hence, we may assume that it is because Qian was born in New Zealand rather than China or somewhere else. The public regards her as a New Zealander. Even Tan admits that ‘Qian Xun was seen as an individual, a New Zealander like rest of us – and not just a Chinese girl’ (Tan, 2007a).

From what I have discussed above we can see clearly that the reporters from the *Herald* adopt different methods to quote for the coverage of Asian crime. The elite majority seems to be more privileged than the diaspora to offer their opinions or perspectives about the victims and perpetrators. In other words, the newspaper reporting grants those who are from the dominant group to judge the Chinese perpetrators and further control over the minds of the public at large. By contrast, the Chinese are only quoted for providing the background or information in relation to the crimes.

6.3.4 Over-lexicalization

A final glance is given to the fourth characteristic of the newspapers: over-lexicalization, which is “a pragmatic strategy of encoding ideology in news discourse” (Fowler, et al., 1979). As Teo indicates, “over-lexicalization results when a surfeit of repetitious, quasi-synonymous terms is woven into the fabric of news discourse, giving rise to a sense of over-completeness in the way participants in the news discourse are described”(Teo, 2000, p. 20).

Tab.6. 4 Lexical cohesion – Descriptions of victims

<i>Source</i>	<i>Epithet</i>	<i>Reference</i>
---------------	----------------	------------------

<i>Herald</i> (18/4/2006)	nice,	He was a very nice guy
	reasonably studious	Mr Wan appeared be have been “a reasonably studious chap”
	reasonably sober habits	Mr Wan was a studious person of reasonably sober habits
<i>Herald</i> (22/4/2006)	good, serious	Mr Wan had a good attendance record at school and was a serious student who wanted to study at Auckland University
<i>Herald</i> (20/9/2007)	softly, caring,	Qian Xue was a softly spoken, caring little girl.
	motherly,	She was very motherly.
	quietly, lovely,	She was very quietly spoken, she had a lovely nature.
	lovely	She is a lovely little girl.
<i>Herald</i> (23/9/2007)	lovely	She was a lovely girl
	modestly, wealthy	An An was born to modestly wealthy parents.
<i>Herald</i> (29/6/2008)	lovely	He told mourners his lovely sister made him the luckiest person in the world
	intelligent, hardworking	His wife was an intelligent, hardworking woman.

Tab.6. 5 Lexical cohesion – Descriptions of perpetrators

<i>Source</i>	<i>Epithet</i>	<i>Reference</i>
<i>Herald</i> (6/12/2007)	cold, calculating, cruel	Justice Priestley described Cui and Li’s actions as cold, calculating and cruel.
	cowardly	Wang’s actions as “cowardly” in his failing to stand up to Cui and Li.
	sloth	They had come to New Zealand to study, but fell into cyber “sloth”.
	chilling	One of the most chilling crimes
<i>Herald</i> (23/2007)	arrogant, rude	He was an extremely arrogant and rude individual.
<i>Herald</i> (23/2007)	evil, rejected	If there’s one evil that crosses all cultures, it’s the violence of a rejected husband.
	crooks	Why do we allow these crooks to stay in this country?

The descriptive words and references to victims are summarized in Table 6.4 and Table 6.5 presents that to perpetrators. As shown in Table 6.4, Wan Biao is described with a set of positive words such as ‘nice’, ‘good’, and also ‘studious’, ‘serious’. An An and

Joanne Wang are also kindly treated as ‘modestly’, ‘intelligent’, ‘hardworking’, and ‘lovely’. Although there are a number of softening and modest words depicting the Chinese women, it should be noted that most of them are quoted from their relatives and friends rather than the majority. An apparent exception is that the repetitions of ‘lovely’ for Qian, the three-year-old New Zealand-born girl. As discussed earlier, she is commonly regarded as member of ‘in-group’, which is different from other victims.

However, there is an obvious contrast between Table 6.4 and Table 6.5. In the latter one, the Chinese perpetrators are ascribed with a bunch of negative adjectives, such as cold, calculating, cruel, cowardly, arrogant, and rude. In the ‘Pumpkin case’, Deborah Coddington is implacable in describing Nai Yin Xue as ‘an evil’, and even without referring to his full name at the beginning of the article. Furthermore, Coddington categorizes the migrants into ‘crooks’. ‘Evil’ and ‘crooks’ even generate a racist and anti-Chinese sentiment. The use of these words gives a clear impression of the perpetrators’ personality and more importantly, has further effect of humiliating and dehumanizing.

Hence, it is fairly clear that these extremely negative, offensive words are used intentionally to not just describe their appalling criminal actions as well as horrifying personality, but also orient the readers’ perceptions of them in a particular way.

6.3.5 Summary

Before moving to the next stage, it is necessary to give a brief review on what we have

discovered throughout the discursual analysis of the newspaper reporting of Asian crime in the *Herald*:

- (1) The analysis of the ways of choosing and arranging words for the newspaper headlines and leads reveals that the reports raise some sympathy for the victims but still regard them as '*Others*' rather than part of the mainstream society. As an exception, the 'Pumpkin' girl is treated as 'ours' because she was born in New Zealand. The attitudes towards the perpetrators appear overwhelmingly negative, but it seems more tolerant in depicting the non-Chinese murders.
- (2) Examination of the generalization exposes that the references to the victims are positive, yet monotonous and nebulous. A repetitive way of categorizing them causes a blurred image of the Chinese victims, which is hard for the readers to recognize their characters and also relate to a particular case they have been involved. The references to the perpetrators show an obvious racial portrayal of the Chinese but an overlooked depiction of the non-Chinese. In addition, the newspaper reporting relates the Chinese criminal activities to the entire diaspora community.
- (3) An investigation into the quotations displays that the elite organizations such as police, court are largely quoted for the perpetrators. The ways of judging the Chinese are overtly racial and negative. However, no judgment is clearly made to the non-Chinese perpetrators. It shows that the reporting quotes the majority to exert their social power to affect the readers' perception about the Chinese.
- (4) An exploration of the over-lexicalization illustrates that the Chinese perpetrators

have been stereotyped as a highly dangerous ‘*Others*’ and further related to the migrant community. The victims, except for the ‘Pumpkin girl’, have also been categorized into ‘*Others*’.

The analysis of the four characteristics of the news discourse in the *Herald* demonstrates that the traditionally racial stereotypes have massively been adopted in the media portrayal of the Chinese. It elaborates that the newspaper hardly provides explicit descriptions of the victims, but regards most of them as ‘*Others*’. Meanwhile, the *Herald* has adopted a more tolerant approach to non-Chinese perpetrators.

6.4 A comparative analysis of two sample texts

The preceding part has examined the discursive strategies that employed in the coverage. The racial and negative stereotypes of the diaspora in a criminal setting demonstrate that the role of reproducing ethnic inequality and prejudice against the minority still remains in the mainstream newspaper. According to Van Dijk, the media reproduce racism not just through the complex structures and strategies of news reports, but together with other elites organizations and agencies in the social context (van Dijk, 2000, p. 36). This part attempts to explore the ways in which the *Herald* relates to a greater scale of the majority to manipulate certain ideologies to influence the readers’ perception. Given that Asian crime deeply concerns the majority and diaspora, it is necessary to compare the mainstream and Chinese newspapers to discover any differences between them in constructing diasporic identity by the means of the social power.

A comparative analysis of sample texts would help achieve this goal. At this stage, I have particularly focused on the car park murder case. One sample text is from the *Herald* entitled “Victim in wrong place at wrong time” (Koubaridis, 2010b) and henceforth referred to as Text 3; another is from the *Chinese-Herald*, “Joanne Wang car park murder” (Mao, 2008) and henceforth referred to as Text 4.

6.4.1 Transitivity

The principle of transitivity is to analyze the news discourse in terms of who does what to whom. This part examines the ways in which transitivity has been utilized in sample texts about the car park murder, to investigate how both newspapers present other sources of information to manipulate the ideologies of the victim or perpetrators.

Tab.6. 6 Transitivity analysis of Text 3

<i>S/N</i>	<i>Participant</i>	<i>Process</i>	<i>Participant</i>
1	A court	was told	Joanne Wang chased an alleged thief across a car park
2	The 39-year-old businesswoman	had been	at the Manukau shopping centre
3	Crown prosecutor Christine Gordon	said	it put her in the wrong place at the wrong time
4	Christopher Jacob Junior Shadrock and five associates	were	in two cars circling the car park looking for a handbag to steal
5	Shadrock and other accused	went on	trial at the High Court at Auckland
6	He (Shadrock)	is	accused of murdering Ms Wang and stealing her bag
7	She (Mrs Wang) and Edmund	had	just got into their van
8	Ms Gordon	said	he then ran off but didn’t count on Ms Wang’s “bravery and determination”

9	Shadrock	leaped into	the stolen car and began reversing
10	The Crown	says	Ms Wang was standing in front of the car
11	Her son Edmund	told	police
12	He (Edmund)	saw	his mother holding the “circular, round thingy”
13	She (Wang)	was	flung to the side and hit her head on the concrete
14	Chris Wilkinson Smith, representing Shadrock	said	Shadrock intended to take Ms Wang’s bag but not her life
15	He (Chris)	said	the death was a “bag snatching gone tragically wrong”.
16	The defence	did not accept	Ms Wang was standing in front of the vehicle but was “off to the left side”. “he did not drive straight at her”.
17	He (Chris)	said	the car was being driven at low speed and had only moved forward “one or two car lengths for one or two seconds before ms Wang loses her footing and strikes her head”.
18	He (Chris)	said	when a person acted unlawfully and someone lost their life when that wasn’t the intention they could be found guilty of manslaughter.
19	He (Chris)	asked	jurors to find Sharock guilty of that charge and not murder.

Table 6.6 lists the participants and processes in Text 3. We divide the participants into the majority and the Chinese to compare the information they provide and the results they cause. The white majority group includes the court, Crown prosecutor Gordon, and Chris Smith, a lawyer who represents the accused. No doubt that such a group represents the dominant social power in society and undoubtedly, what they say about the crimes expresses the majority’s attitudes. Regarding the death of the Chinese businesswoman, the Crown points out that it happened “in the wrong place at wrong time” (Koubaridis, 2010b), which seems to excuse the perpetrators’ guilt but emphasize the victim’s fault. Also, the lawyer’s speech appears to intentionally play down the

defendant's criminal activities. Obviously, the Crown and the lawyer take a tolerant position for the accused and what they say garners a certain amount of the text. Thus, we can argue that although the victim is innocent, the Crown and the lawyer, who stand for the elite groups, judge the murder in favour of the majority rather than the ethnic Chinese.

Edmund, the son of the victim, is the only one Chinese in the text and just provides a brief description of being stolen and the car accident. However, what an eight-year-old child says seems impossible to have a considerable impact on the reader's perception. Apart from Edmund, unfortunately, there is no participation of other Chinese members in the text. Thus, the elite involvement in the text becomes the most effective and successful factors in manufacturing the public consent. In contrast, it is more unlikely for the Chinese to access the report to defend their position.

Tab.6. 7 Transitivity analysis of Text 4

<i>S/N</i>	<i>Participant</i>	<i>Process</i>	<i>Participant</i>
1	The police	arrested	a 21-year-old man who is from South Auckland
2	The police	accused	the man of murdering Joanne Wang
3	There	was	a news releasing press held on Wed morning
4	The police	announced	the main suspects had been arrested
5	The police	didn't	released the suspect's name
6	The police	believe	there are still two suspects on the run
7	The police	didn't	respond to whether these suspects are belonging to gang members but they indeed are friends
8	The police	still cannot make sure	how many people involved in the case
9	The police	said	that the red car may be knocked by the white Nissan
10	The police	believe	this Maori driver is the key witness and

11		hope	the driver contact with the police as soon as possible
12	The police	had already informed	Wang's family
13	Mr Wang (father)	said	he and his wife were overwhelmed with sorrow
14		knows	the whole society has paid huge attention to the murder case
15		emphasized	the Government has the responsibility to provide people a safe environment
16		understands	it was just a criminal case rather than a racial problem
17	Wang's brother	just came	to New Zealand
18		planned	to travel with his sister and parents
19	The family	appreciate	the support and concerns from the local community as well as from overseas.

Table 6.7 shows the participants and processes that the reporter organizes for Text 4. It consists of three parts: the details and information about the case provided by the police; a brief description of Joanne Wang; and the interview with Wang's family members. It can be seen that the reporter focuses on both the police and the victim. As for the participants from the majority, the reporter has to take the police into account as they are the only way to gain information about the murder. It demonstrates again that the majority has the dominant social power in the mainstream society whereas the Chinese have less access to those elite social groups and also less control of the mind of the public.

Yet, the reporter still pays attention to the Chinese, providing as much as possible information about the victim. Wang's friends, colleagues, and her family members were interviewed regarding her background, working experience and personality.

6.4.2 Thematization

Thematization is another analytical tool to investigate the ideological constructions of the news discourse. It particularly focuses on the ways in which the information is arranged to manipulate the reader's ideologies and attitudes towards *Others*. This part observes how thematization is applied to the car park murder reporting and also compares the differences between the *Herald* and *Chinese-Herald* in using information to construct the Chinese who have involved in the crime.

Tab.6. 8 Thematic analysis of Text 3

S/N	Theme			Rheme
	Textual	Inter-personal	Topical	
1			The 39-year-old businesswoman	had been at the Manukau shopping centre on June 16, 2008
2			It	was a break in her usual routine
3			Crown Prosecutor Christine Gordon	said yesterday,
4	And		It	put her in "the wrong place at the wrong time"
5			At that time, just after 3.30pm	Christopher Jacob Junior Shadrock and five associates were in two cars circling the car park "looking for a handbag to steal"
6			Shadrock and the other accused	yesterday went on trial at the High Court at Auckland
7			He	is accused of murdering Ms Wang and stealing her handbag
8			She and Edmund	had just got into their van when the Crown alleges Shadrock ran over to them and reached over Edmund who was in the passenger seat and grabbed the handbag that contained a large sum of money
9			Ms Gordon	said she then ran off but didn't count on Ms Wang's "bravery and determination" when she chased after him yelling

10	Shadrock	leaped into the stolen car and began reversing but was blocked by another car coming into the park
11	The Crown	says Ms Wang was standing in front of the car on the passenger side of the bonnet and would have been clearly visible to Shadrock
12	Her son Edmund	told police he saw his mother holding the “circular, round thingy”, thought to be the wing mirror
13	She	was flung to the side and hit her head on the concrete
14	Ms Wang	died in hospital the next day
15	Vila Lemanu, 25, Maka Tuikolovatu 21, and Lionel Manaake 23	are charged with stealing Ms Wang’s handbag
16	Tuikolovatu	is also charged with assisting Shadrock avoid arrest by hiding the handbag and being an accessory after the fact to murder
17	Lemanu and Terence	are accused of being an accessory after the fact to murder for allegedly burning the Nissan
18	Chris Wilkinson Smith, representing Shadrock	Said Shadrock intended to take Ms Wang’s bag but not her life
19	He (Smith)	said the death was a “bag snatching gone tragically wrong”.
20	The defence	did not accept Ms Wang was standing in the vehicle but was “off to the left side”
21		“he did not drive straight at her”
22	He (Smith)	said the car was being driven at low speed
23	He (Smith)	said when a person acted unlawfully and someone lost their life when that wasn’t the intention they could be found guilty of manslaughter
24	He (Smith)	asked jurors to find Sharock guilty of that charge and not murder.

Table 6.8 presents the thematic analysis of Text 3 and we can see it provides varied information. However, much is about how the Crown describes and judges the murder and also how the lawyer defends the accused. As shown in the table, the Crown offers a

large amount of depiction of the case (2, 3, 4, 5, 9, and 11) and what she mostly focuses is on the stealing and chasing Wang's handbag, as well as how the alleged thief drives a stolen car running down the victim then finally led her to death. 'In the wrong place and the wrong time' is a clear indication that the Crown overlooks the robbery attempt but highlights the victim's mistake to turn up at the time. Smith, the lawyer for the accused, insists that the death was a 'bag snatching gone tragically wrong' and therefore denies any intention of murdering (18- 24). In addition, three times use of 'wrong' particularly emphasizes the victim's fault instead of the murderer's manslaughter.

In contrast, much less information is from the Chinese and only Edmund, the son of the victim provides a very short depiction of the murder. Hence, we might question that between the eight-year-old Chinese boy and the elite majority, whose information might be taken more serious, or the reader would prefer.

Tab.6. 9 Thematic analysis of Text 4

<i>S/N</i>	<i>Theme</i>			<i>Rheme</i>
	<i>Textual</i>	<i>Inter-personal</i>	<i>Topical</i>	
1			The police	arrested a 21-year-old man who is form south of Auckland
2			The police	accused the man of the main role in murder case
3			Ms Wang	brought her son to the parking in the central city around 3pm
4			They	were planning to leave while a gangster opened her car door and robbed her handbag
5	Then		The gangster	ran to another car assisting him to run
6			Ms Wang	chased him and tried to head off the car
7	But		She	was knocked down to the concrete
8			It	led her death caused by brain injuries

9		There	was a news releasing press held on Wed
10	and	The police	announced the main suspects had been arrested
11	Since	the investigation	is still in progress
12		The police	didn't announce the suspect's name
13		The suspect	will be in custody until 7 th July
14	And then	He	will be brought to court with another four suspects
15		A 21-year-old man from Otara	was accused of destroying the vehicle
16		Another two suspects	were accused of dealing with stolen cars
17		The police	believe there are still two suspects on the run
18		The police	didn't respond to whether these suspects are belonging to gangsters but they indeed are friends
19		The police	still cannot make sure how many people involved in the case
20		Until now	the driver of a red car in the scene still didn't contact with the police
21		The police	said the red car may be knocked by the white nissan
22	And	The driver of that car	got off and checked it at that time
23		The police	believe the driver is the important witness
24		The police	had already informed the Wang's family that the main suspects had been arrested.
25		Mr Wang Zhaokai, the father of the victim	said that his family are very satisfied with the police's efficiency
26		Ms Wang	was born in Taiyuan
27		Before coming to NZ	Wang worked for HSBC
28		She	arrived in NZ in 1996, working at a computer company
29		From 2003	she began to run a coffee chain with her family
30		Ms Wang	was born in an educated family
31		Her grandfather	was the professor of Zhongshan University
32		Her father	said Wang was a kind woman loving life and always willing to help others
33		She	headed off the car it was not only because she wanted to get her handbag but also she cannot

		endure the robbery behavior
34	Huo Guang, manager of the company that Wang used to worked for	said Ms Wang took her work seriously and enthusiastically

Table 6.9 summarizes the thematic analysis of Text 4. It can be seen that the police are only the source of information about the murder and suspects, which implies that the powerful elite have access to valued social resources whereas the ethnic minority usually lacks this access and has to depend on information available to the general public. However, the Chinese reporter utilizes the sources from diasporic community, such as Wang’s family, friends, and colleagues, to seek a comprehensive understanding of the victim. The information from the community focuses on Wang’s previous life, working experiences, as well as her character (26- 34).

In terms of selecting information, we may argue that the mainstream and Chinese newspapers seem to adopt different approaches to the victim. Given the language difficulties, it would be hard for the mainstream media workers to find detailed information from the ethnic community in which the victim belongs to. We can also argue that the majority might not be interested in the information because of the cultural differences.

6.5 Discussion and conclusion

Through a comparative analysis of sample texts about the car park murder, we have insight into the ways in which the newspapers cooperate with other social groups to

construct diasporic identity. The racial portrayal of Chinese migrants in the mainstream media has long been contested by the ethnic community as well as media workers. Most of them claim that in spite of the significant impact of Chinese on the society, it is hard to see any radical change to this longstanding issue in the social context.

Arthur Loo argues that “there is a bit of stereotyping” in the mainstream media since “they love to talk about triads” and “they think every Chinese person whose committed a crime here belongs to a triad” (Interview 8). Kai Luey contends that “Asians, or Chinese, are totally unrepresented in the crime statistics and in the jails... it is still controlled by the mainstream whites”. Further, Luey argues that he has not experienced any change to the racial portrayal (Interview 9). What the leaders notice is the fact about the issue. However, some media journalists perceive the ways in which the mainstream conducts to reproduce the racial stereotypes of Chinese crimes. Both Portia Mao and Anne indicate that it has been hard for the Chinese to get first hand information so they have to translate the news reports about crimes by the mainstream media (Interview 1, Interview 3). Thus, it makes clear that compared with the mainstream media, the Chinese media, due to its much less power than the elites, is incapable of gathering the latest news through themselves. Also, it seems impossible for them to link the white social groups as the mainstream media to find supporting voices then construct the ideologies of the Chinese.

Therefore, the case study not only verifies the fact that the Chinese diaspora has long been unrepresented in the mainstream media, but also discovers how such racial methods have been manipulated to affect the majority’s perceptions about Chinese

crime. In addition to the traditional media approaches which appear obvious to the public, the ways of exerting social power of the white elites to influence the public's attitudes seem to be a new trend in the mainstream society.

Chapter VII: Natural Dairy's Intended Purchase of Crafar Farms

7.1 A new interest in the dairy industry

The preceding chapters have discussed the newspaper reporting of the Lantern Festival and Asian crime in the *Herald*, interpreting the mainstream media portrayals of the Chinese in the cultural and social context. A closer economic relationship between China and New Zealand has been boosted rapidly in recent years. Since 2008 when China and New Zealand signed the Free Trade Agreement, New Zealanders have become more aware of the increasing impact of China on the country's economy. As Brunton indicates, "New Zealanders see the Asian region as important to New Zealand's future and New Zealand will benefit economically from a relationship with Asia" (Brunton, 2009). Foreign Minister McCully (2010) firmly confirms that "China is one of New Zealand's vital 21st century partners ... our future – economic, political and security – is lined to that of China's".

In particular, dairy farming, a long and proud agricultural tradition in New Zealand, has

come out to be a new area of considerable promise for both countries and a set of investment schemes have been stimulated. In December 2005, the New Zealand dairy giant Fonterra made its huge investment in Sanlu Group, one of the largest dairy products companies in China (*Fonterra And San Lu Reach Joint Venture Agreement*, 2005). In September, 2008, the Company incurred a heavy loss through the Sanlu milk powder disaster. The intensive coverage of the Sanlu scandal in the mainstream media has made New Zealanders realize the importance of the dairy industry for China.

In March 2010, Natural Dairy Holdings (NZ) Limited, a Hong Kong-based Company run by private sector Chinese businessmen, announced its plans for a \$1.5 billion purchase of the Crafar dairy farms in New Zealand. Located in the North Island with over 20,000 stock and more than 200 staff, the Crafar farms is considered the country's largest privately owned dairy farming group (Tacon, 2007). The business went into receivership in late 2009 due to "its poor environmental and animal welfare practices" (Bennett, 2010a). The Natural Dairy's application for buying the farms was finally turned down by the Government because the Chinese directors "failed a good character test" (Gregor, 2010).

7.2 Beyond cows and milk – is there a new threat?

Despite the Fonterra's scandal and the Natural Dairy's failure, they reflect the new phenomenon in the economic sector. The growing economic tie between two countries might further affect the ethnic relations between the majority and Chinese.

Comparatively, the farms bid much more concerns New Zealanders since the NZ dairy industry is “economically vital to New Zealand’s future” (O’Sullivan, 2010). Given the huge amount of Chinese intended investment, the Chinese diaspora has once again come under the spotlight.

In the process of its application, the farms case received huge attention and evoked a strong response in the public. Various comments as well as attitudes towards the intended purchase have been represented in the mainstream media. In the *Herald*, we can see Primary Minister John Key hinted at concerns that New Zealanders might become tenants in their own land (“PM warns against Kiwis becoming ‘tenants’,” 2010); the national debate on overseas ownership of farmland raged and the campaign to “halt sales of New Zealand farms to foreigners was also launched (Dickison, 2010); specifically, the Natural Dairy’s attempt has met a xenophobic response and grown a fear of ‘Chinese invasion’ of ‘our farmland’.

The reasons for choosing this case study become apparent. Unlike the Lantern Festival and Asian crime, the Natural Dairy case presents the ethnic relations between the Chinese and the majority from an economic perspective. Meanwhile, three share some similarities. The Festival reflects the cultural influence of Chinese culture where as the farms bid signifies the economic impact of China on the NZ’s economy. Both highlight that the NZ’s multiculturalism has been considerably dynamic. Given its salient economic feature, however, the Crafar bid might pose a more challenging condition for the news media to tackle in terms of the reporting methods to the Chinese.

Not just has Asian crime raised controversial issues between the Chinese and the majority, but also the Crafar bid has stirred up a new conflict between them. The Natural Dairy purchase concerns the national interest deeply and has triggered a vigorous debate over ownership of NZ's farmland. Moreover, the case has received overtly xenophobic response from the public. In the mainstream media, the Chinese investors have been depicted as a takeover of NZ's land. Thus, it is essential to observe the newspaper reporting of the farms case, to perceive the mainstream media approaches to the Chinese and their relations with the majority in the economic context. More importantly, we need to examine whether and how the racial portrayals and negative reporting that traditionally used in Asian crime have been employed to the dairy case.

7.3 A general characterization of the newspaper discourse

The chapter focuses on newspaper reporting in the *Herald*, in an attempt to explore the white majority's attitude towards the Chinese investment in the NZ's dairy industry and to investigate the reporting methods to such a big concern relating to host and the ethnic minority. The chapter also considers articles from *UCP* as well as the *United Press* because both newspapers, according to Tina, manager of them, belong to Natural Dairy (NZ) Holdings, which is a listed company at Hong Kong Stock Exchange and fully participated in buying the Crafar farms (Interview 1).

Table 7.1 summarizes the source and content of the news texts from the *Herald*. Table

7.2 outlines the articles from *UCP* and the *United Press*. Within the *Herald*, “Chinese want to buy \$1.5b NZ dairy empire” (Bennett, 2010a) on March 25 of 2010 is the first key text reporting the farm bid. Nine news articles were chosen during the application until it was rejected in December, 2010. Specifically, four describe the Chinese business people (Fisher, 2010; Gregor, 2010; Scherer, 2010b, 2010c); two editorials express public attitude towards the Chinese investment ("Denunciation of land-buying racism spot on," 2010; Efficiency key criterion for farm takeover," 2010; No place for xenophobia or self-interest," 2010); other two were taken into account as they reflect politicians' comment on the foreigners' purchase of the farmland. Besides, “New Zealand can benefit from Chinese investment” (Nixon, 2010) was selected from the *United Press* and “False news in the mainstream media again” was from *UCP* (Wen, 2010).

Tab.7. 1 Summary of news articles on Natural Dairy under analysis (the *Herald*)

<i>S/N</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Headline & Summary</i>
1	25 March 2010	<i>Herald</i> ,	Chinese want to buy \$1.5b NZ dairy empire It is the first key text from the newspaper reporting Natural Dairy's buying the Crafar farms.
2	29 March 2010	<i>Herald</i> , A10	Efficiency key criterion for farm takeover The editorial's viewpoint was that the prospective sale of the Crafar family farms to a Chinese company is bound to raise some public alarm.
3	4 April 2010	<i>Herald</i> ,A014	Dairy queen owes sex compo The key person of Natural Dairy company May Wang is first reported about her previous business experience.
4	5 July 2010	<i>Herald</i>	PM warns against Kiwis becoming ‘tenants’ PM says that he doesn't want New Zealanders to become tenants in their own country as foreign companies seek to buy up farms, and the government may look at law changes.

5	28 July 2010	<i>Herald</i>	<p>Key fears foreign buys of farmland</p> <p>The news article reported PM's genuine fears about foreign buys of farmland as well as some other politicians' viewpoint on the Crafar farms bid.</p>
6	2 August 2010	<i>Herald</i>	<p>Crafar farms – behind the facade</p> <p>The article mainly described May Wang as well as other two investors related to Natural Dairy company in terms of their business history.</p>
7	11 August 2010	<i>Herald</i> , A004	<p>Scandals hit Crafar bidders</p> <p>Two of the main investors behind a Chinese bid for the Crafar dairy farms have become embroiled in separate scandals in China.</p>
8	7 September 2010	<i>Herald</i> ,	<p>Denunciation of land-buying racism spot on</p> <p>Maurice Williamson clearly struck a nerve when he observed that opposition to foreign investment was more about racism than overseas ownership.</p>
9	17 September 2010	<i>Herald</i> , A001	<p>Chinese dairy bid hits snag</p> <p>The article understood that the farm bid will be rejected or severely restricted after a review by OIO.</p>
10	23 December 2010	<i>Herald</i> , A001	<p>Failed 'good character' test scuttles Crafar farms deal</p> <p>The Chinese company wanting to buy the Crafar farms has been turned down by the Government because its directors and frontwoman May Wang failed a "good character" test.</p>

Tab.7. 2 Summary of news articles on Natural Dairy under analysis (UCP and the *United Press*)

<i>S/N</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Headline & Summary</i>
11	8 May 2010	<i>United Press</i>	<p>New Zealand can benefit from Chinese investment</p> <p>The article emphasized the importance of Chinese investment in NZ. It also argued that the mainstream media report reflects growing fear of a Chinese takeover of NZ's farm land.</p>
12	21 September 2010	<i>UCP</i>	<p>False news in the mainstream media again</p> <p>The article criticized the <i>Herald</i> newspaper, pointing out that its news reporting of Natural Dairy's application for buying the Crafar farms bid was false.</p>

The CDA analytic method has been carried out at two stages to analyze the newspaper

discourse. The first is to probe for the ways in which discursive methods have been utilized for the ideological meanings. This is followed by a comparative analysis of sample texts from the *Herald* and *UCP*, to identify any differences between them in the ideological construction of the Chinese.

7.3.1 Newspaper headlines and leads

In Table 7.1, the headlines of the news articles in the *Herald* are organized and highlighted in bold type. The first key text is titled “Chinese want to buy \$1.5b NZ dairy empire” (Bennett, 2010a), which clearly indicates the huge Chinese investment in the NZ’s dairy industry. Words ‘dairy empire’ have both positive and negative meanings. It specifies the significance of the farms deal; bearing the meaning of an extensive territory or a single supreme authority, the word can be understood that the Chinese purchase causes a fear of Chinese for their potential takeover of NZ farmland.

Such a feeling maintains throughout the following texts. “PM warns against Kiwis becoming tenants” (“PM warns against Kiwis becoming 'tenants'," 2010) as well as “Key fears foreign buys of farmland” (Bennett, 2010b) expose that PM worries about potential crisis for the country if selling farmland to foreigners. The use of emotive keywords ‘warns’ and ‘fears’ in active verb form shows that Key’s response is a signal for the public to respond to the issue in the same way. The attitude he adopted perhaps sets a certain tone for the public debate that ensued.

The reporters’ media treatment of the Chinese investors has been affected. May Wang,

emigrated from Mainland China to New Zealand, is a frontwoman of the Natural Dairy Company. The headlines for her and other business partners appear overwhelmingly negative. “Dairy queen owes sex compo” (Fisher, 2010) is the first article describing her involvement in the farms deal. ‘Owes sex compo’ gives the readers an impression that Wang was not considered successful in previous business. In particular, ‘sex’ reproduces embarrassing and belittling of the Chinese woman.

The subsequent articles provide further details about Wang and other Chinese investors. The headlines appears as “Crafar farms – behind the façade” (Scherer, 2010b), “Scandals hit Crafar bidders” (Scherer, 2010c) and “Chinese dairy bid hits snag” (Scherer, 2010a). They seem nothing different from the first article but more aggressive and dismissive with gossip as well as scandal. “Scandals hit Crafar bidders” particularly focuses on Chen Fashu and Tan Jun, main investors behind the bid. Rather than giving information about the case, the headline depicts their characters as dubious and ignoble.

Editorials in the *Herald* are significantly important as they imply attitudes of the mainstream society towards the sensitive issue. The first is titled “efficiency key criterion for farm takeover” (“Efficiency key criterion for farm takeover,” 2010). Instead of ‘buying’ or ‘purchase’, ‘takeover’ is used to describe the Chinese investment. Literally, the word refers to taking control of another company by not just buying a majority of its shares but also power or force. Besides, the lead appears as the bid “is bound to raise some public alarm” and “could be the start of significant foreign ownership of New Zealand farms and their products”. The headline and lead clearly indicate the perspective of mainstream media that the Chinese participation in the

industry is more than a serious issue, but a deep concern associated with the national interest. Thus, the editorial sets a negative tone for the coverage of Crafar farms purchase.

Published on September 7 of 2010, “Denunciation of land-buying racism spot on”

("Denunciation of land-buying racism spot on," 2010) provides another perception of the majority. The headline indicates that the farms bid not just raises ‘public alarm’, but provokes ‘racism’ in the country. The lead outlines the viewpoint of Land Minister Maurice Williamson: ‘opposition to foreign investment was more about racism than overseas ownership’. Rather than concerning about the land, this editorial stresses out the racism issue raised in the economic relationship between two countries. The use of ‘denunciation’ reveals a fear of the Chinese. Williamson’s comment illustrates some politicians have publicly acknowledged that a xenophobic racism and anti-Chinese sentiment do remain in the country. A salient point to note is that various voices from the public, either xenophobic admission or criticisms against racism, are allowed be spoken out in the *Herald*. In general, it seems that only racial portrayals has been frequently adopted to report issues and conflict between the Chinese and host rather than attempting diverse methods. Arguably, the editorial shows a recent evidence of the changes to the media approaches in the mainstream media.

The Chinese newspapers reveal two perspectives. First, “New Zealand can benefit from Chinese investment” (Nixon, 2010), an English article in the *United Press*, underscores the positive aspects of the Crafar bid and the importance of Chinese investment in NZ’s economy. On September 21, 2010, “False reports in the mainstream news media” (Wen,

2010) was released in *UCP*. In this editorial, Wen makes a strong response to the *Herald* reporter Scherer regarding the false news he invented about the Natural Dairy's application. The texts from the Chinese newspapers adopt a supportive attitude towards the Crafar bid as they attempt to protect the Company's interest.

7.3.2 Generalization

Generalization is applied to this part to observe how the Chinese investors have been portrayed in the newspaper and to explore the reasons for the stereotypes deployed.

Table 7.3 records references to the Chinese investors.

Tab.7. 3 Generalizations related to Natural Dairy and the Crafar farm buyers

<i>Source</i>	<i>Reference</i>
<i>Herald</i> (25/3/2010)	Chinese...buying overseas assets has always been one of politics
<i>Herald</i> (29/3/2010)	May Wang's previous business difficulties have been investigated
<i>Herald</i> (4/4/2010)	The woman owned a collapsed hotel chain
<i>Herald</i> (2/8/2010)	a strangely secretive group of Chinese investors some of China's wealthiest tycoons May Wang's troubled past with failed property developer She had used fraudulent and deceitful methods in her property dealings
<i>Herald</i> (11/8/2010)	a gold mining tycoon making false claims on CV found guilty of 'serious breaches' of Chinese securities regulations
<i>Herald</i> (23/12/2010)	May Wang was bankrupted

In the first key text, the dairy bid is considered 'one of politics' issues, rather than a normal business case (Bennett, 2010a). The following texts reveal a cluster of politicians worries about selling the farmland to foreigners, particularly the Chinese (Bennett,

2010b; Denunciation of land-buying racism spot on," 2010; PM warns against Kiwis becoming 'tenants'," 2010).

References to the Chinese investors appear considerably negative with various descriptions. Wang , an Aucklander immigrated from China, is depicted as an owner of 'a collapsed hotel chain' (Fisher, 2010) with 'previous business difficulties' ("Efficiency key criterion for farm takeover," 2010). The descriptions of Wang's previous failure tend to make the readers think that she is a loser and might not have a successful future, nor achieving her purchase of the farms. Such a manner of depicting continues throughout the following texts about Wang. Scherer's reports are always about her shameful actions and characters, such as 'troubled past', 'failed' business history, as well as 'fraudulent and deceitful methods' she conducted in the previous dealings in properties (Scherer, 2010b). Her bankruptcy is also specified when the dairy application was declined (Gregor, 2010).

Chen Fashu and Tang Jun, two main investors behind the dairy bid, are portrayed as 'some of China's wealthiest tycoons' (Scherer, 2010b). Scherer then describes Chen as a 'gold mining tycoon', but 'found guilty of serious breaches of Chinese securities regulations'; and Tang is said to make 'false claims on his CV' (Scherer, 2010c).

The above references thus lead to a feeling that the Chinese are rich, yet 'a strangely secretive group' (Scherer, 2010b). Wang is already a New Zealand citizen, but she is still regarded as *Others* along with other Chinese businessmen. Moreover, the *Herald*

has devoted much attention to their previous business history instead of details or information about their plans for the farms.

Apparently, the generalizing references exemplify that the *Herald* treats the investors in a radically negative way. These Chinese are categorized into the commonly rich, but not ethical in their business dealings. Thus, the negative stereotypes would prompt the readers to distrust these investors and further doubt the Chinese investment in the dairy industry. Bill Ralston, spokesman for Natural Dairy (Holdings), argues that negativity and suspicion employed in the coverage largely generate prejudice as well as xenophobia against the Chinese. The way of portraying Chinese, from Ralston's point of view, is "a history in New Zealand that probably goes back a century or more of suspicion of Chinese and Asians" when "Chinese migrants were discriminated against and were not treated very well at all" (Interview 6). No doubt, in terms of the generalization, the traditional stereotypes are still existed in the Chinese representation.

Within the Chinese newspaper, unfortunately, references to the Chinese or their investment are barely noticeable. During the interviews for my research, the participants from the Chinese media and diasporic community were reluctant to express their opinion, nor comment on the dairy issue. When all aspects of the news discourse have been observed, it should discuss about the reasons at the later stage why they reacted in such a way which is significantly different from the Lantern Festival and Asian crime.

7.3.3 Quotation patterns

Quotation patterns means to gather a variety of sources of information on which the newspaper articles are constructed. No matter direct or indirect, the elite media workers' choices of collecting information as well as the ways in which the material is assembled for the news result in a certain kind of viewpoint, giving prominence to the powerful majority rather than the minorities.

An analysis of quotation patterns used in the *Herald* could help uncover the ways in which information is gathered or organized, and also ascertain how the mainstream media exerts its power and influence as an ideological mechanism on the readers in recognizing the Chinese.

Tab.7. 4 Quotation patterns of news articles on Natural Dairy case under analysis

S/N	Reference	Source of quotes	
		Ethnic minority	Elite majority
1	<i>Herald</i> (25/03/10)		Federated Farmers dairy chairman Lachlan McKenzie
2			Arthur Lim, Market commentator who has been working with investors wishing to buy dairy properties
3	<i>Herald</i> (29/03/10)		A neighbour of one of the Crafar properties
4	<i>Herald</i> (04/04/10)		Michael Franks, a chef at May Wang's hotel in Methven
5	<i>Herald</i> (05/07/10)		Prime Minister John Key
6			Green Party co-leader Russel Norman
7	<i>Herald</i> (28/07/10)		Prime Minister John Key
8			Finance Minister Bill English

9		Labour associate finance spokesman David Parker
10		Green Party co-leader Russel Norman
11	<i>Herald (07/09/10)</i>	Land Information Minister Maurice Williamson
12	<i>Herald (21/09/10)</i>	Chris Kelly, chief executive of Landcorp
13		Bill Ralston, Natural Dairy spokesman
14	<i>Herald (23/12/10)</i>	OIO manager Annelies McClure
15		Bill Ralston, Natural Dairy spokesman
16		Landcorp chief executive Chris Kelly
17		Green Party co-leader Russel Norman

As shown in Table 7.4, the Chinese quoted is less than one-eighth of the time compared to the ‘white’ majority. The only person quoted directly from the ethnic group was Natural Dairy spokesman Bill Ralston. Ironically, Ralston is not Chinese, but a former journalist in the mainstream media. The quotes attributed to the elite majority consist of a number of officials, politicians and businessmen, who stand in the crucial roles in the mainstream society. Their various opinions and attitudes are offered considerably whereas the Chinese perceptions are seldom given. Specifically, the editorials only quote from the majority, either directly or indirectly. Prejudice is expressed by an anonymous neighbour of the Crafar properties, who says that “I don’t really trust the Chinese.....” (“Efficiency key criterion for farm takeover,” 2010). “Key fears foreign buys of farmland” (Bennett, 2010b) quotes directly politicians such as PM John Key, Finance Minister Bill English, Labour Assistance Finance spokesman as well as Green Party co-leader Russel Norman. Given their position in the elite majority, they hold

influential power to affect the public's attitudes towards the Chinese investment. The newspaper reporting shows a great interest in seeking attitudes and perceptions of the majority rather than quoting the Chinese opinions.

Teo stresses that "quotation patterns can become a powerful ideological tool to manipulate readers' perception and interpretation of people and events in news reports"(2000, p. 20). In the *Herald*, the authority and experts are largely quoted throughout the coverage. They not just constantly persuade and convince the public about the risk of selling farmland to the Chinese, but also fuel fears of a foreign takeover.

The news reports within the *Herald* shows an imbalance in quotations between the Chinese and the majority. To be specific, the reporters draw their attention to politicians who have a strong social power on the society and largely quote their comment on the farmland issue. These quotations, however, express worries about the farmland and call for the campaign for the national interest. Meanwhile, they give an inflammatory address to the public, in an attempt to exclude the Chinese investment.

We take a look at the texts from *UCP* and the *United Press* to observe whether the ideological tool has been applied to the Chinese newspaper. However, no articles have employed this method and it is hard to recognize the Chinese investors from the diasporic community. In contrast, the mainstream newspaper has largely adopted the ideological tool to affect the readers' perception. In particular, the *Herald* is more

inclined to politicians' words since they would have a more ideological power to shape the public attitudes.

7.3.4 Over-lexicalization

The final part is to carry out the fourth characteristic of news discourse - over-lexicalization, to observe the ways in which the Chinese group is described in the newspaper reporting. As a commonly used tool in the mainstream media, negative adjectives or descriptive words are applied to the portrayal of minority groups, causing a biased version of them then further shaping the readers' ideological perspective.

Tab.7. 5 Lexical cohesion – Description of the Chinese investors and dairy investment

<i>Source</i>	<i>Epithet</i>	<i>Reference</i>
<i>Herald</i> (4/4/2010)	Collapsed	May Wang owned a collapsed hotel chain
	Inappropriate	May's husband was accused of inappropriate touching and sexual harassment of a staff member
<i>Herald</i> (2/8/2010)	Strangely secretive	The group of Chinese investors
	Troubled, failed	May Wang's troubled past with failed property developer
	Fraudulent and deceitful	She has used fraudulent and deceitful methods in her property dealings
	Wealthiest	Some of China's wealthiest tycoons
	Extremely complicated	The way the deal has set up is extremely complicated
<i>Herald</i> (11/8/2010)	Gold mining	A gold mining tycoon
	Wealthiest	China's 11 th wealthiest person
	Notoriously shy	Mr Chen is notoriously media shy

Table 7.5 lists the range of epithets used to refer to the Chinese investors behind the farms case. From the lists, it can be seen that the Chinese investors are depicted with a set of negative adjectives and descriptive words. May Wang is described as a failed business individual who used ‘fraudulent and deceitful methods’ in business (Scherer, 2010b). Her previous history seems to be filled with a large amount of trouble and failure. Other Chinese investors have also been regarded as the ‘wealthiest’ tycoons, ‘notoriously media shy’, as well as ‘extremely complicated’. Thus, it is hardly surprising that why Scherer presents the Chinese as ‘a strangely secretive group’ (Scherer, 2010b).

The media image of Chinese investors in relation to the dairy empire purchase has been visualized with a bunch of defamatory and slanderous words. The use of offensive language in portraying the Chinese results in an insulting and isolating identity of the Chinese diaspora.

7.3.5 Summary

Prior to the next stage, we summarize the findings of a step by step investigation into the discursive strategies adopted in the newspaper reporting within the *Herald*.

- (5) An analysis of the headlines and leads reveals that the ideological values of the Chinese investors in the Crafar farms have been overwhelmingly constructed under the control of the mainstream media agency. The Chinese group is evidently

depicted as *Others* or a foreign threat who intend to take over the NZ's dairy industry.

- (6) Investigation into the references to the Chinese illustrates that the ethnic people have been racially stereotyped. In the *Herald*, they appear as a strangely secretive group of being rich, dishonest, disgraceful, and not behaving well in business. The negative portrayals of the investors inevitably result in strong and deep suspicion towards the Chinese purchase of NZ's farmland.
- (7) An exploration of quotation patterns shows that the quotes from the majority and the Chinese are considerably unbalanced. There is neither resource nor information collected from the Chinese investors or migrant community. However, the elite majority, particularly those in authority are overwhelmingly quoted to protest the national interest and also affect the public to treat the Chinese as a threat.
- (8) An examination of over-lexicalization exposes that the language used to depict the Chinese appears distinctly negative and offensive, and creates a subjective, biased version of them.

The analysis of the four characteristics of the news discourse demonstrates that the *Herald* has racially stereotyped the Chinese investors in the Crafar farms, reinforcing an overwhelmingly negative, distorted image of them. Given that farmland extremely concerns the national interest, a closer economic relationship between China and New Zealand has engendered a new conflict in the economic sector. In such a setting, the Chinese is still portrayed as *Others* and also posed as a threat to the NZ's economy.

Herald is playing its role in constructing the ideological meanings and values of the ethnic people, as well as shaping the public's ideologies to protect the national interest.

In the face of the same issue, the Chinese newspapers, such as *UCP*, have also attempted to express its attitudes and opinions. In contrast, *UCP* has barely adopted the same strategies as the *Herald*, which leaves the mainstream media to negatively represent and construct the Chinese identity on its own.

7.4 A comparative analysis of two sample texts

A generalization of the news reporting has made it clear that the Chinese in the economic context, especially when encountering conflict with the majority, has still been racially stereotyped and negatively reported in the mainstream newspaper. The first stage has examined the ideological meanings of the Chinese at a macro-level. This is followed by a comparative analysis conducted at a micro-level to discover the ideological constructions in sample texts. The SFG analytic framework is adhered at this stage.

One sample text is from the *Herald* entitled “Chinese dairy bid hits snag” (Scherer, 2010a) and henceforth referred to as Text 5; the second is from *UCP*, “false news in the mainstream news media again ” (Wen, 2010) and henceforth referred to as Text 6. The reason for the selection is specified here. The *Herald* has provided the massive coverage of the farms case, which seems convenient for me to choose. *UCP* belongs to the Natural Dairy Company; however, the reporting appears much less than the former one.

Nevertheless, there is a close connection between them in terms of the news content. In Text 5, it is subjectively reported that the Natural Dairy's application for an approval from OIO to buy the farmland will be rejected. However, the story is soon after proving unfounded. Text 6 was published a few days later, specifically criticizing the false news reporting.

7.4.1 Transitivity

This part examines the sample texts by following the principle of transitivity, to discover differences or similarities between them in the ideological constructions of the Chinese. As previously identified, the importance of using the transitivity in the news discourse analysis is to articulate who does what to whom. To be more specific, it is an analytic tool to probe for the ways in which discourse represents story in terms of how the agents are constructed, particularly exposing what they do to whom with what results.

Tab.7. 6 Transitivity analysis of Text 5

<i>S/N</i>	<i>Participant</i>	<i>Process</i>	<i>Participant</i>
1	the <i>Herald</i>	understands	
2	Landcorp, the state-owned farming enterprise	is believed	to be back in the running to buy the Crafar farms
3	Overseas Investment Office	has nearly completed	its review of Natural Dairy's application
4	the Government	will	have the final say on whether the deal will go ahead
5	Land Information Minister Maurice Williamson & Conversation Minister Kate Wilkinson	be nominated	to make the decision

6	PM John key	has made clear	the Government has sympathy with widespread public concern about such a sizable sale of dairy farms to foreign owners
7	<i>A Herald</i> investigation	revealed	concerns about the credibility of the investors backing the bid
8	Chris Kelly, chief executive of Landcorp	declined	to comment
9	Natural Dairy spokesman Bill Ralston	said	the company had a ‘well-developed plan B
10		Said	‘They will continue with an altered form of trading in New Zealand. It would not automatically mean a pull-out’
11	Ms Wang	is proceeding with	plans for a dairy factory in Tauranga
12	trading in Natural Dairy shares	has again been suspended	
13	Natural Dairy	said	it hoped to raise the \$5.1 billion from investors to finance its plans
14	Mr Ralston	said	he understood the company would be making an announcement within 48 hours

Table 7.6 summarizes the participants and processes that the reporter organizes in Text

5. The participants can be divided into two groups: the out -group of Natural Dairy

Company, the in-group of the *Herald* and Government. We now compare how two

groups are constructed and processed in the text. Regarding the participants, the former

group only includes Natural Dairy spokesman Bill Ralston as well as director May

Wang; the latter consists of a large number of politicians, officials, and the mainstream

newspaper. Apparently, it shows a great disparity in the number between two groups.

Within the out-group, only Ralston makes a brief comment on the application and with

no further details and information about the case. Although Wang is selected, as we can

see, she is written of proceeding with other plans in another place.

By contrast, the majority group exposes not just a great number of participants, but also their powerful force to affect the process of the application, as well as to influence the public. Prime Minister as well as key officials who have right to make a decision on the application are involved in the text to highlight their concerns about the farms case. Besides, it is noteworthy that the *Herald* also takes part in the process. Words ‘understand’ and ‘reveal’ are used in its process. It can be argued that the text largely takes the Government and mainstream media agency into account, to exert their elite power in society and then prevent selling farmland to so-called foreigners.

Tab.7. 7 Transitivity analysis of Text 6

<i>S/N</i>	<i>Participant</i>	<i>Process</i>	<i>Participant</i>
1	all New Zealanders	read	a piece of news on the <i>Herald</i>
2	Overseas Investment office (OIO)	has basically completed	the review of the Natural Dairy’s purchase
3	the reporter	told	the readers two facts
4	journalists	write	the news according to the facts
5	“Chinese dairy bid hits snag”	was	a piece of fake news
6	OIO	immediately announced	the news was inconsistent with the facts
7	the <i>Herald</i>	had to upload	the statement of OIO
8	discourse power of the herald	is not constrained	for long time
9	the journalists and chief editors in the <i>Herald</i>	always write	the news according to what they think rather than based on the facts
10	writing untrue news	is	just like producing counterfeits
11	the mainstream media	abuse	discourse power

Table 7.7 lists participants and processes arranged for Text 6. Actually, the text is an editorial written by Yang Wen, chief editor of *UCP*. During my research for this case

study, it was hard to find the news from the Chinese newspapers since most reports were translated from the mainstream media instead of writing on their own. Text 6 is considered an exception as it aims to criticize and protest Text 5, which is the false news about their Company's application for buying the farms.

Only the majority group is shown in the table; and the participants are from the *Herald* and the Government. Neither Natural Dairy Company nor the diasporic members participate in the text. The writer indicates Text 5 is the false news, and raises some problematic issues in the mainstream media, particularly the *Herald*. The aim of Text 6 is obvious; however, it does not relate to the Company nor connect with the diasporic community to contest the issues. The writer contests that Text 5 does not report the facts. However, it should be noted that the journalists and editors in the *Herald* certainly understand the principles in the news media; they write and publish the news in an attempt to mould the public opinion and therefore resist the Chinese investment in the NZ's dairy industry. Thus, the main issue in Text 5 is racism, instead of the facts.

Hence, two points can be noted in Text 6. First, it tends to protect the Company's interest by questioning the wrong information provided by the *Herald*. However, the text lacks voices from the diasporic members against the hostile reportage from the mainstream media. Second, the text criticizes the false news just at face value, but does not recognize the real problem.

7.4.2 Thematization

This part conducts a thematic analysis of sample texts, to investigate how the information within a clause is arranged. Adopting such an analytic tool to the news discourse analysis can help explore the ways in which the writer organize the information and then perceive the writer's motivations behind the news.

By comparing the texts, it would assist in identifying differences or similarities between the *Herald* and *UCP* in terms of ideological constructions of the Chinese.

Tab.7. 8 Thematic analysis of Text 5

S/N	Theme			Rheme
	Textual	Inter-personal	Topical	
1			A Chinese bid to buy 20 New Zealand farms	will be rejected or severely restricted after a review by the overseas investment office
2			Landcorp, the state-owned farming enterprise	is believed to be back in the running to buy the Crafar farms
3			The Overseas Investment Office	has nearly completed its review of natural dairy's application to buy 20 farms owned by the Crafar family in the central and lower north island
4	and		it	has either rejected the application or suggested significant constraints on it
5			the Government	will have the final say on whether the deal will go ahead
6			it	has nominated
7	that		Land Information Minister Maurice Williamson and Conversation Minister Kate Wilkinson	to make the decision
8			Prime Minister John	has made it clear the government has sympathy with widespread public concern

		Key	about such a sizeable sale of dairy farms to foreign owners
9		<i>A Herald</i> investigation	also revealed concerns about the credibility of the investors backing the bid
10		Chris Kelly, chief executive of Landcorp	declined to comment
11	But	it and other bidders vying with Natural Dairy to buy the farms	are believed to be optimistic
12	that	they	are back in the picture
13		High Court documents	show natural dairy has agreed to pay \$213 million for the farms
14	But	The price of rural lands	has dropped since then
15	and	it	is understood
16		the other buyers	are offering around \$130 million
17		The company	his distanced itself from Auckland businesswoman may Wang
18	But	Ms Wang	is proceeding with plans for a dairy factory in Tauranga
19		Trading in Natural Dairy shares	has again seen suspended on the local stock exchange
20		Trading in the shares	was suspended for five months this year
21	as	the market	waited for details about its plans to spend \$1.5 billion establishing a dairy business in New Zealand
22		The details	never came
23	and	Last week	it said it was shelving ambitious plans beyond the Crafar farms
24		Natural Dairy	originally said it hoped to raise the \$1.5 billion from investors to finance its plans

Table 7.8 shows the thematic analysis of Text 5. As we can see, a large amount of information is used in the text. Also, it displays various sources of information. There is some from the Government about the application process (3, 4, 6, and 7); one is from the *Herald* (9), two is from another state-owned dairy group in terms of offering a bid for the Crafar farms (2, 10). It is noteworthy that Text 5 draws on great amount of

information from the market, particularly Hong Kong Stock Exchange, to report a detailed account of the Company. In contrast, only three items (17, 18, and 24) come from the Natural Dairy Company telling about further details and plans for the farms.

It is clear that when the writer seeks and then organizes information for the text, he mainly focuses on the elite majority, including the Government, New Zealand farming business, as well as the *Herald* itself. Meanwhile, much attention is paid to the information about the market but comparatively, much less to the Natural Dairy Company. Generally, source from the elite majority is the major component of information used in the text. Although the writer uses some from the market, it seems less powerful than that from the majority.

Tab.7. 9 Thematic analysis of Text 6

S/N	Theme			Rheme
	Textual	Inter-personal	Topical	
1			Last Friday morning	all New Zealanders read a piece of news on the Herald,
2			which	is the latest information of HK Natural Dairy Company purchasing dairy farms in NZ
3			the name of the reporter	is Karyn Scherer
4			According to the news cover	the Overseas Investment Office has basically completed the review of Natural Dairy's purchasing the Crafar farms
5			It	is possible
6	that		OIO	rejects the application of Natural Dairy Company or attaches additional restrictive conditions
7			It	is clear
8	that		the reporter	told the readers two facts
9			These two points	were taken as the main facts for the report

10	and	the followings	are also related to and carried around the two points above
11		Journalists	write the news according to the facts,
12	and then	readers	know the basic facts based on journalists' reports
13		This	is the procedure
14		which	is completed automatically between media and audiences
15		In fact, "Chinese dairy bid hits snag"	was a piece of fake news
16		Just a few hours after the news reported, OIO	immediately announced
17	that	it	was inconsistent with the fact
18	Therefore	the <i>Herald</i>	had to upload the statement of OIO
19		Discourse power of the Herald	is not constrained
20		The journalists or chief editors in the Herald	always write the news according to what they think rather than based on the facts
21		If there	are not relevant facts to support their opinions
22		It	can be said
23	that	they	are producing fake news
24		Writing untrue news	is just like producing counterfeits
25		It	is not related to free speech but lack of professional ethics
26		As the fringe population in NZ, Chinese community	is oppressed by the mainstream media all the time
27		It	makes many Chinese confused who exactly governs them, the Government or the mainstream media
28		It	is clear
29	that	the mainstream media	is inclined to replace the government to regulate the minorities in NZ
30	However	it	proves
31	that	the mainstream media	is abusing discourse power and also afraid of responsibilities
32		The fake news on last Friday	can prove it again

Table 7.9 presents a thematic analysis of Text 6. Yang Wen, chief editor of *UCP*, identifies that Text 5 from the *Herald* is a piece of false news. In a counterattack against the report, Wen takes a substantial part of Text 6 to summarize what Text 5 is about (1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 9, 10, 15, 18, 19, 31, and 32). There are some items from the Overseas Investment Office regarding the untrue report (6, 16, and 17). After that, the text argues about the principle of journalism ethics that the news media should have adopted to provide the readers the truth and reality (11, 12, 13, 14, 20, 21, 24, and 25). In addition, two items expose what the Chinese community feels about the mainstream news media in terms of reporting the diasporic group (26, 27).

The aim of Text 6 is clear; however, what we need to question about is that the text utilizes a large amount of information about the false news, rather than giving details about the Natural Dairy Company. Also, it seems that Wen does not recognize the real issues embedded in Text 5. In fact, Text 5 uses much primary information from HK Stock Exchange regarding the Company. Thus, the content in Text 5 is partially untrue and therefore we need to reconsider the assertion that Wen makes.

There are some issues raised from the Wen's editorial. One is that the article does not focus on the Natural Dairy Company to prove what the truth is for the farms case. *UCP* is part of the Chinese language media and also belongs to the Company. Although it is playing dual roles, the newspaper, at least the editorial, seems to neither protect the interest of the Company nor construct the Chinese identity. Another, however, is that the text fails to identify the racism issue in the mainstream media portrayal of the Chinese. While *UCP* aims to cooperate with the Chinese community to create a

different newspaper, it seems that in the Natural Dairy case, *UCP* does not achieve its goal.

7.5 Discussion

We now review the comparative analysis of sample texts at a macro-level, in which power, dominance, and inequality within social groups are manipulated in the news discourse. Thus, it would help discover differences between the mainstream and Chinese newspapers in ideologically constructing the minority group. Opinions provided by Bill Ralston, Natural Dairy Company spokesman, will be discussed in relation to my analysis.

As a report from the *Herald*, Text 5 reveals that together with the elite majority who has dominant social power over the public, the mainstream newspaper has taken control of the reader's mind to reproduce inequality of the Chinese minority. Seeing the participants involved as well as information gathered, it is clear that the Government, officials, and other people from the majority, have taken a big part in the news text. The purpose of their participation in the reporting is interesting. It shows that these dominant social groups may try to exert their elite power to influence the readers' minds, to try and preserve NZ's farmland and dairy industry.

It is essential to consider the whole coverage of Natural Dairy case for a better understanding of the reporting strategies and ideological constructions adopted in the

Herald to manipulate the ideology of the Chinese. At this point, Ralston's argument helps illuminate the issues. Ralston asserts that "the foreign investment issue in New Zealand has been simmering away for quite a while". However, when it comes to the Chinese investment, the issue "became very quickly politicized" and generated a fear of Chinese. In particular, Ralston points out that a subtle change to that fear: "in the 90s it was a fear of just being overwhelmed by the force of numbers and what would impact on our own cultural values... now they don't worry about the people and the immigration patterns, they worry about the financial flow" (Interview 6).

According to Ralston, the mainstream coverage has been "extremely negative" and there are some reasons for such a negative portrayal. First, "there is a history in New Zealand... of suspicion of Chinese... and coming into the NZ dairy industry some of that prejudice and xenophobia appear again". Second, as for the racial reporting of the Chinese investors, such as May Wang, Ralston argues that it is largely because of "a cultural difference" between host and the Chinese "in terms of values", "some of the values are different and that leads to misunderstanding other than anything else" (Interview 6).

Ralston's views prove two facts about the Chinese and also identify the change to them over the past years. One is that a fear of the Chinese still exists in society, and now is changing to a fear of Chinese capital invasion. Another is that the mainstream media have long negatively stereotyped the Chinese, regardless of social or economic issues.

Compared with Text 5, ideological constructions of Chinese have barely been manipulated in Text 6, an editorial from *UCP*. As discussed earlier, apart from citing the report from the Herald, neither participants in the process nor detailed information from the Company and the migrant community. We understand the article is from the ethnic media rather than from mainstream, which make it impossible for the editor to access to the elite organizations and media agencies for primary information. However, as part of the diaspora group, the newspaper should be aware of the importance of connection with migrant members and communication with the white majority, for dropping the level of tension and promoting the level of understanding.

In fact, it is hard to see any evidence of the above. Also, the text does not recognise, or at least does not point out the issue of racism in Text 5. Hence, such a perception about the mainstream media would affect the ways in which the Chinese media constructs the Chinese identity.

Another point to note is that during the research, participants who are related to the dairy case were unwilling to respond to the sensitive issue and reportage. Their reactions to the farms case were significantly different from that to the Lantern Festival and Asian crime.

7.6 Conclusion

The Natural Dairy's purchase of the Crafar farms not only reflected a new phenomenon in the economic context, but also caused some areas of conflict between the majority and Chinese since the dairy farming deeply concerns the national economy and interest.

Investigation into the newspaper reporting in the *Herald* illustrated that the traditional media methods to ethnic minorities, that is, racial and negative stereotypes, have been overwhelmingly employed throughout the case and reproduced the strong prejudice and inequality against the Chinese investors in the farms bid. It showed that those discursive portraying strategies utilized in the reports have not only constructed the ideological meanings and values of the Chinese, but also affected the readers' perceptions and ideologies about the minority.

It demonstrated that the *Herald*, as well as the elite majority possesses dominant power to influence the reader's attitudes towards the Chinese investment in NZ's farmland.

The image of Chinese purchase was pictured as foreigners' takeover. It also observed that the media approaches to the Chinese in *UCP* have been simplistic, and even incapable of connecting with the community.

We would say that both newspapers can represent the mainstream and Chinese news media given their powerful impact on the public. Thus, it must be emphasized that the findings of this case study can be also extended to a larger scale of the news media.

Chapter VIII: Conclusion

The findings of the study allows for the research to conclude with the assertion that both the understanding of Chinese diaspora and the media representation have markedly changed along with a series of dynamics occurring in the New Zealand multicultural context. This statement is based upon the research findings of the interviews interpretation and three case studies. The first part of this chapter will briefly highlight these findings to prove the hypotheses of the study. In the following parts, a set of issues raised from the research as well as relevant solutions and suggestions for future study will be explicated.

8.1 Findings of the research

Adopting the interview method, the research involved twelve participants from the migrant community and news media outlets to clarify the contemporary meaning of the Chinese diaspora and to discover aspects of media construction of diasporic identity. Leaders of the community and Chinese media workers exposed various perceptions about the concept and also demonstrated a high level of internal coherence concerning the existence of Chinese as a whole. On the one hand, the notion of “considerable internal sub ethnic diversity” (Ma, 2003, p. 25) has been validated since the participants recognized that the diaspora from various places during different periods has shaped the

heterogeneous nature of Chinese identity. The language barrier, at this stage, has been acknowledged as a major issue between the historical dispersion and new immigrations. On the other hand, however, the participants exhibited their strong cohesion in the ethnic group, claiming that the Chinese culture and tradition are the fundamental characteristics maintaining their spiritual connections with homelands. The interviews confirmed that the New Zealand Chinese would much prefer the homogeneous nature and therefore a wider conception is commonly accepted. In other words, the Chinese is inclusive all immigrants, regardless place of origin and migration experiences. Such kind of view is in accord with the primordial account reviewed in the literature that physical blood ties existing within the group appear far more important for the Chinese diaspora.

By contrast, the perceptions of the majority proved their problematic understanding of the diaspora given a lack of knowledge of Chinese language. More importantly, a secular attitude of treating Chinese people as *Others* and potential threat has long been adopted and also extended to the mainstream media approaches. It indicated that the cultural differences hinder the majority's awareness and acceptance of the Chinese and further affect their perceptions about the ethnic minority.

There seems to be a wide consensus within the Chinese language media since it places more importance than mainstream media on sustaining the Chinese identity as well as bridging the host society. Comparatively, they are more concerned about the local news to help the Chinese integration. It was salient to find that the mainstream society starts to pay attention to the Chinese media, utilizing them to serve the majority's interest and

more or less, participate in the process of diaspora identity formation.

The findings arising from the interviews revealed new changes in understanding the Chinese as well as critical issues embedded within the mainstream society. On the one hand, the majority's attitudes towards Chinese are becoming positive, partially because of the fact that there has been the growing impact of the minority on various sectors of society. On the other hand, it also clearly illustrated that the problematic recognition of Chinese firmly exists amongst New Zealanders and more significantly, it has close association with the racial treatment in the mainstream media.

The consequences further contribute to the case studies followed for a systematic examination of the Chinese representation in newspapers. In the Lantern Festival, it exposed that the degree to which the majority understands Chinese culture and its attitudes towards the diaspora coincide with the findings from the interviews. Similarly, a ten-year period of reporting the event in the *Herald* demonstrated a lack of cultural understanding about the changes and problems the diaspora face. It observed that although the coverage is becoming more positive, it has been largely consumed at an entertainment level. From the Chinese perspective, Kai Luey considers the Festival is a "great event" (Interview 2) whereas the majority would regard it as a "minor thing" (Interview 6). Such a strong contrast obviously proved the cultural differences between host and the immigrants and also reflected throughout other case studies.

The findings from Asian crime demonstrated that the racial attitude that long adopted by the majority and mainstream media. Again, the case study revealed the majority's issue

in terms of distinguishing the Chinese as victims or as perpetrators. However, it found that there was no apparent change to the negative stereotypes of Chinese in the *Herald*. Apart from that, the news discourse was discovered to relate the Chinese perpetrators to all Chinese migrant community. The findings also displayed that unlike the racial portrayal of the Chinese, the mainstream newspaper adopts a more tolerant method to the non-Chinese perpetrators.

The Natural Dairy case has been a new phenomenon that recently emerged from the relations between the majority and Chinese. It was examined to test whether the traditional media treatment of Chinese has still been employed along with the dynamics occurring in the economic context. The findings showed that the mainstream has not just intensively reported the dairy's purchase bid, but reproduced overwhelmingly negative portrayals of the Chinese investors. In this new case which particularly concerns the majority's interest, there was no clear indication of the alteration to the racial depictions. However, it revealed that the Chinese have still been treated as a fear or threat, which was exactly same as their earlier image in the mainstream media. This case confirmed again that the mainstream still takes its dominant position to reproduce racial inequality and discrimination against the Chinese.

Three case studies reflected the ethnic relations between host and the Chinese in the cultural, social, and economic context. Although they provided different perspectives concerning the relations, the findings showed the mainstream reporting manners adopted in them have been interconnected. In other words, the coverage of the Lantern Festival was superficially positive since it has reached the heart of critical issues that

concern the majority of Chinese. The findings of Asian crime and the Natural Dairy case identified the racial problems in the mainstream media.

A salient point to note is that the case studies utilized the CDA method for news discourse analysis since its multi-dimensional, multi-disciplinary approach particularly focuses on the discursive strategies “used by the elites to enact, sustain, legitimate and reproduce social, particularly, racial inequality, in the media as well as other public domains” (Teo, 2000, p. 43).

Although previous media studies have focused on the racial and negative reporting of the Chinese, they have largely used the content analysis method to investigate the problem. In other words, they would realize and expose such a phenomenon in the media context, but might not further explore the ways in which the mainstream media reproduces them against the Chinese, nor perceive how the elites manipulate the ideologies and control the reader’s attitudes towards the ethnic group. In the present study, adopting CDA in the media discourse helped expose a new trend in the mainstream media. That is to say, not only has the mainstream employ the traditional manner of stereotyping the Chinese in fundamental cases such as Asian crime and the Dairy case, but also they have cooperated with other elite social groups to manipulate the ideological constructions of Chinese. Comparatively, the latter form seems more implicit yet powerful.

8.2 Issues and solutions

The findings stated above also raised a set of issues concerning the Chinese

representation. A comparative analysis between the mainstream and Chinese newspapers revealed, on the one hand, that the former media has its strong power along with elite social groups to affect the public's minds and attitudes about the diaspora. However, on the other hand, it disclosed the weaknesses of ethnic media that the Chinese community and media outlets do not possess the same authority to influence the majority's mind or access to the mainstream media.

During the interviews with media workers, a number of participants addressed the same issue that when the Chinese media reports crimes in relation to Chinese or other sensitive topics such as the Natural Dairy, journalists generally translate the news provided by the mainstream media given that they have no access to get first hand information. Due to limited English skills, the Chinese, particularly new immigrants, have a heavy consumption of Chinese media for information from the mainstream. However, in the Chinese news media, as Portia argues, "there are many translation errors when taken from English newspapers... and many translations are too subjective. Therefore, lack of accuracy and subjective reporting mislead the immigrants" (Interview 3).

Anne, manager of *UCP*, also claims that the news resource has been one of the critical issues since "the mainstream media by and large gets first hand information from the government whereas the Chinese does not have this advantage and it can be seen that the Chinese news media has not been gradually recognized by the mainstream public" (Interview 1).

However, the central point to the issues is of financial problem. In New Zealand, there are over twenty Chinese newspapers but most of them are freely distributed. Therefore, they have to rely a lot on the advertisements, to survive. In Mao's opinion, they are "not as professional as the mainstream, and most of them are limited to economic conditions. They are kind of family workshops" (Interview 3). Anne points out that the first issue for Chinese news media is of funding. As she suggests, "the news media should be a combination of capital and knowledge... the fund shortage may result in downsizing the staff as well as reducing the quality of newspapers" (Interview 1). Kylie Liu adds that "overseas Chinese media is run as a business and hence making money to survive has always been the first priority for shareholders... there is insufficient investment in the Chinese media which results in unprofessional reporting at times" (Interview 12).

It is obvious that the Chinese media has already realized the issues. To deal with them, there is a need for Chinese media to move towards greater convergence. Hence, it would be likely solve financial issues and also enhance the Chinese cohesion for better identity construction. Meanwhile, Chinese media workers should take responsibility to promote Chinese culture to the host society, to reduce the level of cultural differences.

In the mainstream media, as Mabbett asserts, "one of the biggest problems that hold back Chinese communities from getting more balanced and informed coverage is the shortage of Chinese journalists in the NZ news media"; he further suggests "young people to take up journalism ... so they can make a difference to how Chinese people are represented in the media" (Interview 2).

Teo (2000) expresses a similar account to tackle the racial portrayals and negative stereotypes in the white mainstream media:

Because of the role as interface between the discourse and society, the media has the power to resist and challenge, instead of merely reinforcing and reproducing, the social dominance of the elites. One way, of course, is to allow more minority voices and faces to be heard and seen in and through the media... (p. 44)

Both Mabbett and Teo's suggestions are valuable and would also inspire the Chinese media workers to make a change to adapt the alteration to mainstream media portrayal.

8.3 Future research directions

The thesis adopted the interview and CDA methods to discovering some aspects that previous studies might have not explored in the Chinese representation. However, the CDA analytic method is not just limited to the present study for a set of typical issues raised from the recent integration of Chinese immigration, but also bringing to the field of media studies for more research in the future. Thus, the qualitative method may help more findings from media research and identify the new trend of racial reporting in the mainstream media.

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*The Changing Representation of
the Chinese Diaspora in New Zealand Print Media*

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HERALD FILE PICTURE

Could middle NZ put on a parade?

Well-travelled tourists used to say that arriving in New Zealand was like stepping back 20-odd years: parochial attitudes, lack of flair, and tearooms rather than cafes.

Although it made us angry, New Zealanders could do nothing more than get defensive and suggest that those who were disappointed should go home. At last things are changing, in Auckland at least.

With the Asian Lantern Festival the weekend before last, the Hero Festival just gone and Pasifika coming up, Auckland feels like a real cosmopolitan city that can stand proud on the international circuit.

But as all these festivals become calendar fixtures rather than weeds to be uprooted, it's time to examine the irony and hypocrisy that they evoke.

The very festivals that give the Auckland summer colour and a real sense of community are not brought to us by the great unwashed of middle New Zealand. They are produced by the fringes of society, against which there is often prejudice.

At the Lantern Festival I noted many mainstream Caucasians experimenting and exploring the delights of Eastern culture, and wondered if these were the same ones who bemoaned the influx of immigrants from the east and "bloody Asian drivers."

I am both bemused and bored by hearing anti-Asian sentiment bubbling away below the surface of predominantly white New Zealand. I'm a Eurasian Kiwi, and people who should know better and who don't pick my heritage often confide in me their concern that the Asians are taking over our country.

I wish they would accept that Asian cultures are good for more than yum cha and fireworks. The Chinatowns and Japantowns of the world always make great cities even more interesting.

And then there is the furore that Hero seems to evoke every couple of years. Why should the bondage float (usually the biggest crowd pleaser) be tamed to placate a more traditional audience? This is not a family show and surely those who find it offensive should just stay out of Ponsonby for one night of the year.

Sure, it's great that Auckland now seems to love Hero, but it is still astounding that the council seems to tolerate rather than embrace the festivities.

And while over in the commercially savvy corner the parade now enjoys the support of big corporates, a cynic could suggest that these opportunistic



The way
we live now

SANDY BURGHAM

marketers are forcing usually straight-up and mainstream brands to camp it up for the night as a sop to the increasingly powerful pink dollar.

It certainly makes for good PR and, as for the crowd, they get the pleasure of watching heterosexuals masquerading as camp-wannabes to blend in with the proceedings.

A Ponsonby-dwelling friend of mine is a mother of two primary school-aged kids and took them to see the Hero Parade on Saturday night.

She offered an astute observation — the Hero Parade was becoming the equivalent of a Thanksgiving Parade for Aucklanders. Indeed, it seems to be just that, judging by the mix of folk in the throng on Saturday evening.

However, one does wonder if that's one hefty responsibility probably better shouldered by the Santa parade.

"And then there's Pasifika ... my favourite Auckland festival, and something that always has me wishing I were Polynesian, too."

I hope the balmy sub-tropical weather we've been having of late hangs around to greet this festival and to remind us that, like it or not, as a city, we are more connected to the islands than Mother England.

But again we hear Caucasian Kiwis too often dismiss Islander immigrants as simply a drain on society with nothing to add. I often wonder what these critics actually want — to accept only hand-picked attractive and intelligent Scandinavians as immigrants?

Remember when Waitangi Day became New Zealand Day for a while? What was that all about? Whatever, the shame of it is that the middle New Zealand mainstream does need its own cultural event that draws everyone together.

On a national level the closest we will come to it is when the All Blacks are having a run of good luck. On a city level I guess there's always the annual Round the Bays race to fall back on.

But these are mere sporting events, not vibrant celebrations of a culture. We continue to rely on the fringes to provide the cultural entertainment, while a central festival is sadly lacking.

Here's a

2. Lantern Festival shines a light on Auckland's many faces (9 Feb, 2004, Herald)

NEWS

The New Zealand Herald • Monday, February 9, 2004

A3

Shining a light on city's many faces

ENTERTAINMENT: Thousands enjoyed cultural diversity at the fifth annual Lantern Festival



"I like the idea of the Chinese keeping their culture alive."

David Newman



"New Zealand is the good life — we have more choice and freedom here."

Lina Hsieh



"I came here to look for new cultures but everything here is similar to China."

Rui Shi

The multicultural face of Auckland was on display at the weekend with thousands attending the annual Lantern Festival, a showcase of Chinese and other Asian cultures.

Arab women wearing veils and European tourists wearing sundials mingled with Chinese students wielding cameras, all entranced by the intricately designed lanterns.

The fifth annual Asia 2000 Lantern Festival marked the end of the Chinese New Year festivities and the beginning of the Year of the Monkey.

With so many cultures converging on the park, the festival was an opportunity for New Zealanders to gain more of an understanding of a culture often misunderstood.

Chinese people spoken to had different views on the treatment of Asians by New Zealanders.

"I feel so many Kiwis don't like Asians, especially the teenagers who sometimes are very rude," said Rui Shi, clutching a huge tray of stuffed muskies.

Ms Shi, a student who has lived in Auckland for two years, said she did not like the large number of Asians in the city.

"I came here to look for new cultures but everything here is similar to China."

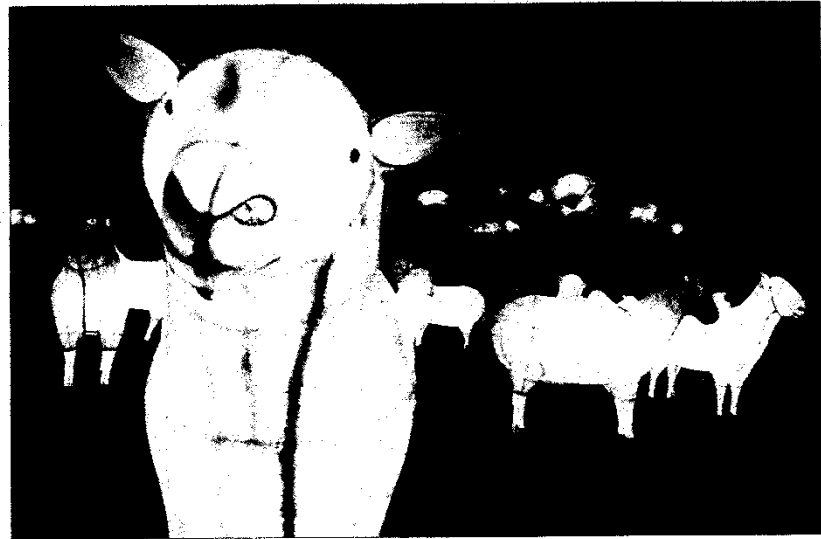
Lina Hsieh, who has lived in Howick for eight years, called herself a New Zealander.

She did not feel there was tension between New Zealanders and Asians.

"Everyone's friendly here. I was told when I first got here that some people were hostile, but I don't think that's anything to do with race. I just think it's a little misunderstanding."

This festival is an opportunity for us Asians to give back to the community.

"New Zealand is the good life — we have more choice and freedom



VARIETY SHOW: A touch of Kiwiana appears among the traditional Chinese lanterns that lit up Albert Park at the weekend.

PICTURE: DEAN PARCELL

here," the former Taiwan resident said.

English-born David Newman, who has lived in Auckland for nearly 40 years, said the festival was

a great chance to show how other people lived. "When I got here, I was told to forget about home and take on the New Zealand way of life, so I like the idea of the Chinese keeping

their culture alive," he said. Posnoby teenager Kristy Dixon thought more Chinese and other Asian festivals should be held to enhance cultural understanding.

"We see lots of Maori and Pacific Island festivals but not lots like this — we're a multicultural country and that's just the way New Zealand is."

— Natasha Harris

Schools braced for Mallard axe

Under review

Continued from A1

It goes for schools — and staff.

The National Education Union has given the ministry a list of schools it wants to stay open.

Some schools are still hoping to stay open. Kaitake School board chairman Sam Davis believed that he would go up, rather than down as expectations were going in.

"We've got our fingers crossed and especially the minister is listening," she said last night.

However, others have accepted their fate. At St. George's School, Brian Davies said that with a roll of

19, his school's closure was inevitable.

Just taken away, there is more tension over what happens to Marumutu School, which looks set to merge with at least one other school.

Marumutu School chairman Debbie Lynch said the community strongly supported a merger with Towai.

"As long as the merged schools were based at Marumutu."

"We know they can't stay the same, but the school brings the church and those who don't go to church together."

"So I don't think the community will just sit down and take it."

However, not everyone is living in dread of the decisions.

Pia Tupene, project manager for Te Reo o Te Taitokere, and Ngati Hine kaumatua Kevin Prime both held hopes that tonight would bring news of a merger of Orakau, Matawaia and Motutau into a new Ngati Hine school at Waiotapu.

Mr Tupene said a merger would make the schools, all with strong Maori-language components, stronger.

Mr Prime, the chairman of the Motutau School board, said historic reasons for setting up several schools in one area were not valid any more.

"We are not the same as we were 100 or 150 years ago when there was no good transport or roads and it made sense having a school here and there."

"Now our kids are so big and lazy. They go 20km down to the corner to catch the bus and say they can't walk or run because they'll get all sweaty."

"We used to get up at 4am and milk the cows and we had three miles to run to catch the bus. In my dad's time, they didn't even have a bus, they used to walk to school."

ON THE WEB
nzherald.co.nz/education

Schools in danger of being closed by the ministry.

CENTRAL NORTHLAND

Te Kura O Awanui — 19 pupils;

Hukerenui School — 128; Kawakawa School — 234; Maromaku School — 46; Te Kura o Motawaia — 15;

Moerewa School — 131; Motutau School — 32; Orakau School — 30;

Oria School — 106; Tauraro — 42;

Towai — 19; Te Kura Kaupapa Maori o Tauramere — 49;

RUSSELL PENINSULA

Russell School — 117; Waikare School — 37; Karetu School — 55;

Helena Bay School — 30; Punaruru School — 32; Ngaitongare Valley School — 23;

Telecom rivals unite to stir phone lines competition

TELECOMS: Consumers urged to complain over \$84 extra cost

KITSET HOMES

\$61,585 incl. gst

NZBS-208
© COPYRIGHT NZ BUILDING

4. Here's a great chance to snap dragons (9 Feb, 2006, *Herald*)

NEWS

nzherald.co.nz

Here's a great chance to snap dragons

Amateur photographers are in for feast of light and colour at Lantern Festival

by Julie Middleton

Whether it's a disposable or a digital model with all the extras, take your camera to this weekend's Auckland Lantern Festival in Albert Park, which opens this Friday night.

Anyone — whether novice or professional photographer — can enter a new competition which aims to capture the colour, flavour and people of the festival.

"Lantern" is run by organisers of the annual Auckland Festival of Photography, which takes place June 2-24 and is supported by the bridge-building Asia New Zealand Foundation which oversees the free festival in Auckland and Wellington.

Contest publicist Michelle Lafferty says the competition aims to capture the visitor's view of the popular three-night event.

The contest isn't necessarily about "flash cameras — we will be giving away some disposables," says Ms Lafferty. The closing date for winning images appear at the Aotearoa Centre during the annual photography festival.

The Lantern Festival, also known as the Spring Festival in China, signals the end of Lunar New Year festivities.

It is now one of New Zealand's largest cultural events. About 140,000 people packed into Albert Park and Princes St last year to view colourful lanterns hung from trees and sample food and cultural displays.

This is the seventh lantern festival to be held in Auckland, where schools are participating in a lantern-making competition.

A renowned dragon and lion dance group from Singapore will perform in this year's festival.

Craftsmen from Shanghai will demonstrate a traditional toffee maker, a dough figurine maker, a cut while-you-wait silhouette maker and a lantern-maker.

Toffee-makers are often a feature at New Year temple fairs, says Jennifer King, culture director of Asia NZ.

ON THE WEB
www.aucklandphotographyfestival.org.nz
www.asianz.org.nz



CULTURAL FEAST: Last year's show in Albert Park attracted more than 140,000 visitors. PICTURE/DEAN PURCELL

Graveyard repair major recipient of trust cash

by Julie Middleton

The largest grant from the new \$5 million Chinese Foll Tax Heritage Trust has gone towards restoration of deteriorated Chinese graves, some dating from the early 1900s, in a South Island

that a deceased person had several souls, one of which remained at the gravesite. The trust was set up with \$5 million of Government money last year.

It followed the Government's formal apology at Chinese New Year in 2002 to descendants of Cantonese settlers who

SAVINGS ON

SB ahead

o \$500
o apply.

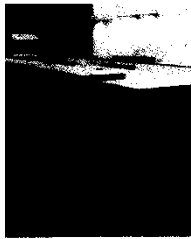
5. Lanterns by the hundred brilliant finale to festival (5 Mar, 2007, *Herald*)



of Mt Albert, was one of many thousands of visitors to admire the lanterns.

PICTURES / MARTIN SYKES

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Thousands in an entire range across New Zealand.

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Lanterns by the hundred brilliant finale to festival

Chinese New Year
celebrations finish
with a dazzling
flourish in city park

by James Ihaka

Albert Park was last night aglow with hundreds of lanterns before the lights went out on the Chinese New Year celebrations.

Organisers of this year's Auckland Lantern Festival believe close to 200,000 people attended the event — the most in its eight-year history.

Hundreds of specially made lanterns, effigies and lighting decorations made in China and imported for the weekend's event adorned trees and the park's few empty spaces.

The rest of the central city park was abuzz with singers, martial arts demonstrations, tea ceremonies, fortune tellers and many food stalls.

Since the Han Dynasty (206BC-AD 221), the Chinese lantern festival has been celebrated on the fifteenth day of the first month in the lunar year in the Chinese calendar.

The festival also celebrates the last day of the traditional Chinese New Year celebrations.

"It's basically like Christmas for the Chinese," said Janine Chin of the Asia New Zealand Foundation.

"This is the time of year when families get together and eat special foods, buy new clothes and everyone's nice to each other," said Ms Chin.

In ancient times the date once served as a day for matchmaking and was one of the few nights without a strict curfew.

Young people were chaperoned in the streets in hopes of finding love while matchmakers tried to pair couples.

The brightest lanterns were symbolic of good luck and hope.

Ms Chin heaped praise on the weather for making it their best event yet — she said more than 100,000 people were there on Saturday — and was hopeful next year's Auckland Lantern Festival would also be held at Albert Park.

"It's been great, there's been this lovely ambience and I don't think I have ever seen so many people taking snapshots."

» SEE ALSO
Chinese New Year celebrations
a reminder of family far away
— Lincoln Tan, A15



HAPPY TIME: Organisers revelled in the "lovely ambience" as crowds flocked to Albert Park to see the lanterns, representative of good luck and hope.



CALF

CHINESE NEW YEAR

Lighting the way for 2008

The Chinese New Year celebrations include the hugely popular Lantern Festival

Last year over 200,000 people attended the Lantern Festival at Albert Park and over the last eight years has grown into one of Auckland's major cultural events featuring lots of family entertainment, visiting performers and delicious food all in an amazing lantern atmosphere. This year the Festival takes place once again at Albert Park from the 22nd-24th of February from 5:30-10pm. Traditionally the Lantern Festival is held on the 15th day of Chinese Lunar New Year and celebrates the end of what is in China called the Spring Festival, or the Chinese New Year's Eve.

— Jennifer King from Asia New Zealand —
who along with Auckland City Council organise the event — says that this year the festival will feature a whole range of exciting new lanterns from China.

"Every year we bring in new lanterns from China to keep it nice and fresh. This year the biggest lantern is 23.5 metres long! Once again it's been a lovely event to work on."

Other lanterns are created in the form of animals, insects, flowers, people or even machines or buildings. Others depict scenes from popular stories teaching filial piety and traditional values. A favourite subject is the zodiac animal of the year – which in 2008 was the Rat. The Lantern Festival has its own special food called 'tang Yuan' – these are round glutinous rice dumplings with sweet or spicy fillings. The dumplings are said to symbolise both the first full moon and family unity and completeness.

The festival reaches it's climax at 10pm on the 24th when the most energetic performers come together in a final performance. Performers this year include drummers

This year, sponsor COSCO has shipped lanterns from Shanghai, Zigong in Sichuan Province and Haining in Zhejiang province. The Shanghai lanterns also include a large "galloping horse" lantern with a revolving cylinder in the middle, featuring Tang Dynasty poems and landscape paintings.

WONDERLAND: Albert Park is transformed by beautiful handcrafted Chinese lanterns.



Manitex light up dreams for the future

There are no admissions to the school. The school chooses its students. The school is designed to be involved in the curriculum. This is a fantastic opportunity for our students to enhance their quality and to experience an important tradition associated with Chinese New Year.

[illegible]

Cosco looks for

Cosco — one of the world's largest shipping companies and the world's 4th ranking container carrier — served New Zealand since May 1988.

The first to introduce fixed day weekly servicing of exporters and importers in 1991, the first to offer coas shipping as an integrated part of the International of shippings and a specialist in Chilled and Frozen cargo handling, Cosco is still ranked by clients in the top three performance and service.

Cosco offers services principally between Asian





LANTERN FESTIVAL



CELEBRATION: Helen Hagai (front, with blue lantern) says the festival has brought the family closer together.

PICTURE / GLENN JEFFERY

Islanders embrace old Chinese tradition

The Lantern Festival may have been a Chinese celebration since 206 BC, but in the last 10 years one Cook Islands family in Auckland has turned it into their tradition.

When asked if he knew the festival was a Chinese and not a Polynesian tradition, 10-year-old Denzel Hagai, who has seen his family assemble and sail thousands of paper lanterns every year since he was born, said: "But it's my tradition."

The Hagai family's love affair with the lantern started when mother Helen Hagai, a financial controller at Auckland City Council, volunteered to help

at the first festival in 1996. "I put up my hands when the council asked for volunteers, but I had absolutely no clue to what the festival was all about, but it sounded interesting," Ms Hagai said. Unsure about what to expect, and being a new mother to Denzel, Ms Hagai roped in the help of her family.

Which included her mother, six siblings and their children. The paper lanterns, made from red and yellow paper, are a traditional Chinese festival, but in the Cook Islands, it is now a multicultural society, and everybody mixes.

Denzel has a favourite lantern which was a gift from the festival organisers. That he takes to the festival every year, but it is his dream to

one day get a lantern designed specially for the family.

It is a Chinese belief that celestial spirits roam free in the light of the first full moon of the lunar calendar, and the lantern is used to help them search for these spirits.

Each year, the Lantern Festival is held in the city of Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan, and more recently New Zealand, to mark the end of Chinese New Year.

It is also referred to as Chinese Valentine's Day because it gave girls and boys a rare chance to go out to mingle at night.

It will be held in Auckland from February 6 to 8 at Albert Park.

th repair bar 135pc

FOOTPATH COSTS

Costs have risen from \$121,200 per km in 2006 to \$285,000 this year.

- Reasons include:
- 70 per cent of vehicle crossings need to be replaced against 2006 estimate of 20 per cent.
 - Kerb and channel work has also been underestimated.
 - Officers estimated a 1.8m width in 2006. The norm is 2.2m.
 - Officers excluded professional costs from the 2006 report.
 - Construction costs have risen 27 per cent in the interim.



LY: Upgrading work is proving pricey for Auckland City.

let cuts will take it back to the mid of the flatiron. Ken Bauley, who said he had asked council officers Christmas for answers the increased cost of footpath

als, but had not had any

in seriously concerned how any could do from an upgrade cost-

0,000 in 2006 and we come to the annual plan and it's \$285,000 per

ty," Mr Bauley said. has suggested moving from an

ing services, professional services manager Neil Foran. The report was reviewed by traffic and roading services manager Kelly Smith and approved by Dr McPherson and Dr

the council to introduce a "consistent look and feel" of exposed black con-

crete. Officers used the 20 per cent figure of vehicle crossing replacements as an argument against continuing with red-chip footpaths in character

suburbs. Red chip footpaths, they argued, would require more new

crossings and more frequent renewals.

John Fallowe contractors had won a competitive tender to do the work

and its performance was monitored annually by an independent auditor, which had found continued improve-

ment over the past four years. The foot-

path contracts would be put to another

competitor tender in July, he said.

Mr Munro said the 27 per cent in-

8. Love is in the air for city's Chinese Lantern Festival (26 Feb, 2010, Herald)

ld.co.nz/auckland

opening will ease travel for motorists

finally on their way out

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above-expected KiwiRail through through ridge Rd gym. 2k duplicat market and action of 1 remain t drivers

will after the weekend no longer face frequent added delays from level-crossing barrier arms.

They will also have free passage to and from the eastern end of the Lynn Mall shopping centre, between Ward St and Veronica St, at that route will lose its level crossing as well.

The Clark-Rankin intersection previously featured a roundabout which became notorious for the railway line which ran through it.

Although the Treasury initially opposed the rail trench, a sceptical Labour Finance Minister at the time, Michael Cullen, was persuaded to con-

FINAL LINK IN THE CHAIN

■ From Monday trains will roll along a single set of tracks from a temporary station inside the new \$180 million railway trench.

■ KiwiRail will lay duplicate tracks in June through the 800m trench between Portage Rd and the western end of New Lynn.

mit \$120 million of Government funds to the project after Mr Harvey and New Lynn MP David Cunliffe led him to the roundabout in rush-hour traffic.

Mr Harvey said the demise of the

■ A new permanent station and above-ground bus interchange are expected to open in September.

■ This will complete the entire western line track duplication project between Newmarket and Swanson.

level crossing would help to pave the way for the redevelopment of New Lynn as a 21st century growth centre.

He recalled warning Dr Cullen that without the trench, worsening road

congestion from traffic heading to or from the new Mt Roskill motorway extension would "stop the West" and he praised National for continuing with the project.

His city council has also contributed \$20 million to the trench, and more than \$50 million for associated civic developments, and the Government's liability rose to \$140 million in 2008 after a late design change to cope with wet ground conditions.

That delayed a start to the project by six months, although it took only that long for 88,000 cubic metres to be dug for the trench, after nine months of elaborate enabling works including moving water mains and other underground service lines.

A level crossing in Portage Rd near the eastern entrance to the trench will remain closed until the end of March to allow major surface alterations, but new road bridges built for Waitakere City over the railway tracks as extensions of Memorial Drive and Hetaua St will open in coming months.

KiwiRail says building the extra track capacity through New Lynn "positions public transport well for post-economic recovery because the global recovery is likely to push fuel prices up".

The recent opening of a supermarket on "the wrong side of the tracks" from New Lynn's town centre is seen as an early vote of confidence in the project.

CHINESE NEW YEAR

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LANTERN FESTIVAL

■ Where: Albert Park, central Auckland.

■ When: Today until Sunday night.

■ What: Lantern displays, live performances, food fair, ethnic stalls, firecrackers and fireworks. Free.

YEAR OF THE TIGER: This special lantern has been shipped in from Shanghai.

PICTURE: © BARAH IVEY

Love is in the air for city's Chinese lantern festival

by Lincoln Tan
ethnic affairs reporter

For Malaysian Estelle Goh and her Hong Kong boyfriend Tim Chan, this weekend will be when they celebrate Valentine's Day.

And like Estelle and Tim, many other ethnic Chinese will also be setting on the lantern festival, also known as Chinese Valentine's Day, for an opportunity to get a second shot at celebrating the day of love and romance after February 14 coincided with the

first day of Chinese New Year.

"We had to fulfil our family tradition and obligations by attending our respective family functions, and couldn't be together on Valentine's Day," said Miss Goh, 19, who has been dating Mr Chan for six months.

"The lantern festival, or Chinese Valentine's Day, gives us the perfect second chance for us to celebrate our love."

Auckland's lantern festival, which is into its 11th year, starts this evening at Albert Park and runs until Sunday.

Coinciding with the 15th day of the first month of the lunar calendar, which falls on Sunday, it also marks the closing of Chinese New Year festivities.

In Miss Goh's native Malaysia, single women used to parade with lanterns and throw mandarin into rivers or the sea, believing it would bring them luck in finding a husband.

Lantern festivals, known as yuan xiao jie, have been celebrated by the Chinese since the Han Dynasty in 206BC, and Auckland is one of the few

places outside Asia to have a public celebration.

Organisers Asia New Zealand Foundation said it was expecting record crowds after more than 150,000 people attended last year.

The foundation pointed out that this is the Chinese Year of the Tiger.

"The tiger is a sign of courage, revered in the old days as the sign that wards off the three main disasters of a household — fire, thieves and ghosts." Some lanterns had been shipped to Auckland from Shanghai, including a

tiger lantern to mark the year.

The festival will also feature performances by local and Chinese troupes, including one of Shanghai's top music ensembles, Moon, Beijing's Mongolian folk rock group Hanggai and rolling lantern folk dancers from Southern China.

Auckland University professor of Asian studies Manying Ip says the local festival has played a "pivotal role" in promoting an important aspect of Chinese culture to mainstream New Zealanders.

d' and council pay



N'S CITY

cheap shots from. Billionaire rivals, ended by claiming council have voted 4 pay rise past month's tion's demise. It took "While the facts are true story.

In the end of the

2010". He added that "the raison d'être of the Remuneration Authority's role in setting the remuneration of elected representatives and statutory officers is to remove the political responsibility and associated pressure from those persons". Despite this plea, the 15 councils held firm and the authority agreed that, given the special circumstances, they needn't take the pay increase. The other 70 councils did. Mr Banks' council actually funded the issue, squirrelling away the "olive-branch" in a special money box.

The Mayor's conservative Citizens and Ratepayers allies had wanted the equivalent amount siphoned off into a special fund to pay for a sculpture — whether of Mr Banks, or what, is not clear. The leftish minority wanted the cash in hand. The compromise was to put the contribution payment into a special pool in



[illegible]

10. Suitcase murder victim very nice guy says flatmate (18 Apr, 2006, Herald)

NEWS

NEWS

The New Zealand Herald Tuesday, April 18, 2006 A3

Suitcase murder victim very nice guy: flatmate

Midnight text message last time friend heard from Wan Biao before body found in harbour

by Leoni King and Louise Chene

A former of Wan Biao, the Chinese student found dead in a suitcase in the Whangarei Harbour, has spoken about the victim, saying he was a "very nice guy".

The friend spoke to the man, who declined to be named, at the inquest on Monday. Mr Wang, who lived with Wan Biao, said he had received a text message from Mr Wang around midnight on Wednesday saying he would like to come out and play.

He turned down the invitation because he was tired and the text he received from Mr Wang was on a Sunday when he was at work. He said he did not know where Mr Wang was at the time.

The body of Mr Wang, a former Chinese language student, was found inside a suitcase in the harbour on June 19.

Police yesterday confirmed that he was last seen at home as sign on that he had left. Mr Wang was a student at the University of Waikato, where he was studying for a degree in Chinese.

Mr Wang had been planning to go to Canada to work, but had not yet received his visa. He had been in New Zealand for about two months.

He was described as a quiet, friendly, and hardworking young man. He was 25 years old and was from Beijing.



Wan Biao

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HOME: The apartment where Wan Biao lived

Biker deaths take toll to five

by Nicola Davis

The road toll for biker deaths at City Centre, one of the busiest roads in the city, has risen to five.

Three biker deaths were reported in the last 12 months, bringing the total to five.

The most recent death occurred on Monday night when a motorcyclist was killed in a collision with a car on State Highway 1 near Pukekohe.

The victim was a 35-year-old man from Auckland.

Secret \$1.1m offer received for Upham's medals

Government unlikely to allow sale of double Victoria Cross earned in WWII

by Mike Hosking

A national cabinet is unlikely to allow a record price of more than \$1 million to be paid for the double Victoria Cross won by New Zealand war hero Charles Upham.

The offer, which was made by a private collector, was rejected by the cabinet.

Mr Upham, who died in 1981, is one of three people to have been awarded two Victoria Crosses.

The medals were awarded to him for his actions during the Battle of Monte Cassino in 1944.

The offer, which was made by a private collector, was rejected by the cabinet.

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HOME LOANS FROM

7.5%

P.A.
fixed for 2 years.

Court bans mussel farm to protect walkers' views

The Environment Court has ruled against a proposed mussel farm in the Whangarei Harbour, saying it would harm the views of the area.

The court said the farm would be a "visual blight" on the landscape.

GE Money

dream it,

INSIDE
TIMEOUT
 The man behind the mission

REVIEW
 The Kiwi who took on the terrorists
 B3

CANVAS
 Frances Mayes: Beyond the Tuscan sun

BUSINESS
 Mystery queen of Kathmandu
 C1

HERALDHOMES
 Luxury living in Manukau

REGULAR FEATURES
 TV listings: TIMEOUT 30-31
 Crosswords: TIMEOUT 13
 Weather: D14
 Sudoku puzzles: C20, B11

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING
 EMPLOYMENT: C18
 MOTORING: C19
 Real Estate: C20
 Personal Services: C21
 General Advertising: C22

Murdered student's family fly in today

Detectives eliminate some leads in suitcase victim case and extend inquiries overseas

KILLING WORRIES NZ CHINESE

BY LOUISA CLEAVE

THE FAMILY of murdered student Wan Biao arrived in New Zealand today to collect his body for burial. The body was found in a suitcase and thrown into the Waitemata Harbour on Good Friday.

A 21-year-old student has been charged with kidnapping and murder. Two other men have also been charged with kidnapping and murder.

Mr Wan's body was found in a suitcase after a call was made to his parents in China demanding an \$800,000 ransom. His parents are not travelling to New Zealand for cultural reasons, but a cousin is coming.

Police will not say how many people they are still seeking in connection to the murder, but they are thought to have left Auckland. Detective Inspector Neil Halpin said the four suspects' names had been checked, but he would not say if anyone wanted by police had left the country.

"Some countries don't have their centralised recording systems, and the readiness to share the information is not the same," he said. That line of inquiry was now concluded.

The suitcase murder has been a popular topic on local Chinese websites, some of which have been taken down. Home owners are concerned for their safety.

One, using the name Fish Face, wrote: "You, evil killer... I receive calls every day from my home in China, and I am on the edge of becoming mad."

Police said the impact on Chinese students in New Zealand was not as serious as it seemed. "It is the time for those students, who do not want to study, and who think of making big money to be rich, to wake up."

It is understood the women were in the area around the time the suitcase containing Mr Wan's body was taken from the Elliot St Apartments Hotel. A room in the four-star facility has been cordoned off.

Police said yesterday that they had security footage of a group of men wheeling the suitcase from a hotel. Mr Wan arrived in New Zealand last August and completed a course through the Auckland Colleges Group and Auckland University of Education.

He lived with five other Chinese students in an apartment in Cook St. Mr Hollaway said Mr Wan did not have a lot of friends in New Zealand, but kept in touch with his family and friends in China by email.

The demand for a Chinese-made on a local website that Mr Wan was a heavy gambler who became involved with a gang through SkyCity casino.

"We're aware that he sometimes went to the casino for a splash but I've heard it made a big deal out of it," Mr Hollaway said. "The police have not been able to contact Chinese authorities."

Mr Hollaway said police had not spoken to the Chinese embassy in Auckland where that information came from.

Mr Wan had a good attendance record at school and was a serious student who wanted to study at Auckland University, he said.

His parents live in the city of Yiwu, a city of 2.5 million people. A Chinese journalist who visited their home wrote that it appeared "Mr Wan's family situation is very, very good".

The official Yiwu City website has warned parents of international students not to show off wealth.

Additional reporting: Neustack 28



PRIVATE: Act MP Heather Roy in a Territorial Force uniform. She leaves today for six weeks training.

Army life looks good to Act MP

AT 42 years of age, it was now never.

Act MP Heather Roy leaves today for six weeks training in the Territorial Force.

Ms Roy, who had been the Minister of Education for some time, but with five children growing up had felt she could not take time away from her family.

With her youngest child, Jack, 10, the time was right.

Ms Roy, 42, it's now never really.

A long-time gym goer and keen tramp, she passed the required fitness test without a struggle.

"To get in I had to do a 2.4km run within 14 minutes and 10 seconds," she said.

She also had to do press-ups and sit-ups — the number is determined by person's age and sex.

She had to do about eight press-ups but did 24. She easily passed the requirement for 40 sit-ups with 100 extra.

She also had to do press-ups and sit-ups — the number is determined by person's age and sex.

"The fitness part wasn't hard, but it was a bit of a shock to the system," she said.

Ms Roy had spoken to the Special Forces about the possibility of joining the Territorial Force.

Her parliamentary work is being covered by others and she cleared



12. Two jailed for 18 years for chilling murder (6 Dec, 2007, *Herald*)

13. Qian a quiet, lovely and caring girl (20 Sep, 2007, *Herald*)

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Foster family say Qian still asks for the mummy she will never see again

MELBOURNE - Somewhere in a Melbourne suburb yesterday 3-year-old Qian Xun Xue clutched a new doll and played with her three new foster siblings as her world finally collapsed around her.

Qian Xun, the foundling known as Pumpkin following her abandonment in Melbourne by her fugitive father, still asks for the mother she will never see again.

While Pumpkin played, police found a body believed to be that of Qian Xun's 28-year-old mother, An An Xue, in the boot of a Honda painted in the livery of the *Chinese Times* newspaper, owned by father Nai Xin Xue.

As the discovery was made, maternal grandmother Liu Xiao Ping was waiting in Hunan for approval of her application for an exit visa, and expecting a call from the Department of Child, Youth and Family Services in Wellington to discuss flying to either New Zealand or Australia to be with Qian.

In Melbourne, the Children's Court



**GREG
ANSLEY**
in Australia

made an interim order requiring that Qian remain in foster care under the supervision of the Victorian Department of Human Services for the next three weeks.

What will happen after that remains in doubt: authorities on both sides of the Tasman were yesterday unable to give any clear answer to the questions of jurisdiction surrounding the future of a New Zealand child with a missing mother resident in New Zealand but a Chinese citizen, abandoned in Australia by a Chinese-New Zealand father on the run in the United States.

Officials said a decision would be

GRANDMOTHER SEE

Qian Xun Xue and her grandmother are set for an emotional reunion on New Zealand soil.

Authorities here and in Australia are working to reunite Liu Xiao Ping with her granddaughter in the country Qian knows as home.

Liu Xiao Ping has been told of the discovery of a body by police searching for her daughter An An (Annie) Liu. It is understood she is also aware that her missing son-in-law is being hunted in relation to a homicide investigation.

"No matter what has happened to An An we must take Qian Xue back. My husband and my family, we want her to grow healthy. That is our biggest wish," Liu Xiao Ping told TVNZ.

The *Herald* understands she has applied for papers to leave China to

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Since her discovery at the foot of an escalator at Melbourne's Southern Cross railway station on Saturday morning, childcare workers and a new foster family have been working to

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Qian a 'quiet, lovely and caring' girl

Qian Xue was a softly spoken, caring little girl who loved baking and playing dress-ups, say her daycare supervisors.

The 3-year-old, known as Claire by her peers and teachers, attended Bambinos Day Care in St Lukes.

Director Ketj Grgicevich said Qian spend most of her time in the "family corner" at the daycare.

"She liked quiet activities, like painting, baking and dress-ups. She was very motherly. She was very quietly spoken, she had a lovely nature and cared about her friends. She never cried or complained."

Ms Grgicevich said Qian had

about three close friends with whom she spent most of her time, two of them Chinese children.

Qian's English was quite good but two Chinese staff members would sometimes speak to her in Chinese.

She was always "immaculately dressed", usually in jeans and a nice top but sometimes dresses.

Ms Grgicevich said her mother, An An, usually dropped her daughter off and Qian was always happy to see her at the end of the day.

Her father, Nai Yin Xue, occasionally picked Qian up but didn't speak much English.

The daycare was aware of the family violence issues and social

workers would check with them often on Qian's progress.

Ms Grgicevich said Qian was enrolled at the daycare in February. At the end of July her mother took her to China.

When they returned in August An An tried to re-enrol her but the daycare was full. Ms Grgicevich last talked to An An on September 3 to say there was an opening. Qian was due to start back on Monday.

"We were really upset to hear about this. We feel so much for Claire, she is a lovely little girl. I wish we knew what was going to happen to her, we would love to have her back here with us in New Zealand." — Alanah May Eriksen

1 Bedrooms

Median Price Variance

006 2007 %

380 \$500 32%

590 \$545 11%

600 \$550 10%

425 \$450 6%

480 n/a

480 n/a

va n/a

365 \$392 7%

420 \$465 11%

400 \$467 17%

355 n/a

385 n/a

385 \$550 -6%

150 \$500 11%

430 \$500 16%

400 \$435 9%

317 \$555 7%

325 \$600 14%

570 \$550 -4%

360 \$825 25%

750 \$700 -7%

175 \$657 14%

480 \$395 4%

480 \$500 0%

170 \$450 7%

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BINGO**

ON YOUR GAME CARD AGAINST THE WINNING
GAME CARD REQUIRED TO PLAY.

The winning numbers below are only valid for the game and date specified

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SEPTEMBER 23, 2007 HERALD ON SUNDAY

SUNDAY INSIGHT 23

THE PUMPKIN CASE



TRAGEDY Clockwise from left: An An Liu with Qian Xun Xue; Nal Yin Xue; An An Liu smiling; and the family home on Mt Kaitake, with the car An An's body was found in

SHATTERED DREAMS

An An Liu was a dreamer who spent years looking for love. As **Stephen Cook** reports, she fell for the wrong man in a marriage that was doomed from the start.

LIKE COUNTLESS Chinese migrants before her, 27-year-old An An Liu arrived here with a suitcase — and some big dreams. For her, the “Nuzelle” in the glossy travel brochures was an unspoiled paradise where dreams just might come true. But consumed by loneliness and kept virtually a prisoner in her own home, her passport hidden by her husband, An An's short time in New Zealand would end in misery — killed and dumped in the boot of the family sedan outside their Auckland home. For those who knew An An and her 54-year-old husband Nal Yin Xue, her death came as little surprise. Many, such as long-time family friend David Ma, had seen warning signs. Xue, the self-professed kung fu expert, had an explosive temper, Ma remembers, and would regularly let fly at An An.

Xue arrived in New Zealand in the mid-1980s from Fushan in China's Liaoning province, eager to prove himself, first as a martial arts expert and then as a businessman.

He was fairly ordinary at both. On one occasion he invited people to come along and pit their martial arts skills against his. A large Pacific Islander took up the challenge — and beat Xue easily.

“He was an extremely arrogant and rude individual,” Ma said. “He made out he was a martial arts expert, but there were always questions over that.” “He was not well liked, Annie [An An] would hear the brunt of much of his disappointment with life.”

Ma still remembers the demure “wee girl” he met back in Changsha many years ago. “She was a lovely girl. It's such a shame this has happened.”

Located in the river valley on the Xiang River, Changsha is the capital of the Hunan Province — a booming middle-class city that has profited from China's double-digit economic growth.

But for An An, born to modestly wealthy parents, nothing could stop the lure of seeking her fortune overseas. New Zealand with its easy-going climate of tolerance seemed like the promised land.

It had everything, and with a little hard work it could be hers — or so she thought.

An An arrived in New Zealand in 2002 as a 22-year-old language student, but grasping English was more difficult than she imagined.

Making friends was even harder. While Auckland's fast-growing Chinese population now stands at 8 per cent — equivalent to the city's Maori population — many new arrivals like An An find themselves alone and isolated. The Chinese community keep to themselves and language difficulties prevent many from forming friendships and relationships with New Zealanders.

For An An the pressure was starting to mount. She failed to earn the required marks to further her English language studies at university — and before long her money had run out.

She contemplated returning home, but was worried about “losing face” among friends and family.

A chance meeting with Xue in early 2003 provided a sense of salvation. He found her work and a place to live and despite the 27-year age gap, romance soon blossomed.

Crucially, her relationship with Xue allowed her to join New Zealand residency.

But it was a union always destined to fail. At 50, Xue was a year older than An An's mother and was far from a model father. Four years earlier he

had abandoned eldest daughter Grace, then 19, later claiming it was she who had actually run away from him.

“To Annie, Xue seemed successful and very athletic,” Ma said. “He was a martial arts expert and quite an accomplished writer. It was these things that made up for the difference in their ages. It was important she marry a capable man.”

“She loved him. Was she in love with him? I'm not sure she was initially, but in time she did.”

Just months after meeting the couple exchanged vows at an Auckland registry office. Annie was three months pregnant at the time.

THE COUPLE bought a home in Penrose in December 2003 and friends say for a time they appeared happy and content.

When their daughter Qian Xun Xue arrived, Xue was said to be “disappointed” she was not a boy but “loved her all the same.”

Around that time he established the New Zealand Energy Kung Fu Association, an organisation he believed would give him the social status in Auckland he so craved.

“He was a very adoring father. I have no doubt he truly, truly loved her,” Ma said.

But the bills were piling up. Three years earlier Xue had spent three months in Los Angeles teaching tai chi to students who'd answered his advertisement in a Chinese language newspaper. He was found to have lied about his qualifications, boasting he was the best in the world at wu-style tai chi.

In Auckland he also claimed to be a “grandmaster”, but there was little

interest in his brand of tai chi and before long he was forced to sell the Penrose house to offset debts.

Losing the family home proved a major embarrassment.

With nowhere else to turn, Xue and An An were forced to share a flat in Dominion Rd with several of Xue's students.

“He had been talking himself up around the place so this was certainly a blow to his pride,” Ma said.

At this time Ma recalls Xue becoming increasingly violent.

One night Xue turned up to cover a Chinese piano recital for the newspaper and lashed an usher who asked him not to take flash photographs of the pianist.

Financially, things were improving. An An was working and before long they were able to save enough to move out of Dominion Rd and into a rented property in New Lynn.

But by now the marriage was in real difficulty.

Things came to a head in September 2006 in another heated argument over the couple's finances.

It ended in Xue attacking An An with a knife and punching her several times in the head. Qian Xun, aged just 2, was also hit with a mobile phone after it ricocheted off a wall.

Child Youth and Family became involved and a protection order was issued against Xue, while An An and Qian Xun were moved to the Shakti Asian Women's Refuge.

Shila Nair from the refuge remembers An An well.

Privacy concerns prevent her from talking about the case in detail, but she confirmed An An and her daughter spent a month in their care

after arriving one night blackened and bruised. Like many Chinese women in her situation, she had nowhere else to go, Nair said.

While at the shelter An An obtained protection and parenting orders against Xue in the hope she could finally erase him from her life. In November she returned with her daughter to Changsha and, fearing Xue would try to find her, she asked the airline not to reveal where she had fled to.

Two days later he rang the airline demanding her flight details.

Ma said: “I remember asking Xue where his wife had gone and he explained she'd gone back to China for a time. We didn't think much of it. No one in his circle was suspicious.”

Why An An returned to New Zealand in February this year is unclear, as are the reasons why she resumed contact with Xue.

Ma thinks part of the reason was the fact he had acquired the *Chinese Times* for little or no money.

“To Annie that [social standing] was very important,” Ma said. “She was also a good writer and he took her on as a reporter.”

The couple were still living apart, but took their daughter to dance classes once a week.

Joanna Chen, from the New Zealand Golden Season Dance Academy in Royal Oak, remembers the couple well. “They seemed very normal. They mostly came together and he would wait in the car while Annie was inside with Qian,” he recalled.

But while An An was in regular contact with Xue she was pining for friendship with her “hard, uncontrollable and lonely life.”

She found it with a Wellington artist, moving to the capital to begin a short-lived liaison with the married man. “He is a married man, even has

● CONTINUED p24

police are adequately resourced to deal with cases within immigrant communities where cultural and language barriers stand in the way of easy resolution. But the case of little Qian Xun will require a lot of work long after what happened to her mother and father has been explained.

conservative Christianity is minimal here. Those behind the "launch" are entitled to their faith that this is not so. But they need to ensure that the whole choir is singing from the same hymnal.

and "Mickey Mouse" were entered. Within 48 hours, Copeland who, as a man already in Parliament, might have been regarded as something of an asset, walked away. United this wasn't. The party launch

was being disestablished in favour of a "united" Christian party. Lewis, they said, would be one co-leader but the identity of the other remained a mystery. It didn't take long

so that the decision to do things right will be a conscious, deliberate one. Those behind the announcement of a new Christian political party this week have certainly availed themselves

questions to be asked about the conduct of the investigation. The inescapable arithmetic of international travel — the time taken to get from the station in Melbourne's Docklands to the airport, check in, board and fly from Melbourne to Los Angeles — argues that at least a dozen

When tolerance is taken to extremes

IF THERE'S one evil that crosses all cultures, it's the violence of a rejected husband. As the saga about abandoned 3-year-old Qian Xun and her slaughtered mother unfolded this week, we saw yet again the male attitude, "If I can't have the bitch, no one else will".

Friends of the girl's father, Nai Yin Xue, told media he was depressed because his wife, An An Liu, didn't love him any more and had tried to leave him. Sadly, statistics show that women are in more danger when they leave violent husbands or partners than if they stay to be beaten.

Why didn't these "friends" tell police Xue was talking about killing his wife, especially since he had a conviction for violence against this woman?

I'll bet Xue checked and compared New Zealand and Australia's extradition laws before he disappeared. Australian authorities have already confirmed that abandoning a child in that country is not an extraditable offence.

Under New Zealand's Extradition Act, the barrier is much lower than Australia's. The accused need only be charged with an offence carrying a sentence of no less than 12 months' imprisonment.

Murder is extraditable, of course, but how to find the suspect now? We had our chance when he was convicted of assault this year after breaching a protection order.

This case has interesting legal

DEBORAH CODDINGTON
Columnist
A New Zealand father escapes his troubles by discarding his child in a foreign country as if she were nothing more than excess baggage.



KILLED: An An Liu was found in the boot of Nai Yin Xue's car this week after little Qian Xun Xue was abandoned in Australia by her father.

not be recognised until her photograph was broadcast. By that time, this evil father was thousands of miles away in the United States.

Meanwhile, the body of his young wife, An An, who apparently married him to be granted permanent residency, has been found stuffed in the boot of his car.

National MP Pansy Wang, who met Xue, says he was well known in the Chinese community, but had financial problems.

Not too poor, however, to pay around \$6000 for his tickets. Not too glum, either, to prevent the ruthless planning of a particularly callous act.

Internationally, how does this make us look? A New Zealand father

We have more than enough rapists, murderers, child-abusers and wife-beaters in this country, born here, and whom we have no choice but to keep.

Nonetheless, we insist on welcoming more scum, like refugee Mohyadin Farah, who served time in jail in his native Kenya, and has racked up serious convictions since he was welcomed here. Or Abdirashid Syaad Hirsi, another refugee granted residency status, described as a violent criminal who attacks women, back in jail this week after attacking a woman with his wheelchair.

The UN Convention on the Status of Refugees specifically states a refugee can be expelled if convicted of a serious crime, but we ignore that because we're "tolerant".

No doubt I'll be called racist, and for all I care anyone can report me to the Press Council again, but I'm going to say this because I know many New Zealanders who weren't born here, but who love this country, agree with me.

Isn't it about time we brought in legislation to the effect that any migrants — not just refugees — who choose to become citizens of New Zealand are automatically kicked out if they're convicted of a criminal offence within a specified time of gaining residency?

How many more women and children, including the innocent ones whom we welcome to this country, will be killed or damaged before we start discriminating against those who refuse to obey the law?

Abandoned little girl and body in boot of

Court reporter Andrew Koubaridis looks at the case of Nai Yin Xue in the latest in his week-long series on the big trials of last year



NAI YIN XUE

- **Where:** High Court at Auckland.
- **When:** June/July.
- **Charges:** One count of murder.
- **Verdict:** Guilty.
- **Sentence:** Life in prison (12-year minimum).

The sight of little Qian Xue standing alone, abandoned at a busy Melbourne railway station by her father who left her and walked away without even a backwards glance was a scene that shocked most New Zealanders.

So too was the one outside her family's Mt Roskill, Auckland, home where the body of her mother, An An Liu, lay in the boot of her husband's car for days undiscovered by police who hadn't opened it because they didn't have a search warrant.

Her husband, and the girl's father, Nai Yin Xue, became one of New Zealand's best known fugitives. A Chinese-language newspaper publisher by day and a martial arts expert by night, he fled to the United States and stayed under the radar for months until he was caught by a group of Asian Americans who recognised him from media reports.

They seized him, tied him up and called police. He was extradited to New Zealand, setting the scene for one of the country's most high-profile murder trials.

Xue continued to deny strangling his wife. But his lie, carrying his DNA,

character — his mood swings and jealousy in particular — was presented to the jury. He'd threatened his wife before and was convicted of domestic violence a year before she died after he punched her in the head and menaced her with a knife.

That incident caused her to move to a woman's shelter and eventually to Wellington. Xue is said to have broken into the building where she was staying, creeping around in the dark as he looked for her armed with an axe.

With the prosecution case over, the defence was able to outline what it said happened to An An Liu.

It wouldn't be enough to simply deny involvement. So Xue accused his wife of extramarital sex and threatened his lawyer. Chief Judge Sackey suggested the death could have been the result of a tragic accident, not a crime.

The suggestion was An An Liu died as a result of automobile asphyxiation and her body was dumped by her terrified lover. Xue's car to frame him or to dispose of the body quickly.

The female jury didn't take long to reject this story, finding him guilty of murder.



NEW ZEALAND'S BIGGEST CRUISE SALE

Child porn search for victims 'di

Internal Affairs says violent and average

by Ellen Dorset

Children only months old are being targeted by New Zealand's child pornography offenders, as they continue

15 NEWS

JUNE 29, 2008 HERALD ON SUNDAY



SON MOURNS: Weimin Huang, 8, holds a picture of his slain mother.

DOUG SHERRING

Loved mum farewelled

By Michelle Coursey and Portia Mao

FAMILY AND friends of murder victim Joanne Wang laid her to rest yesterday with a plea that her death "wakes up" New Zealand.

The 39-year-old was run down in front of her 8-year-old son Weimin Huang in the car park at Westfield Manukau after her bag was snatched from her on June 16. She died in hospital the following day.

A 21-year-old Otara man has been charged with murder and four others have been arrested for their alleged involvement in her death. Police are hunting two more men.

At Joanne's funeral at the Manukau Memorial Gardens, family and friends spoke of her "sacrifice".

The celebrant said she wanted the death to "wake up this country" to the impact of violent crime.

The service, which was delivered in Chinese and English, began with mourners being given an opportunity to view Joanne, and pay their respects to her husband and son, who was wearing a white sash around his waist as a mark of respect.

The boy, who stayed close to his father, carried a large photograph of his smiling mother into the chapel before the service. The image was placed on a table at the head of the room alongside traditional offerings of apples and flowers.

Joanne was born in the Shanxi province of China, but moved to New Zealand 12 years ago. She married her husband, Allan Huang, in 1999 and they owned three Hollywood bakeries around Auckland.

More than 200 people, including St John ambulance staff and former customers, attended the service, which was followed by a private family burial.

Joanne's older brother, Jie Wang, wept as he told mourners his "lovely sister" had made him "the luckiest person in the world. But I am the saddest person in the world because you left me," he said.

Her widower made a tearful speech, thanking police and saying his wife was an intelligent, hardworking woman.

A slideshow of family photographs showed her on holiday with her husband and playing happily on a beach with her son.

Forced to sell up

By Carolyn Meng-Yee

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SUNDAY 29TH

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**TOP BRANDS, MEI
FOOTWEAR, APPAREL,
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Victim 'in wrong place at wrong time'

by Andrew Koubardis
court reporter

Joanne Wang chased an alleged thief across a carpark before he leaped into a stolen car and accelerated towards her, knocking her to the ground and leaving her with a fatal head injury, a court was told.

The 39-year-old businesswoman had been at the Manukau shopping centre on June 16, 2008 with her 8-year-old son Edmund and planned to meet her brother who had just arrived from the United States.

It was a break in her usual routine, Crown prosecutor Christine Gordon SC said yesterday, and it put her in "the wrong place at the wrong time".

At that time, just after 3.30pm, Christopher Jacob Junior Shadrock, 23, and five associates were in two cars circling the carpark "looking for a handbag to steal".

Shadrock and the other accused yesterday went on trial at the High Court at Auckland. He is accused of murdering Ms Wang and stealing her handbag. "Mrs Wang should have been able to return to her vehicle and drive away undisturbed. But it wasn't any other day — thieves were in the carpark and they were about to strike."

She and Edmund had just got into their van when the Crown alleges Shadrock ran over to them and reached over Edmund who was in the passenger seat and grabbed the handbag that contained a large sum of money. Ms Gordon said he then ran off but didn't count on Ms Wang's "bravery and determination" when she chased after him yelling. Shadrock leaped into the stolen car and began reversing, but was blocked by another car coming into the carpark.

The Crown says Ms Wang was standing in front of the car on the passenger side of the



CARPARK TRAGEDY:
Three of the accused (above, from left) Christopher Shadrock, Maka Tuikolovatu, and Lionel Tekanawa in court to answer charges over the death of Joanne Wang (left).

PICTURE / NATALIE SLADE



bonnet and would have been clearly visible to Shadrock. Her son Edmund told police he saw his mother holding the "circular round thing", thought to be the wing mirror, before the vehicle accelerated forward and hit her. She was flung to the side and hit her head on the concrete. "Without hesitating he did not swerve to avoid her... He chose to hit her with the vehicle to escape and avoid apprehension."

Ms Wang died in hospital the next day. Vila Lemanu, 25, Maka Tuikolovatu, 21, and Lionel Manaaki Tekanawa, 23, are charged with stealing Ms Wang's handbag.

Tuikolovatu is also charged with assisting Shadrock avoid arrest by hiding the handbag and being an accessory after the fact to murder. Tekanawa, Lemanu, Mateni Lynch, 20, and Terence Tere, 22, are accused of being an accessory after the fact to murder for allegedly burning the Nissan Regulus used in the hit and run.

Chris Wilkinson Smith, representing Shadrock, said Shadrock intended to take Ms Wang's bag but not her life.

He said the death was a "bag snatching gone tragically wrong". The defence did not accept Ms Wang was standing in front of the vehicle but was "off to the left side".

"He did not drive straight at her."

He said the car was being driven at low speed and had only moved forward "one or two car lengths for one or two seconds before Ms Wang loses her footing and strikes her head".

He said when a person acted unlawfully and someone lost their life when that wasn't the intention they could be found guilty of manslaughter. He asked jurors to find Shadrock guilty of that charge and not murder.

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19. Carpark murder case (26 Jun, 2008, *Chinese-Herald*)

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BODY IN THE BOOT: TWO MEN ON MURDER CHARGES

Slain girl's broken dream

Mystery of missing teenager ends in tears

by Lincoln Tan and James Hackett

Teenager Jayi Li came to New Zealand to finish a business course and open a karaoke bar and pool hall. "She loved singing karaoke and playing pool, and she thought it would be great if she could set up a place where people can come and do both," a friend told the *Herald* yesterday.

But instead, her family and friends are grieving after the body of the 19-year-old was found in the boot of her car on a Hamilton street, 128km from where she was last seen.

Two men, aged 18 and 20, appeared in court in Auckland yesterday charged with murder.

Miss Li — also known as Kiko — had not been seen since about 2am on May 19, the day police believe she was killed.

Her body may have been in the car for almost two weeks.

Her death has devastated her family and friends. Her parents are understood to be arriving in Auckland, from Beijing, tomorrow.

Easin Xia, whose wife is Miss Li's cousin, said the family was in total shock.

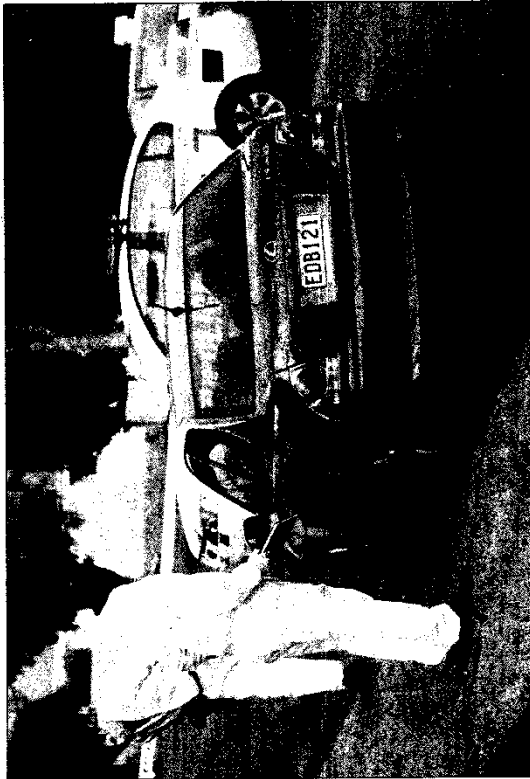
"My wife hasn't stopped crying since we got the news from the police," he said.

Miss Li arrived in New Zealand from Hubei 16 months ago, and enrolled at the St George Institute of Learning on Queen St, where she was close to completing a business diploma.

It is understood that although she had relatives in New Zealand, Miss Li's parents wanted her to live alone so she could learn to be independent.



VICTIM: Jayi Li wanted to finish her business course and start a karaoke bar, but her body was found in Hamilton, hidden in the boot of her car.



PICTURE (TOP) / STEVEN MCMICHAEL

Earlier, another friend told the *Herald* she last saw Miss Li with a mystery Chinese man early on May 19. Miss Li had dropped the friend in Kumeu and had about 10 minutes to get home. "We were drunk because our car got towed away so I texted Kiko to come get us," said the friend, who had known Miss Li for about six months. "When Kiko came, there was another Chinese guy in the car who we have not met before. He was very quiet and did not say anything throughout the journey and they drove off together alone."

Miss Li had a Toyota car set outside Albert Parata's Hamilton home for more than a week before a television street about midday yesterday. Mr Parata and his family are considering moving themselves, despite having lived there for less than six months. Missus was pretty upset by it and she was crying about it, so I think we probably will move somewhere else," he said.

Other residents were also shocked at the discovery of Miss Li's body. One said the street — which is dimly lit by widely-spaced lamp posts — was friendly and safe but "probably the ideal place to dump a car with a body in it".

"The car was just sitting there for days which isn't unusual, but when we found out there was a body in it well that was freaky," said a young mother.

The two men charged with Miss Li's murder have been granted interim bail to return to China for their families. Both appeared in the Auckland District Court yesterday afternoon — one in a boiler suit and the other wearing a black t-shirt and a boiler suit open to his waist.

They are jointly charged with Miss Li's murder and using a knife to rob her of her National Bank epos card and her Toyota car keys. They are charged with attempting to use her epos card at Mt Albert and in Tamaki Dr. — additional reporting: Elizabeth Binning

55 K won clinical virus

by Martin John health reporter

Up to 55 New have been ext deliberate atten a potentially fat abortion clinic.

The Minister Australian has 55 New have late last year.

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Li murder accused was close to victim

Relative says arrested man was the first person family called when Kiko vanished

by Lincoln Tan

A man accused of murdering Kiko Jiayi Li was known to the family as one of her best friends, and was the first person they tried to contact after she vanished.

Yu Hong Lin, 20, known to the family as Evan, had been close to Miss Li for more than a year, said Eason Xie, who is married to the dead woman's cousin Rebecca.

"They were good friends who always go together, that's why my wife straight away picked up the phone to call him to look for Kiko when we did not know where she was," said Mr Xie.

They belonged to the same group of friends who often went out together.

Mr Xie said it was "totally shocking" for the family to learn that Yu had been accused of playing a part in Miss Li's death.

"I don't know how to describe our feelings ... sadness, anger, pain ... Evan was one of Kiko's best friends."

Yu and another Chinese man, international student Li Hong Xin, 18, have been charged with Miss Li's murder and aggravated robbery.

"Evan said he had no idea [where Kiko was] and said he had dropped Kiko back at her apartment that day, and we believed him," said Mr Xie.

Miss Li was last seen driving off in her car in Kingsland at 2am on May 19, and police believe she died that day.

Her body was found nearly two weeks later in the boot of her car in Hamilton.

A third person, believed to have driven Miss Li's 1998 red Toyota car more than 120km to Hamilton, has been charged with tampering with evidence.

He has name suppression until his next court appearance.

Miss Li's father, Chang Kui Li, and mother, Tan Wang, arrived in Auckland from Beijing last Friday, but were too devastated to identify their daughter's body.

Mr Xie, who identified the body with another relative, said Miss Li's parents were "still hurting and are finding it hard to accept that their only daughter is gone".

A funeral was held on Monday in Henderson attended by about 30 close friends and relatives.

Although Miss Li was not a Christian, Mr Xie said the family decided to follow a Christian funeral rite.

He said the service was short "because anything longer will just be prolonging Kiko's parents' suffering".

The couple plan to leave New Zealand this evening, after collecting their daughter's ashes, which they will take back to China.

Another memorial service will be held for Miss Li in her hometown of Hubei for friends and relatives.

Her parents had no wish to stay in New Zealand for the trial, Mr Xie said.

He said Miss Li's father had a weak heart and high blood pressure, and there were concerns that he might not be able to handle listening to details of how his daughter was killed and dumped in the boot of her own car.



Kiko Jiayi Li

You

GOOD ARGUMENT
worthy pursuit

'A safe journey' killed student

New Zealand dairy empire focus of \$1.5b overseas offer

Proposal 'litmus test' for NZ's stance on offshore investment, says farmers' group

by Adam Bennett
political reporter

A New Zealand dairy empire is the target of what is thought to be the biggest farm purchase by an overseas buyer, with a Hong Kong company reported to be offering \$1.5 billion.

Natural Dairy (NZ) Holdings — previously known as the China Jin Hui Mining Corporation — yesterday told the Hong Kong Stock Exchange it had agreed to buy the Crafar family farms as well as other assets including farmland, cattle, and milk powder production plants.

Based in Reporoa in the Bay of Plenty, Crafar was New Zealand's biggest privately owned dairy farming business. It hit the headlines last year for its poor environmental and animal welfare practices. Reportedly mired in over \$200 million of debt, it went into receivership in October last year.

Its receivers KordaMentha yesterday said they were in discussions with a number of parties.

Federated Farmers dairy chairman Lachlan McKenzie was sceptical about the reported price, but said if it was correct, it would be the largest overseas single purchase of a New Zealand farming business, and the biggest overseas purchase of any New Zealand assets since the Canada Pension Plan Investment Board's attempt to buy Auckland International Airport.

That transaction was spiked by the Labour Government on the grounds the airport was a strategic asset.

Mr McKenzie said he had no doubt there would be further big overseas offers for New Zealand farming assets, and the NZ Natural proposal could prove to be a "litmus test" of this country's stance on overseas investment.

"We hear much of 'reputation' and 'brand risk' associated with agriculture and wonder what the Government will make of this."

"While the ball's in the Government's court, assuming this all comes to pass, Federated Farmers wishes to meet Natural Dairy sooner rather than

NATURAL DAIRY

■ Listed on the Hong Kong sharemarket.

■ Registered in the Cayman Islands.

■ A so-called "P chip" company, it is essentially a Chinese company and is run by private sector Chinese businessmen.

■ Market capitalisation of HK\$1.12b (\$205m).

■ Reported a net loss last year of HK\$127.61m.

CRAFAR FARMS

■ 22 farms totalling 8000ha.

■ 20,000 cows and 10,000 other stock.

■ Placed in receivership in October with debts of about \$200 million to Westpac, RaboBank and PGG Wrightson.

later, to understand its strategic direction."

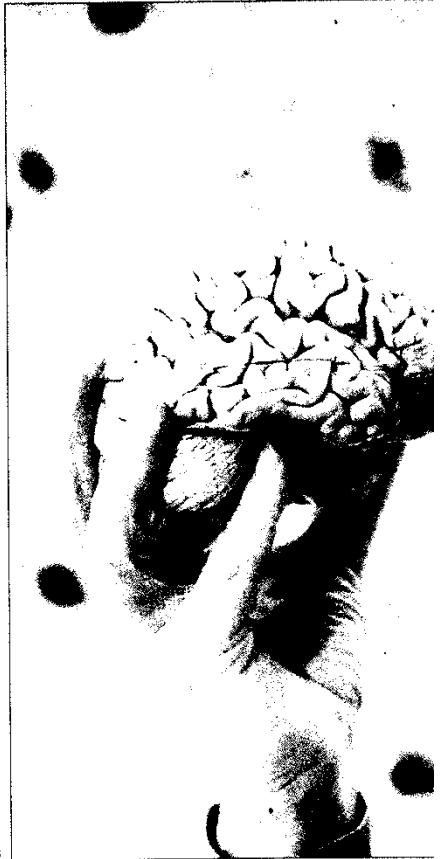
New Zealand would remain an attractive investment destination and Mr McKenzie believed it was time to develop a national strategy around food production land and assets.

Market commentator Arthur Lim, who has been working with investors wishing to buy dairy properties, said there was a lot of interest from Asia in New Zealand dairy farms.

"Certainly there's plenty of funds the Chinese Government or Chinese corporations have earmarked for buying overseas assets, but the issue has always been one of politics."

"It's one thing to buy one or two farms but once you start buying properties in the hundreds of millions of dollars, it gets into the public arena and it becomes very politicised. That's exactly what's happened here."

The Overseas Investment Office yesterday confirmed it had received an application from Natural Dairy but would not say what assets the company was seeking to buy.



GREY MATTER: Richard Faull says brains must be looked after

Brainbox wins

Richard Faull says donors and are real heroes of diseases he's

by Beck Vass

Professor Richard Faull has spent 35 years studying the human brain so he can help people affected by brain disorders including Parkinson's, Alzheimer's and Huntington's disease.

His efforts are recognised internationally and in 2007 he was awarded the Rutherford Medal — the highest honour for New Zealand scientists. Last night, the neuroscientist was honoured again as Supreme Winner of the 2010 World Class New Zealand Awards at the Langham Hotel in Auckland.

The 7th annual awards, also known as the "tall poppy awards", celebrate the achievements of innovators and entrepreneurs who have made significant contributions to the country's growth and development.

While Dr Faull found the award "incredible and humbling", he said that his work would not be possible

without the gen brain disease ar donated brains f

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Dr Faull is Centre for Brain versity of Auckl Neurological Fc bank, which ho

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Sir Stephen the awards' ju Dr Faull's ach breaking.

The New Zealand Herald

PUBLISHED SINCE 1863, NO 44,535 | MONDAY, MARCH 29, 2010

Efficiency key criterion for farm takeover

THE PROSPECTIVE sale of the Crafar family farms — the country's largest privately owned dairy farming business — to a Chinese company is bound to raise some public alarm. The offer from the Hong Kong-listed Natural Dairy (NZ) Holdings, which will need Overseas Investment Office approval, could be the start of significant foreign ownership of New Zealand farms and their products.

Natural Dairy wants not only to buy the 22 Crafar farms now in receivership but aims to raise \$1.5 billion eventually for investments in milk processing. It is a long way from ambition to fruition, or even to approval of the farm purchases. Natural Dairy's local subsidiary, UBNZ, has not helped its reception by buying four Crafar farms without seeking the OIO's approval.

Suspecting UBNZ was buying on behalf of its Chinese parent, the office started an investigation and UBNZ retrospectively applied for the required consent. UBNZ's directors include Auckland May Wang, whose previous business difficulties have been investigated by the Serious Fraud Office. She faces

charges brought by the Companies Office over the records of her Dynasty Group, now in liquidation.

The application may fail the OIO's test for reasons that have nothing directly to do with the nationality of the parent company, and indeed that cannot be its concern. But it would be idle to pretend that the prospect of a foreign takeover of so many farms

is not the foremost concern of farmers and many other New Zealanders.

A neighbour of one of the Crafar properties probably expressed a common sentiment when he told the *Herald*, "I don't really trust the Chinese... There's a lot of money to be made in China by selling our products, but they do things a lot differently to the rest of the world and they don't seem to be too worried about what the rest of the world thinks."

A less-prejudiced view was heard from a spokesman for a "Productive Economy Council", who said it was nonsense that it did not matter where productive assets resided. Land might not be an asset that can be uprooted and taken overseas, but its foreign ownership raises the prospect of New Zealand farmers becoming tenants at best and possibly employees.

But it would be a mistake to let these fears prevail. Corporate farming is not yet an unmitigated success in this country. Carter Holt Harvey is disposing of 29 farms that it recently converted from forestry. Four of the Crafar family companies have been placed in receivership reportedly owing \$200 million.

Two years ago, rural industry analysts were confidently predicting that the amalgamation of farms into increasingly bigger dairy units and the rising cost of land spelled the end of the family farm. But maybe not. The commitment of time and attention needed to keep a New Zealand farm profitable might be more suited to individual ownership than corporate management.

The important thing is not to preclude any form of ownership. The health of an export industry depends on its ability to develop the most efficient organisation possible. Foreign or

Rates revolt

Aucklanders are not powerless. If local democracy is to be dismantled, officials appointed by Wellington, meetings kept secret and civic assets readied for sale, we can fight back.

Without funding, it can't happen. A co-ordinated, sustained rates revolt can pull the wheels off the juggernaut.

Fortuitously, the Auckland City Council calls its ratepayers "customers" — the ones who are always right. We remain the paymasters here. If we do not like what is on offer, we need not buy it.

A rates strike needs direction from responsible civic elders, not rabble-rousers. Success would demand steely resolve from all of us (with the probable exception of Act's 3 per cent). Plus the continuing support of the media, whose consistent damning of the proposed Super City structure gives grounds for optimism.

Starting well out from November's launch date would mean John Key, Steven Joyce and Rodney Hide are given time to change tack or be responsible for utter disarray, and the anonymous suits lining up for half-million-dollar salaries will discern they are not dealing with suckers.

"No taxation without representation" was the slogan that won the United States for its people. Can the same resolve be mustered to retain the City of Auckland?

Richard Green, St Johns.

CEO appointment

The appointment of another arrogant businessman to helm the Super City is one more ominous indicator of what lies ahead.

The new interim chief executive claims he's not in it for the salary, so why are we paying him almost \$700,000 a year, plus a bonus, when clearly he would do the job for a fraction of that?

His ability to run a business is not the issue here; public service is. A city is not a business. It is time to strongly object to this outrageous greed by those who have undemocratically seized the purse-strings of our city.

V.M. Fergusson, Mt Eden.

Ward names

The heated debate over the naming of wards in the Super City is just a silly storm in a teacup.

It's hardly surprising that any attempt to name a ward after an individual or existing suburb has resulted in dissent. Imagine the fury had the proposed name for the eastern suburbs been Hide.

Fortunately, this conundrum was solved long ago in all major cities. All we have to do is follow their example and name the new wards after points of the compass — for example, central, northern, southern, eastern and western, with additional options of north-eastern, northwestern, and so on.

The cherished identity and history of existing suburbs would be retained, with the added advantage that visitors would now know where they are located.

Mike Nixon, Pakuranga.

CV fraud

In 2002, Canadian John Davey embe-

"KEYED"



If Natural Dairy is turned down, it must be on good grounds, not mere prejudice or protection.'

ON PASSPORTS

Having used one of the new passports, I can say they have been well received by Customs around the world.
Marc Miller, Hong Kong.

ON WELFARE

When we repeal the Bill of and replace it with a Bill of and Responsibilities Act, we invent a culture of people demand that others support because of their own irresponsible behaviour. People should decisions, not pass the buck.
Wayne McNeil, Henderson.

Thompson has been ably handsomely from 1989 to only has she accrued financial rewards that were mensurate with a master's she has denied — and more highly qualified candidates those top-tier public services Where's the justice here?
Merv Low

Mining's impact

There has been the usual reaction to news that mining

APRIL 4, 2011

HERALD ON SUNDAY

14 NEWS

Dairy queen owes sex compo

Woman behind huge farm deal linked to failed hotel, writes David Fisher.

THE WOMAN behind a \$1.5 billion dairy farm bid owned a collapsed hotel chain, in which her husband was accused of "inappropriate touching" and "sexual harassment" of a staff member.

Property developer May Wang, who is the frontwoman for the Hong Kong-based bid for more than 20 North Island farms, says she has now split up with her husband and the hotel has been sold.

Wang lives in a palatial, \$5 million cliff-top home in St Heliers, but the mail has piled up in the box as she pursues business interests in Asia. The *Herald on Sunday* revealed last week that she is being investigated by the Inland Revenue Department.

She is listed in Companies Office documents as the link to Hong Kong's Natural Dairy (NZ) Holdings, which has announced an agreement to buy dairy farms and other assets for \$1.5 billion.

But a chef at her hotel in Methven says he never received the comparatively paltry \$15,000 in compensation for constructive dismissal, unpaid wages and legal costs ordered by the Employment Relations Authority after his wife was sexually harassed there.

Michael Franks says he was astounded to see May Wang resurface fronting a huge bid for dairy farms. "We weren't paid at all. Now she says she has \$1.5 billion to buy these farms ... I can't understand how the system let it happen. If she can run around like that then she can afford to pay her debts."

May Wang's involvement increased risk of heart disease and stroke. But Kiwi dietitians scoffed at convince diners enjoying a fruit to cereal.



PALATIAL: May Wang's St Heliers home. Michael Franks, with Izumi, is yet to be paid \$15,000 compensation.



STU JACKSON

in Izumi, who was hired as housemaid, and sexual harassed her.

Izumi Franks quit, followed by Michael Franks after he refused an order to report for work early and lay tables in the restaurant. Authority member James Crichton found he had been constructively dismissed.

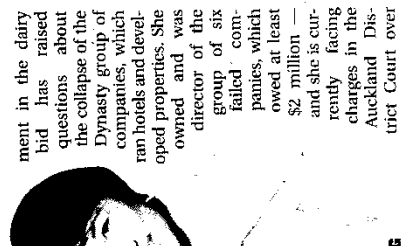
The authority said effort had gone into getting the Dynasty group into the hearing to repay sent itself — but no one turned up.

The liquidator's report in the failed Dynasty group also found problems getting May Wang to answer questions about the collapse.

Natural Dairy (NZ) Holdings spokesman Bill Ralston provided an emailed statement from May Wang, whom he said was in Asia.

She said her marriage had been a "short duration" or and she did not learn of the employment ruling until long after the Methven hotel had gone under and been sold.

Regarding her involvement in the farm deal, she said money belonged to her financial backers in China and elsewhere, not to her.



MAY WANG

Thumbs-up to fry-ups

By Anna Rushworth

increased risk of heart disease and stroke. But Kiwi dietitians scoffed at convince diners enjoying a fruit to cereal.



25. PM warns against Kiwis becoming tenants (5 Jul, 2010, *Herald*)
26. Key fears foreign buys of farmland (28 Jul, 2010, *Herald*)
27. Crafar farms –behind the façade (2 Aug, 2010, *Herald*)

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NEWS

Scandals hit Crafar bidders

'Chinese Warren Buffet' and right hand man facing separate allegations of dishonesty

by Karyn Scherer

Two of the main investors behind a Chinese bid for the Crafar dairy farms have become embroiled in separate scandals in China.

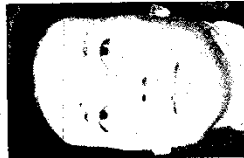
Chen Fashu, a gold mining tycoon ranked by *Forbes* magazine as China's 11th wealthiest person, has been accused of not delivering on his promise to establish China's biggest private charity.

His right-hand man, Tang Jun, has also hit the headlines for making false claims on his CV.

Mr Chen, who is known as China's Warren Buffet, announced in October last year that he planned to set up a Chinese version of the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation by donating more than \$2 billion worth of shares from his own portfolio.

But a Guangdong newspaper says the charity has received only 160 million yuan (\$32 million), and officials were unable to say when more money would be forthcoming.

Mr Chen has played down the report. But it is Mr Tang who has faced an even



Tang Jun



Chen Fashu

bigger media barrage.

He is a celebrity in China for being the country's highest paid chief executive, and is the author of a popular book on how to be successful.

He is reportedly paid 1 billion yuan to manage Mr Chen's family business, New Huadu Group.

The two men are close business associates. Mr Tang manages Mr Chen's charity, and also acts as a spokesman for Mr Chen, who is notoriously media shy.

Last month, it was revealed that Mr Tang may have misled the public about

his qualifications. The former head of Microsoft in China has claimed to have a PhD from the California Institute of Technology. He has since admitted that is wrong, and that his PhD is from another American institute which turns out to have been closed down for being an unregistered "diploma mill", which sold degrees.

Mr Tang, who has also been accused of falsely claiming to have registered two patents, responded to the scandal by telling the *Beijing News*: "Losers cheat some people and get caught. Winners cheat the whole world all the time."

The scandal has sparked a public debate in China about integrity, which has since been fuelled by a report in the *Shanghai Daily* which claims Mr Tang has also been linked by police to a \$30 million housing loan fraud in the province of Jiangsu.

The two men are helping to bankroll the bid by Hong Kong company Natural Dairy for 16 Crafar farms.

Both have bought shares in Natural Dairy, which has announced plans to spend up to \$1.5 billion establishing a

business in New Zealand to export UHT milk to Hong Kong and China.

A *Herald* investigation has revealed the two men visited New Zealand in April. Among other things, they met with members of the Chinese Business Roundtable Council (CBRC), an Auckland group founded by businessman Jack Chen, who is also an investor behind the Chinese bid.

The CBRC has links with Labour and National MPs. Labour MP Raymond Huo was a member of its executive, and Labour leader Phil Goff is its patron.

In 2004 Jack Chen was found guilty of "serious breaches" of Chinese securities regulations. The same year he founded a business called New Zealand Pure & Natural with former National Prime Minister Dame Jenny Shipley. The other investor in the business is Sammy Wong, husband of Ethnic Affairs Minister Pansy Wong.

Mrs Wong told the *Herald* last week that as a member of the Chinese community she knew of Jack Chen and his associate, May Wang, but did not know them well.

Back in the doghouse

Quad bike rolls on ton of crash victim

Denunciation of land-buying racism spot on

MAURICE Williamson clearly struck a nerve when he observed that opposition to foreign investment was more about racism than overseas ownership. As much was obvious from the Prime Minister's response.

John Key said the Land Information Minister was known for his strong sense of humour and, in this instance, it had backfired. Yet Mr Williamson's speech to a small-business conference at Massey University made eminent sense.

It was also a refreshing statement from a minister charged with making the final decision on controversial foreign investments.

Mr Williamson did not refer specifically to the bid for the Crafar family farms, New Zealand's biggest dairying empire, by a Chinese company. He did not have to.

The issue has stirred up a wave of xenophobic scaremongering over China's intentions for the dairying industry. Among other things, a group called Save the Farms has sprung into being. It wants the Government to stop any sales until the country has had a robust public debate.

The group says it is "not a xenophobic organisation". If so, why was it silent last week when an American billionaire, William P. Foley II, was cleared by the Overseas Investment Office to buy Wharekauhau, an exclusive 2023ha Wairarapa country estate and farming business?

And why did its organisers say nothing as Britons, Italians, Americans, Israelis and Australians bought the bulk of more than 150,000 hectares of New Zealand farm land — almost the size of Stewart Island — over the past five years? During that period, China hardly registered as a source of foreign investment.

'The contribution that efficient foreign owners can make to the economy must be the ultimate arbiter of approval.'

Now, however, its first major foray has hit a wave of resistance.

Those who have been buying the vast majority of New Zealand's farm land are distinguished by two characteristics. They are English-speaking and they are non-Asian. As Mr Williamson noted, "if you look different, you're a foreigner but if you come from the other side of the world, from Scotland, then you're not".

He could, and perhaps should, have added that the laws on overseas investment make no such ethnic distinction. They are colour-blind, and must remain so.

Unfortunately, the anti-Chinese sentiment is having an impact. Last month, the Finance Minister acknowledged that a review of foreign investment rules, which has dragged on for 16 months, was unlikely to deliver much of the gain originally hoped for. This exercise was meant to attract more investment by making it easier for foreigners to do business here.

Now, it is more likely to be the catalyst for a "national interest" test, which would be kept in reserve for bids that are politically uncomfortable. This would be a backward step. The contribution that efficient foreign owners can make to the economy must be the ultimate arbiter of approval.

Mr Key, among others, seems to have lost sight of that. When the Crafar farms issue first appeared, he, quite rightly, chastised the Agriculture Minister for saying a sale to a Chinese company was unlikely to go through.

Subsequently, however, he has been swayed by those uttering concerns about the sale. He could have reacted by condemning anything that smacked of racism. He could also have pointed out that foreign investment has always driven the New Zealand economy, and that any errant decision would send the wrong message to all potential investors.

Instead, Mr Key chose to voice vague worries about New Zealanders becoming tenants in their own country. He has now got into even more of a tangle by trying to dismiss Mr Williamson's comment as backfiring humour.

While everyone will commiserate with the residents of Canterbury, there are lessons to be learned from the earthquake.

First, the police must be given unmanned air vehicles. With impassable roads and so on and the expense and unavailability of helicopters, these small aircraft are being introduced into the equipment of police forces in Florida and Leeds.

Secondly, has the massive draw-off of underground water for farmland irrigation in the surrounding area had any effect on the terrain? Shanghai's city centre has dropped by nearly 2m over the past 40 years and Beijing has sunk 75cm over 40 years because of underground water draw-off.

Also, small earthquakes in Switzerland have been reputedly caused by an experiment to sequester carbon dioxide underground. The resulting chemical reaction with certain rocks was cited as the cause. This all leaves food for thought.

David Clemow, Papakura.

Search teams

I was proud to see the volunteer members of Urban Search and Rescue at work in Christchurch. There are five of these teams in Canterbury, funded by councils or the Red Cross.

Wellington has four USAR teams. Sadly, in Auckland, our biggest population hub, only two USAR teams exist, at Waitakere and North Shore.

Changes under the Super City administration must boost these numbers across the whole of Auckland.

Jonathan Lowe, Campbells Bay.

Pokie rules

SkyCity's plea for less regulation over its pokie machines is both greedy and misguided.

Pokie machines are not as profitable as they once were because people are waking up to what a rotten and dangerous product they are.

Any tour of the gambling floor will show not excited and interested players having fun but mesmerised and unhappy punters slouched over machines, slavishly feeding in money they can ill-afford to lose.

Regulation exists because as a society we have recognised that pokie machines cause serious harm and that gambling operators benefit from the harm. Less regulation would mean more profits but at the expense of more harm to more people.

The law is there to protect citizens, not to enrich SkyCity's shareholders.

John Stansfield, Waiheke Island.

Rail patronage

In his column headlined "A city can have what it will pay for", John Roughan argued that Auckland rail networks could be successful only if the tracks were widened.

This ignores the fact that rail patronage in Auckland has been growing by 10 per cent a year since 2005. This would indicate some level of success by most standards.

However, I do agree that an Auckland rail loop and extension is needed.

It is interesting that motorway improvements are paid 100 per cent by central Government, although they are hardly likely to encourage public transport use or help New Zealand meet its carbon-reduction targets.

On the other hand, Aucklanders are expected to pay 50 per cent of the cost of public transport improvements.

Even more interesting is the fact



ON BINGE-DRINKING

I disagree with your correspo P. Caskie's view that teenage should not be made to deal w part in circumstances that let tragedy. It is up to parents to teens responsible. This is call growing up. It is a pity we hav adults who do not have the g do the hard yards with their c Claire Tawharu, Onehunga.

ON HEALTHCARE

Why are doctors, nurses and work as caregivers not paid a wage when we can afford to those who have made mistal billions of dollars but cannot to pay those who work hard.

Underground loop

The building of an undergro in Auckland's city centre w tiple stations is likely to significantly the commercial values in favoured locations.

Private landowners in the tions should recognise it is interests to see this project pr Instead of the endless over which public body is pay, why can't some creative of private capital be found important project?

In recognition of the f significant wealth will be cr the private sector in the prc affected property owners i willing to fund a significant i the project.

Peter Wharton, Pt

t's like stealing from a grave'



an, copied details on this headstone in New Plymouth to obtain a birth
COMPOSITE IMAGE: CEMETERY PICTURE / DAVE FAIREY

Mr Garrett might have misled the court by claiming in a document associated with his 2005 case that he had no criminal record.

Yesterday, the brother of the dead boy told the *Herald*: "How much lower can you go? I know damn well if my father was alive, being a Scotsman he would have gone after him."

He said he would probably "lose his cool" if he came face to face with Mr Garrett.

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Act leader Rodney Hide, who has stood by his MP, "is just as guilty as far as I'm concerned", the brother said.

His 94-year-old mother was "disgusted over the whole thing".

"It was stressful at the time [of the death], and it was brought out 20-odd years ago, and here it is blown up again."

He described his young brother as "a real bubbly little kid" and his death as a "hell of a shock" to the family.

Another brother said that as far as he knew, no one in his family had received an apology, let alone an explanation, from Mr Garrett.

"It's quite alarming. I didn't think that sort of thing was happening here. It's very hard to believe that a person could consider taking the identity of a baby," he said.

In the court documents, the deceased child's mother said the identity theft had caused her considerable stress and anxiety, and what Mr Garrett had done was "akin to stealing from a grave".

In court, Mr Garrett's lawyer, Gary Gottlieb, told the judge his client was a lawyer and faced losing his practising certificate if convicted.

The police summary read to the court said Mr Garrett had told

EXCLUSIVE

Chinese dairy farm bid hits snag

by Karyn Scherer

A Chinese bid to buy 20 New Zealand farms will be rejected or severely restricted after a review by the Overseas Investment Office, the *Herald* understands.

Landcorp, the state-owned farming enterprise, is believed to be back in the running to buy the Crafar farms, as the future looks increasingly murky for an offer from Hong Kong company Natural Dairy.

It is understood the Overseas Investment Office has nearly completed its review of Natural Dairy's application to buy 20 farms owned by the Crafar family in the central and lower North Island, and has either rejected the application or suggested significant constraints on it.

The Government will have the final say on whether the deal will go ahead.

It has nominated Land Information Minister Maurice Williamson and Conservation Minister Kate Wilkinson to make the decision.

While there have been mixed messages from the National Party about its position on the issue, Prime Minister John Key has made it clear the Government has sympathy with widespread public concern about such a sizeable sale of dairy farms to foreign owners.

Chris Kelly, chief executive of Landcorp — whose bid for the Crafar empire was rejected by receivership firm KordaMentha after tenders closed in July — declined to comment.

But it and other bidders vying with Natural Dairy to buy the farms are believed to be optimistic that they are back in the picture.

That means the banks owed more than \$216 million by the Crafar family for 16 of the farms could lose a big chunk of their money.

High Court documents show Natural Dairy has agreed to pay \$213 million for the farms.

But the price of rural land has dropped since then and it is understood the other buyers are offering around \$130 million.

Natural Dairy spokesman Bill Ralston said yesterday that the company had a "well-developed plan B" should the Government reject its bid.

32. New Zealand can benefit from Chinese investment (8 May, 2010, *United Press*)
33. False news in the mainstream media (21 Sep, 2010, *UCP*)

Interview 1

Participant: Anne (Manager of the *United Chinese Press*)

Date: August 5, 2010

Location: CBD, Auckland

1. When *The United Chinese Press* (UCP) was first launched?

UCP was first launched on the 6th February, 2010.

2. What is the motive for publishing UCP?

It was during the late 1990s and the earlier 21st century when the new wave of immigration became prosperous in the country and therefore the Chinese language news media was in full flourish, which used to be about 20 Chinese language newspapers. However, some of the newspapers closed down later due to the changes of Immigration Policy and business environment. So only four Chinese newspapers were still running in the area of Auckland after 2005 and just one of them, *The Chinese Herald*, has authentically published news articles. *Eastern Daily* changed to *Eastern Weekly*, which was no longer a newspaper. *The Mandarin Pages* was the first Chinese newspaper but full of ads.

According to the market research we had, UCP has found a new niche for itself. We learnt that in addition to news and current affairs from China and other countries, the Chinese diaspora is keen to see the news about the Chinese local community as there was little reporting in the past. Accordingly, we would like to establish a different newspaper, putting the most possible information on the Chinese community. So we decide to run the newspaper by combining the local Chinese community, which is more likely to attract a widest readership.

3. Who is the owner of UCP?

The owner of the newspaper is NZ Natural Dairy Media Ltd.

4. What about the business model of UCP?

The newspaper is published three times a week which are on Tuesday, Thursday, and

Saturday. It is distributed freely throughout the area of Auckland and has a circulation of 10,000 copies of every issue. Chinese newspapers are distributed free of charge, we rely mainly on advertising.

5. How many editors and journalists? What about their background and where are they from?

There are three editors and three journalists, which can be said as one of the most powerful team among the Chinese newspapers. Most of them are from mainland China and they all have previous working experience in the media industry.

6. Of which aspects that UCP mainly focuses on?

UCP tends to focus on a variety of ongoing activities held by the Chinese community as well as feedback from the Chinese immigrants. We also report the local news, including social news and financial news.

7. What is the definition of Chinese diaspora within the Chinese news media?

As long as people can speak Chinese language and also consider themselves descendants of Chinese, we all define them as the Chinese diaspora. Although some of the second generation immigrants can't understand Chinese, we don't think they should be excluded from the Chinese diaspora.

8. What is the impact of new immigration on the Chinese language news media in New Zealand?

It is interactive. New immigrants bring the news media more business opportunities since the Chinese are industrious; they want to do a business, finding a job, buying a property, and so forth. As the news media, we provide them with relevant information as much as we can, such as tax policy and so on, while allowing them more easily and quickly integrate into the host society.

9. How much does the Chinese diaspora rely on the Chinese language news media?

Some people are very dependent, particularly the immigrants with the general English level.

10. What are the roles of Chinese news media? Have the roles changed over the past years?

The Chinese news media has made a contribution to the Chinese community as well as the larger society of New Zealand by promoting the integration of immigrants into the mainstream society. So the role of Chinese news media is to be a platform where both the Chinese community and host country can pass information one another.

I would say that some of the news media have to change more or less as the market is

varying whereas some others have not changed. Anyway, different media may position themselves where most suits them. The readership in New Zealand is so small which really limits the development of Chinese newspaper.

11. In terms of the coverage of Chinese diaspora, are there any differences or similarities between UCP and other Chinese newspaper?

We are committed to reporting the Chinese life and any events that may concern Chinese immigrants. For example, when the murdered Chinese girl Kiko was found, our reporters attended the first scene and also interviewed the lawyer for the details that the Chinese community is most concerned about. We have been objective and devoted much attention to the reportage regarding investment in New Zealand.

12. Are there any differences or similarities between the newspaper and the website in reporting the news?

They are obviously different. The UCP website covers all the Chinese diaspora, including the immigrants in New Zealand and from other countries in the world. The online version is designed to be press centre as well as blogs and other products. Therefore, Chinese from Mainland and other western countries could be conscious of what is happening in the Chinese community in New Zealand. They can even download information they may need. The newspaper version just serves the immigrants to New Zealand and its content is only part of the website.

13. Do you think that new media will replace print media in the future?

It is likely. But I think within a hundred years, newspapers will still exist since a large number of people still rely on traditional reading habits. Meanwhile, it appears an increasing cooperation between the print media and new media. For instance, as one of the most popular Chinese websites, *Skykiwi* attracts much younger audience and therefore UCP collaborates with them by printing out blogs and articles from the web which makes audience quite excited.

14. Has the coverage of Chinese diaspora changed over the past years within the Chinese news media?

Has not changed much. We continue to report the news relating to Chinese diaspora.

15. In which ways that the Chinese news media constructs and maintains Chinese diasporic identity as well as connects the host society?

UCP is a joint newspaper with the Chinese community so we offer them layout whereas the community provides the newspaper with content. We have cooperated with about more than 30 Chinese organizations and published information from about 4 or five organizations for free in each issue. The content includes information on the Chinese community as well as Chinese traditional culture, such as the bonsai clubs and art societies. So I call our newspaper as a Chinatown where the Chinese people may find

their spiritual home.

In terms of the host society, we translate important news from the mainstream news media and also they hope to deliver their information throughout our newspaper, such as the Electoral Registration and so on. When the mainstream media reports and interviews the events occurred in the Chinese community, they usually put the Chinese news media as the second source of news.

16. In the context of Chinese news media, how do journalists meet the readers' demand for information from their mainland and host society?

For information from mainland China, we provide our readers with articles on Chinese property market and stock market selected from various news media. We normally translate and reprint the main news and other financial news from the mainstream media to feed our readers.

17. Has the readers' interest changed over the past years?

Due to the improvement of education, the scope and aspects that new immigrants care about have been growing. At the completion of their studies in the country, some overseas students may prefer to stay here, finding a job or starting own business. There are also skilled migrants and business migrants. All the above-mentioned people are concerned about not just making a living, but also a long-term career development plan, even some of them are thinking about political career in the country.

18. In terms of Chinese representation, are there any differences or similarities between the Chinese news media and mainstream media?

There is difference. The mainstream media takes much count of the interests of majorities rather than ethnic minorities. The Chinese news media focuses on the coverage relating to the Chinese community much more than the whole society; the Chinese diaspora is the most important audience for Chinese news media. However, they both pay great attention to the news concerning people's lives.

19. In terms of criminal cases relating to the Chinese diaspora, are there any differences or similarities between the Chinese news media and mainstream media?

Regarding criminal cases, the mainstream media is usually able to get firsthand information from the police station whereas the Chinese news media might not and therefore pays much attention to the background, finding out more detail about the events by interviewing the people involved. Apart from providing relevant information, the Chinese news media also would like to make a wake-up call to the Chinese community.

20. When the UCP English version was established? Why to set up this newspaper? And whom it targets?

The *United Press* was launched in May 2010, three months later than the Chinese

version. It is published every Saturday with a circulation of 10,000 copies for every issue.

Owing to the rapid economic development in Asia, many kiwis would like to invest in China. Some old immigrants, particularly the second generation immigrants have been in the habit of reading English rather than Chinese but they are still concerned about the Asian economy and culture. So the English version is for the above readers.

On this basis, the English language newspaper reports more about the Asian economy and culture and therefore enables the mainstream society to better understand the Chinese community and the development in China. The *United Press* is the first English newspaper launched by the Chinese news media. It also features editorials written by columnists discussing current affairs happened in Asia.

21. Regarding the roles of Chinese news media and the ways of reporting the Chinese diaspora, is there any consensus agreed by the Chinese news media?

Yes. For example, when the Chinese girl Kiko went missing, we put person lost notice in our newspaper and other Chinese news media were doing the same thing. Anyway, issues that the Chinese diaspora is concerned about will be the focus of what we report, such as children's education, employment, business environment and so on.

22. What are the main issues for Chinese news media?

The first one is of funding. The news media should be a combination of capital and knowledge. In any country, it requires massive investment to build up the news media. The fund shortage may result in downsizing the staff as well as reducing the quality of newspapers.

The news source has been another issue since the mainstream news media by and large gets firsthand information from the government whereas the Chinese news media does not have this advantage. It can be seen that the Chinese news media has not been generally recognized by the mainstream public.

Interview 2

Participant: Charles Mabbett

Date: August 9, 2010

1. What are the roles of Asia NZ Foundation (Asia NZ)?

The role of the Asia New Zealand Foundation is to build New Zealanders understanding and knowledge of Asia. The foundation does this through its various programme areas – research, culture, education, media and business.

2. Of which aspects that Asia NZ mainly focuses on?

The five aspects named above – research, culture, education, media and business. In each area, the core responsibility is whether what we are doing adding to New Zealand's knowledge and understanding of Asia.

3. When was the Lantern Festival first launched in New Zealand?

The Lantern Festival was first launched in Auckland in 2000. It is now held annually in both Auckland and Christchurch.

4. What is the motive for holding Lantern Festival in New Zealand?

The Lantern Festival is designed to promote Chinese culture through a family friendly festival by showcasing Chinese performing and visual arts. It was created in Auckland to give all communities a way of celebrating and embracing Chinese culture. The festival now attracts up to 150,000 people annually in Auckland each year. People are attracted to the food, the performances, the crafts, the lanterns and the family atmosphere.

5. How has the cultural event developed since it was first launched?

The event has grown in size in the eleven years it has been going. That is the main difference. When it was first held in 2000, it was only on for one night and the crowd was estimated about 30,000. The other feature that has changed is the emphasis on international performers who participate. These are Chinese traditional and contemporary performing arts groups mainly from China but have in the past also included participants from Taiwan, Singapore.

6. Has any impact of the event on New Zealanders, and if it has, explain why?

Surveys which the Auckland City Council carry out show that the festival is highly popular with all communities and all ages. One of the main issues has been overcrowding. Each year the festival has grown larger and larger and the festival area has had to be extended outwards each year to accommodate the increasing crowds. The festival is now also held over three nights – beginning on the Friday and ending on the Sunday night. Another change has been the mix of people who attend the festival. The festival has grown from one that attracted a Chinese majority to one that is now a mix that is about 40 percent Asian and 60 percent non-Asian. When it was first held in 2000, the crowd was about 80 percent Chinese.

7. What about the coverage of Lantern Festival in the mainstream media? has any change in the coverage over the decade, and if it has, explain why?

Media coverage is generally satisfactory. The festival receives coverage in the New Zealand Herald and often television news (TV3 or TVNZ) will use the festival as a backdrop to its weather forecast at the end of the 6pm news hour. The Western concept of news generally means that an annual event is not really news because it is an expected occurrence so each year, we must find some new feature to highlight to the news media to gain news coverage.

8. Apart from the Lantern Festival, has Asia NZ Foundation promoted other events related to the Chinese diaspora or community in New Zealand, and if it has, what is the impact of the events on New Zealanders?

For us the Lantern Festivals in Auckland and Wellington are the big cultural events regarding the diaspora Chinese community. We do contribute some visiting performers to the Chinese New Year event in Wellington while the Lantern Festival is on. And the performers also visit schools in the Auckland and Christchurch region around both lantern festivals to introduce and teach school children about aspects of Chinese performing arts. The culture programme also provides grant funding to groups and institutions that apply to bring out Chinese visual artists on artist residencies such as the Wellington Artists Residencies Exchange. Examples include the recent visits by mainland Chinese artists Mu Yuming (2010) and Ding Jie (2009) to Wellington. But there are other examples to be found in our other programme areas. For example the research programme has commissioned and published a number of population reports on Chinese communities in NZ and these can be found on our website. The media programme invests in young graduate journalists by giving them internships at Asian media organisations such as the Shanghai Daily and the China Daily Online. The education programme is working with the Ministry of Education to encourage the teaching of Chinese in more New Zealand schools. The business programme tries to make the business sector more conscious of the opportunities of creating business relationships in China. So to look at just the festivals and events is to take a very narrow view of what the foundation does.

9. How the Chinese diaspora is defined within the New Zealand mainstream news media? Has any change in the definition over the past years, and if it

has, explain why?

The NZ news media has been very slow to break down the ethnic category of Asian and to recognise the contextual differences within one very broad ethnic category. I think there is now an increasing understanding in news rooms that Asian means people from Pakistan, India, Indonesia, Vietnam, Thailand, China Japan etc. Within the category of Chinese, there is also a slowly growing awareness that this includes NZ born Chinese and overseas born Chinese. Overseas born Chinese can be from PRC or Taiwan, Singapore, Malaysia and other countries. This growing awareness is because New Zealand journalists understanding of Asia is incrementally improving over time. It's also been driven by immigration and people to people contact. The more journalists come into contact with Asians of different nationalities, the better they can contextualise where an Asian person may be from and what their native language may be. It's still not perfect but things are better than they were ten years ago.

10. In defining the Chinese diaspora or Chinese immigration, are there any differences or similarities between the mainstream media and Chinese news media, if there are, explain why?

I think the Chinese media largely serves the mainland born overseas Chinese community. It tends to reflect their homeland politics and media culture. But the mainstream media tends to include New Zealand born Chinese in its definition of Chinese. It differs from the Chinese media in that it has a different media culture – one predicated on bad news being what constitutes front page news. One Chinese friend said to me: “Why do they (the NZ media) go looking for the dirty laundry?” It is because that's what the Western concept of news is. As an aside, I think one of the main similarities between the mainstream media and the Chinese media is that both of them report Maori issues badly. And if the mainstream media represent Maori communities poorly, this coverage is then picked up by the Chinese language media and the same mistake is repeated.

11. What main aspects of Chinese diaspora that have been most portrayed within the mainstream news media? Please give examples.

Up until a few years ago, there was a worrying trend in the NZ news media to highlight crimes committed by Chinese. These were criminal cases involving new Chinese migrants, many of them international students preying on other international students such as the Wan Biao case and there were other cases not involving students such as the Xue Naiyin case. These were given unfair prominence in the mainstream media because at the time these kinds of cases were relatively new to NZ and they were occurring with increasing frequency. But as the outcry over the North & South magazine article Asian Angst: Is It Time to Send Some Back? showed, crimes committed by Chinese were well below the national average. Since then, coverage of Chinese (and Asian communities) has improved. Crimes now involving Chinese (for example, the smuggling of P precursor drugs or methamphetamine) are treated in a more routine and less

sensationalist way. The police have also done quite a lot of work in playing down the ethnic categorisation of crimes in their media outreach. For example, the drug smuggling issue is portrayed more as a trans-national problem with many players of differing ethnicities – from the Chinese gangs that import them to the NZ gangs that prepare and sell the drugs.

12. Have there any changes in the mainstream media portrayal of Chinese diaspora over the past decade, and if there have, explain why?

The Chinese diaspora is now reflected in a more holistic way – in crime stories, in stories of educational achievement, in politics, in cultural and business stories. Things are still not perfect and Asians are by and large still underrepresented in the mainstream media but that coverage is becoming more nuanced and sophisticated. The change has been especially evident over the past ten years.

13. Are there any major issues related to the Chinese representation in the mainstream news media? and if there are, explain why?

One of the biggest problems that hold back Chinese communities from getting more balanced and informed coverage is the shortage of Chinese journalists in the NZ news media. I think Chinese communities can do more to encourage their young people to take up journalism and to make a difference. There is no doubt that Chinese are underrepresented in news rooms and in news organisations. All the editors I speak to will say they would love to employ capable young journalists who are not European and middle class. However I get the impression that many Chinese families would discourage their children from taking up journalism as a profession because they do not rate it as highly as they do other professions. It really is a case of demand exceeding supply at the moment. If there were more qualified NZ trained Chinese journalists at this point in time, they would certainly be hired. Editors know there is a blind spot when it comes to reporting ethnic communities but they can only work with the talent that is coming through. If I had one message to give to Chinese diaspora communities, I would say urge your children to become journalists so they can make a difference to how Chinese people are represented in the media.

Interview 3

Participant: Portia Mao (Freelance reporter)

Date: August 12, 2010

Location: Mt Wellington, Auckland

1. When did you start doing journalism for local Chinese newspapers in New Zealand?

I began to write the news articles from 2002 for *New Zealand weekly*, which was the first Chinese language newspaper providing with in-depth coverage on the front page. At that time, there were already a lot of Chinese newspapers with large scale advertisements on the front page instead of original news reporting. Therefore, some colleagues with the media background and inspiration decided to publish a more professional newspaper, so we replaced advertising with news reporting on the front page. Fortunately, the owners supported us.

2. Please outline main aspects of the stories that you have published?

The stories published have more concerned about social problems in New Zealand. In 2002, my first important reporting was a kidnapping case occurred among the Chinese overseas students. I was only one Chinese journalist attending the court and some reporters from the mainstream media supposed I was a relative or friend of the criminal and *Radio New Zealand* even interviewed me afterwards. I also attended another trial regarding Naiyen Xue, Pumpkin's father who was accused of murdering his wife. Some other crimes events have also been focused, including political corruption and drug trafficking. Due to limited resources and access, the reportage within the Chinese news media was normally getting behind the coverage from mainstream news media.

Secondly, reporting political events is another aspect, such as general and local elections held every three years in New Zealand. I reported it from 2004 and therefore encouraged the new Chinese immigrants to participate in the elections; meanwhile, I interviewed varied politicians including John Banks, Jianqiang Huo, Shao Wu Jian, Pensy Huang and so on.

There has also been a large amount of economic news, particularly the local business news such as rising house prices and the government's budget. Besides, the Chinese community has been an important part in the reportage that I have published, like the big activity and forum about environmental protection every year. Also, there is an

overseas-Chinese forum held by local born Chinese called *Banana* every two years.

3. What aspects that the readers are most interested from the Chinese local newspapers? And explain why?

The readers are more concerned about economy as most Chinese are willing to look for business opportunities. At the same time, we also pay more attention on reporting local culture, politics and history. In my mind, for better integrating into mainstream society, the new immigrants need to learn more stuff about New Zealand.

4. Through your journalistic work with the Chinese newspapers in NZ, have there any changes in the coverage of Chinese diasporas over the past decade, and if there have, explain why?

I don't think there have been any significant changes over the past decade, and we journalists still insist on reporting big events happened in this society. As for some newspapers, in the middle of 2004, they gradually transformed the front pages advertisements into news reporting. Just as I mentioned above, I did it firstly in Auckland. The fact can be seen recently that the Chinese news media has achieved considerable progress in many ways but still not as professional as the mainstream media.

5. Within the Chinese news media, how do journalists meet the readers' demand for information from their mainland and the host society?

There has been a huge amount of reportage about China within all the Chinese newspapers because all immigrants are concerned about the development of their motherland. Also, most of these reports are taken from Mainland China's newspapers.

6. Has the readers' interest changed during the past decade, and if it has, explain why? And how has the Chinese news media taken action to adapt to the change?

Readers usually mail the letters and call us. And some readers also provide some news clues and hope we can go to report and publish.

7. In terms of the Chinese representation, are there any differences and similarities between the Chinese language media and the NZ mainstream media, and if there are, explain with example.

There are two situations. When it comes to Main China's economic news and natural disasters, the reportage is almost positive. In my opinion, the western media reports news objectively instead of attacking and abusing others. As for the coverage of Chinese immigrants, it's more relating to crimes like taking drug and selling fake certificates. Due to limited resources, Chinese journalists have to opt for some significant events to report. In addition, Chinese journalists would certainly take issue with any report with prejudice and bias from the mainstream media.

8. In terms of the coverage of criminal cases related to the Chinese diaspora, are there any differences or similarities between the Chinese news media and mainstream media, and if there have, explain why?

The Chinese newspapers is particularly sensitive to criminal cases related to the Chinese diaspora and therefore provides readers with more comprehensive reporting. In 2008, for instance, three Chinese people had been murdered within just one month, drawing a huge attention from the Chinese community. Although a series of news articles related to the cases were made public through the Chinese newspapers, most of them were lacking in-depth analysis, and I think we should do more self-examination and give more advice to the Chinese diaspora.

9. What is the impact of new Chinese immigration on the Chinese language news media in New Zealand?

Owing to a massive influx of new capital from Mainland China, there have been an increasing number of businessmen from Mainland China. The Chinese newspapers dare not to offend these clients as a result of the current situation is that they are over-dependent on these clients. Due to this, it brings some negative influences to Chinese newspapers. For the consideration above, the information they publish is more inclined to China's interests. I think overseas newspapers should collect more information from different resources.

10. How the Chinese Diaspora is commonly defined within the Chinese language news media?

I think it mainly refers to new immigrants, because many native-born Chinese cannot speak Chinese at all. As for new immigrants, most of them are from Mainland China and some others from Hong Kong and Tai Wan.

11. How much does the Chinese Diaspora rely on the local Chinese language newspapers? Explain why?

New immigrants highly rely on Chinese media to get information. It's easy to be understood that it's our mother language. Also, as we know, now Chinese media is very developed. Even if new immigrants don't read English newspaper, they also have the access to various kinds of information. However, Chinese newspaper's property also brings some negative effects. Firstly, there are many translation errors when taken from English newspaper; secondly, many translations are too subjective. Therefore, lack of accuracy and subjective reporting, to some extent, mislead the Chinese immigrants.

12. What are the roles of Chinese news media?

Providing all-sided information for new immigrants and it includes China news and local advertisements. In 2002, I ever counted that advertisements accounted for 70%. Probably, it decreased a little over recent years but not so much, I think.

13. Based upon the above question, have the roles of Chinese news media changed over the past decade, and if they have, explain why?

The role that helping new immigrants to integrate into local society is never changed. Also, these years there are more and more first-hand information and original articles.

14. In which ways that the Chinese news media constructs Chinese diasporic

identity as well as connects the host society?

Chinese newspapers pay more attention on the events relevant with Chinese interests, like the changes of immigration policy.

15. Regarding the roles of Chinese news media as well as the ways in which reporting the Chinese Diaspora, is there any consensus view reached among the Chinese news media?

Mainly focus on positive reportage.

16. Has there any conflict between the Chinese diasporas and dominant people in New Zealand, if there has, how it has been portrayed in Chinese news media over the decade? Please give examples.

In fact there is. Sometimes overseas Chinese are more sensitive and kind of strong nationalism. If western media criticizes our own country, they will be upset.

17. What are major issues in the Chinese news media? Any solutions to these issues?

Not as professional as mainstream media, and most of them are limited to economic condition. It's kind of family workshops.

18. When did you launch the website: www.e2020.co.nz?

It was launched in August of 2009. I designed it on my own because I am really into website designing and also learned some things about it. Later, I also invited the professional guy help me improve it.

19. What is the motive for setting up the website?

I really have lots of interests in news reporting. I worked as a journalist for many years and also got many experiences. Over these years writing for some Chinese newspapers, I found that there are many limitations. Due to this, I decided to build my own website so as that I can report and write news more freely.

20. What aspects that the website mainly reports?

It's mainly about the local news as well as Australian news and international news. I want to express and publish more stuff but I don't have so much time. Now I do more job as an editor to organize the information in my website.

21. What kind of readers that the website targets?

It targets to new immigrants but not just limited to NZ. I want to cover overseas Chinese around the whole world.

22. In terms of constructing the Chinese diasporic identity, are there any differences or similarities between the print media and online journalism, and if there are, explain why?

The website is pretty much faster than newspaper when it comes to delivering information. However, unlike print media's in-depth probing, the news published on the

new media is much simpler. Another situation is that fewer staff working on the website. For example, there is only one staff in charge of news reporting in Skykiwi, as I know. Although new media develops very quickly, I don't think it can replace print media in the future.

Interview 5

Participant: Gloria GAO

(Manager of Chinese New Settlers Services Trust)

Date: August 17, 2010

Location: Panmure, Auckland

1. What is the definition of Chinese diaspora?

The Chinese diaspora should include Chinese people who have Chinese culture and background, regardless of which one place they come from, such as Taiwan, Hong Kong, mainland China, Singapore, and Malaysia.

2. What are the major issues within the Chinese diaspora?

Most of the new Chinese immigrants came from mainland China and they have encountered language barriers and culture differences after arriving in New Zealand. They become aware that their habits and customs, communicative means, and even ideology are so different from those in New Zealand. Some significant issues such as the relationship between husband and wife, educational concerns, and domestic violence have been arisen since the new immigrants are coming under pressure to adapt themselves. In addition to cultural differences, they are also unacquainted with laws and regulations which pose more complex problems.

3. When the Chinese New Settlers Services Trust (CNSST) was first launched and what is the motive for establishing CNSST?

CNSST was registered in September, 1998.

It was established by Jenny Wang, a Chinese immigrant who realized the difficulties that many immigrants had to face. So she decided to start the organization, aiming to improve the quality of life of the Chinese New Zealanders. We insist that CNSST is to be an organization of non-profit, non-governmental, and non-religious.

4. What are the roles of CNSST?

CNSST is considered a bridge between the government and the Chinese community. If Chinese new settlers come across any difficulties in terms of either their life or employment, CNSST will work towards meeting the needs of the Chinese new settlers as well as facilitate the successful integration of Chinese new settlers into wider New

Zealand society.

Although the government comes into contact with the community directly, they might not be able to get their jobs done perfectly. CNSST is in a close association with the Chinese community. About 65% of fund is to be subsidized by the government. So CNSST's principle is to coordinate between the government and Chinese community, enabling Chinese new settlers to participate into New Zealand multicultural society through learning NZ culture and promoting Chinese culture.

5. How does CNSST achieve its roles?

CNSST provides Chinese new settlers with four different services, including employment services, settlement support, social services, and community education center.

6. Have the roles changed over the past years?

There is no change to our service tenet. However, CNSST has developed from a service center during the initial establishment period to a normal organization currently with one head office and eight branches in Auckland. We hope to perfect our work as a bridge connecting the government and the Chinese community. Our team has become more and more professional, which enables an ability to clear up new problems raised. Also we have sought financial support from the government to set up new programmes to adapt changes.

7. What activities that CNSST has held? Why holding these activities and events?

CNSST has held a number of large-scale cultural activities. There is an important one called "Travel to seek the origin", which has been annually held in an attempt to help the next generation to be aware of their identity and motherland by travelling China for some period. In 2010, there are also some particular trips organized, such as *Shanghai Expo Trip* and *Visiting Olympic Venues in Beijing*.

Asian Food Carnival and Celebration of Moon Festival will be another forthcoming event for this year. Besides, Chinese speech contest and Chinese language examination have been organized regularly in order to improve children's Chinese level.

8. What is the impact of CNSST on the Chinese diaspora?

In addition to the family for all the Chinese diaspora, CNSST also attempts to impress the mainstream society with our professional services.

9. Are there any issues or conflict between the Chinese diaspora and dominant people?

Yes, there are some due to cultural differences. For example, the locals assume that the Chinese are rich as they see many houses have been purchased by Chinese people; in addition, overseas students look so young but some of them can afford luxury goods. However, we don't think these phenomena are very common. The Chinese diaspora has commanded much respect from the mainstream society as the vast majority of Chinese group works really hard. I mean the reason that people gain respect is because they have personal integrity and particular skills rather than where they come from.

10. Are there any relationships between CNSSY and the Chinese news media or the mainstream media?

CNSST normally takes a circumspect attitude of contacting the news media. A brand-new English version will be soon launched on the internet. By and large, we have maintained a long-term relationship with the Chinese news media to disseminate information since CNSST was initially set up. In terms of the Chinese newspapers, CNSST cooperates with *The United Chinese Press* to propagate our services. *The Chinese Herald* and *The Mandarin Pages* both offer us a very competitive price for advertisements. Compared with the newspapers, radio broadcasting seems to produce a more remarkable effect on the Chinese diaspora even though the advertising expense is the highest.

11. What is CNSST's response to the mainstream media portrayal of Chinese diaspora?

Owing to the tenet of non-governmental, non-profit, and non-religious, we have not much response if questioned about something from the news media. Rather, we choose to take practical activities. For example, the Kiko case has made us to be aware of a sense of mission and therefore we have paid more attention to overseas students, helping assist them in any issues they may have. CNSST is trying to seek funds in order to carry out worthwhile projects for the overseas students.

Interview 6

Participant: Bill Ralston

Date: August 17, 2010

Location: Ponsonby, Auckland

1. Why there has been the intense coverage of Natural Dairy recently in the mainstream news media?

The interest came very quickly because I think the foreign investment issue in New Zealand has been simmering away for quite a while, but there has not been a catalyst to make it into a political issue until this came along. There were issues in the past, like Shania Twain buying farmland in the high countries, someone trying to buy Young Nick's Head Peninsula up on the East Coast. But this one galvanized attention because Natural Dairy said at the beginning they were trying to raise up to \$1.5 billion to buy dairy farmland and plants in New Zealand. What I don't think was spelt out well right at the beginning was that was their long term plan, the first part of a plan really, probably about \$200 to \$300 being spent on only a very small area of land and a relatively small number of cows.

The argument became very quickly politicized because the Green Party, Winston Peters, and the others began to beat the drum that we're going to protect ourselves against foreign investment. Also, to be honest, it didn't help that one of the people spear-heading the deal, May Wang, previously had business difficulties here in New Zealand, so that made it look suspect, even though you can bring out as much information as you like saying 'No, that's a separate issue, she hadn't put together this deal, it's a legitimate issue in Hong Kong'. That generated a little bit of negativity and suspicion.

But, beyond that again, is a long answer to your first question, there is a history in New Zealand that probably goes back a century or more of suspicion of Chinese and Asians. I mean, if you go back to the 18th and 19th centuries, Chinese migrants were discriminated against and were not treated very well at all. And there has been in Australia, a paranoia, a fear of Asia because it's so huge, I think. And, coming into the New Zealand dairy industry ignited some of that prejudice again, some of that xenophobia.

I think if it had been an American company, in fact I can send you some facts from the overseas investment office, there's been large purchases by American and European countries of dairy land and of other land. The French, I think, own well over half of New Zealand's vineyards. There are no arguments about that. Two thirds of New

Zealand's forests are owned by overseas investors, no one seems to be worrying about that. Mainly because the major purchases in the past have been from northern America, Australia, from Europe, and it doesn't seem to have ignited the same degree of fear that this one purchase has because China is becoming such a dominant world economy. It has just overtaken the Japanese economy in the number two position. That has driven it, I think, as much as anything else.

2. Is it normal for politicians to get involved in cases such as Natural Dairy by making comments to the public?

The politicians do like to get involved in these sorts of arguments. The government, John Key in particular as a commodities trader, watches the political polls very closely and the mood polls and I think they picked up, the National government picked up, very early a mood of suspicion of fear of that we were going to be overwhelmed by foreign capital. And so he came out with his statements, saying for example 'we don't want to be tenants on our own land'. That doesn't mean he's necessarily opposed to the Crafar purchase, but he's trying to keep the fear levels down, he's saying 'it's okay, we're on the watch', and once he takes a stand, of course the other politicians start taking a stand as well. And it's driven by things as silly as what is on the web, what's on blogs, on what are talk-back radio and those kinds of sentiments drive the argument along, even if it's not a particularly intelligent argument.

I mean the Natural Dairy people published this ad today (August 17, 2010) in the New Zealand Herald and all the other major dailies in New Zealand, just to try to get some of the positive facts out there because they weren't going into the media, through the news media. So that's basically what they did.

3. Regarding the Natural Dairy case, what is the impact of politicians' comments on the public sphere?

If a politician says something, and people take notice and also the bureaucrats, which is why I think Natural Dairy became worried when the Minister of Agriculture said 'Oh, we don't think it'll happen', that could influence the overseas investment office. I mean the prime minister made his comments and it's been seen as coded signals to the Overseas Investment Office, who really should just make their minds up on the application on the merits of the business case. There's a worry that the political influence may come to play on it.

4. What are your roles or responsibilities for Natural Dairy (NZ) Holdings Ltd.?

My wife and I run our own company. We mainly do public relations communication, crisis management, media training, things like that.

We were hired just before the announcement came out that Natural Dairy were coming in here to try and assist the New Zealand Natural Dairy with their communications with the media. So, basically I'm just a conduit. It's a Hong Kong based company, and while they have an office here, most of the principals tend to be in Hong Kong, most of the time overseeing the investment in the company and how it's operating there because

that's the important part of the operation at the moment; getting the company raised and getting the company structure.

So when the media enquiries come, I try and get as much information as I can from Hong Kong. But I think that's been a problem for Natural Dairy, is that it hasn't had a clear public face in New Zealand of one of the principals, like the chairman who's based in Singapore, or the vice-chairman who's a New Zealand resident Chinese, and has been for many years. But he's been spending most of his time working himself to the bone in Hong Kong. So, again, unless you can put a public face to the company, it can be very difficult for people to identify with it, for people to believe it necessarily because it's amorphous.

5. Is it because of a different cultural understanding?

Yes. I think Natural Dairy came in with a very naive attitude towards New Zealand, expecting that the media would be more like the media in Asia, Hong Kong and China, and be more informationally based and simply stress a lot of the company structure, on what it's going to do and the business plan.

Whereas what the New Zealand media tend to do, and Australia, and the United States and England as well, they often look for the controversial part. The facts are often boring. So they'll try and pick what the public mood is, hence the argument began over Chinese investment and foreign investment in general, and I think Natural Dairy's taken a long while to go to paid media, to marketing, to get their positive messages out there. Because trying to get it all through, and it's a complicated deal, trying to get it all though the New Zealand media, the free media, is a lot more difficult.

6. Regarding your roles and responsibilities, can you tell me your response to the coverage of Natural Dairy?

The coverage has been more extremely negative than I thought it would be. I think that is partly because you have some quite well-heeled interest groups lobbying against Natural Dairy.

I think you'll find that, for example, Fonterra and their PR people are waging quite a strong battle against Natural Dairy. And so they're providing the media with a lot of negative detail, they're putting a lot of their own spin on it and they're just sliding it out there. As much as you try, from a Natural Dairy perspective, to try and get more positive messages into the media, you'll fighting probably one of the larger companies in the world in the form of Fonterra and associated interest groups around that who don't particularly want to see Chinese investment, or any overseas investment in New Zealand.

So I think it's been more negative than I expected. I thought there would be some negativity and I haven't seen much good sense talked about by the commentators, most of them have tended to go for a knee-jerk, fortress New Zealand mentality, that we're selling the family silver. I think there's been a lack of understanding that New Zealand just doesn't have the capital base to expand its dairy industries. New Zealand desperately needs a measure of foreign capital.

The argument should be, not whether we have foreign investment at all in the dairy

industry, but where you draw the line. Do you allow one per cent, 10 per cent, 20 per cent or 50 per cent foreign investment, or let it go all the way? Now, it may be in New Zealand's interest to have up to 20 per cent of New Zealand's dairy industry in other hand, in foreign hands. But any more than that could upset, say, Fonterra's future, which would be a negative on the economy.

So, the argument really needs to be focused on whether or not we sell farmland, dairy farmland, to foreign interest, but how much we should allow to sell before it has a negative impact. At the moment if you allow, say, five or 10 per cent, you might be able to, with the capital involved from overseas, considerably expand your export receipts, taxes and jobs. But if you get to 20 per cent, the law of diminishing returns, the facts start to go down again. So that's where the argument should be focused and if we can get it focused on that, then it might be a more sane argument.

7. In addition to Natural Dairy, there has also been the coverage relating to the dairy industries, such as San Lu's melamine poisoning scandal, a Chinese dairy giant buying Synlait majority stake. Have you seen any differences or similarities when New Zealand media covers these different cases?

Yeah. It was interesting when the San Lu deal went through because it was also met with horror by some elements of the media, 'Oh my God, more of our companies'. The thing is that that company could not float in New Zealand, it didn't have the cash to support it, so why wouldn't you bring in basically a joint venture plan partner? But it was still met with a pretty negative response.

So again it comes down to the argument of 'we need the cash; how much cash do we need, and how much of New Zealand can we afford to be owned by foreign companies before it actually starts to have not a beneficial effect, but a negative effect?'. But nobody seems to have got to that argument yet. They're trying to keep it black and white.

And the New Zealand media tends to operate in a very black and white terms, that something is good or something is bad. They don't tend to see the middle ground a lot and they tend to usually, well when issues get more complex and they get harder to explain or much harder to digest as a reader of newspapers, so then they therefore try and over-simplify it.

8. What is the reason for the mainstream media doing in this way?

I think the mainstream media try to cater to the widest possible audience; therefore some of their coverage of issues tends to dumb down a bit so they can reach the widest number of people. Another publication like *The National Business Review*, for example, might approach it in a far more complex and technical way because they know they're talking to a business audience. But something like *The New Zealand Herald* or *the Dominion Post* will have to broaden their story to try to reach the widest possible audience. Television is a classic example; they don't like to clutter their stories with a lot of facts because people don't take them in.

9. Within the mainstream news media, how is the Chinese diaspora commonly defined?

Well again, I think if we go back to the early 1990s when Winston Peters was launching New Zealand First and he locked onto the whole 'Asian immigration' to try and whip up public fear, I suppose. And that we were being overwhelmed by new migrants and therefore we would lose control of our own country. It worked for a wee while for Winston Peters, but then gradually as you found the Asian community settling into New Zealand and people realized that the people living next door to them, the Pakeha New Zealanders, realized the people living next door to them weren't that much different, the fear declined.

I think the attitudes in Auckland are far more positive towards Asians and Asian migration than, say, a place like Christchurch or Dunedin which has very little of it. The more the migration occurs, you go through a period of fear or distrust, but then once they get more involved in the community and you rub shoulders with the new migrants, wherever they're from, you find that attitudes become more positive. But as I said before, that the Chinese Diaspora has been going on for a very long time and was staunchly resisted in the late 19th century, through a lot of the 20th century, and only a lot more recently have people begun to lose some of that fear, some of that phobia, some of that xenophobia.

And the media has tended to stoke it along because the media in New Zealand concentrates on what it thinks its viewers and its readers and its listeners want to hear and so they will concentrate heavily on the issue. They know that people are interested in it; they know that they have some... Fear is a great motivator in a story, you know, and stories that revolve around fear. I fear the swine flu pandemic, and so I'll run that big because people are worried about it and they'll read it. And it'll be Asian investment in New Zealand, so I'm afraid of that, so fear is a big element in stories and it'll be quite strong when it comes to this country.

10. For most New Zealanders, does the term Asian immigration simply refer to Chinese?

Probably in their mind they're think Chinese. But I mean there are large Malaysian communities in New Zealand, there are a lot of Vietnamese as well, you know. There are a lot of people who have moved on from Singapore, Singapore-based Chinese who've come under some of the schemes where they go back to Singapore to work, but they've got the wealth criteria. But you don't hear a lot of arguments against the massive immigration of South Africans up in the East Coast Bays. I think there's a bit of paranoia over the cultural differences, or perceived cultural differences.

11. How do you think about the Chinese? Only people from mainland China?

From everywhere. I think that these days you're getting more from mainland China than you would have gotten 10 or 20 years ago, and in those days the immigration would have come out of Hong Kong when it was still British.

12. Do you think the definition of Chinese Diaspora has changed over the past years?

Yeah, it has. I mean you would have seen that too. I mean by-and-large the first Chinese migrants to New Zealand came from southland China, so it was the Cantonese language. So you can see the language shift now as Mandarin takes over.

13. Have New Zealanders realized this change?

Well no I don't think they do. I think there is a level of ignorance in New Zealand about what the Chinese Diaspora actually means. I don't think they fully understand it. I think it's fed by the fact that they probably don't even want to know.

14. Are there any differences or similarities between the mainstream media and Chinese news media?

Chinese media tends to be much more informational based. It would say, for example, 'the Natural Dairy company hopes to raise up to \$1.5 billion dollars to invest in New Zealand, which would bring several hundred million dollars more of export earnings over the next 10 years'. And they would run it in a far more informational way than the New Zealand media would. They would say 'Chinese investment in New Zealand could see us all tenants in our own land', you know? They will immediately try and skew the story to try and make it the most sensational. In my experience, from what I've seen, the Chinese media is not as interpretive as New Zealand media. It tends to, I'm sure it does have, I've seen Hong Kong papers with financial commentary and things like that. But I haven't seen sort of tabloid scale of journalism. I don't know because I don't read Chinese. But I've seen the English language versions and they buy-and-large tend to reflect the political nature of the country they come from. And while a measure of criticism is always allowed, I suspect if one is too critical in Singapore or China it would probably have some pressure on it to be less critical.

15. What do you think about the attitude of New Zealand news media towards the Chinese diaspora? Has the attitude changed over the past years?

In the last few months, I've seen it focus solely on the growth of Chinese capital and what that will mean. Maybe 10 years ago it was Chinese are coming to New Zealand, they set up home here, then they go back to China and they put their children through our schools and our health system, and we're getting no benefit out of it. And it was very negative at a personal, individual level.

Now there seems to be a wider picture taken and it's driven by the financial commentators and it's saying 'What will be the impact of a Fair Trade Agreement with China? What will be the impact of freer investment from China into New Zealand? If we don't have the capital to expand our own industries, what will be the impact of allowing a greater takeover of Chinese capital in New Zealand industry? Will we find ourselves more and more impoverished because of it?'

And I've seen arguments back saying 'it's no difference to us going and raising loans from Asia, the profits are still going back in terms of interest payments'. So what's the

difference? As long as jobs are created, export earnings are made and taxes are paid here in New Zealand, you're always going to lose a portion of your earnings abroad because all the banks in New Zealand, apart from Kiwi Bank, are foreign-owned. So, if I went and borrowed \$10 million from Westpac and bought a dairy farm, it's still the same as having an Australian come and own it because a portion of the profits and interest payments go back to the Australian banks.

I don't think there's quite that realization in New Zealand yet. But, the attitudes towards the Chinese diaspora have more from the personal and the 'Oh my god, I'm going to have a Chinese family living next door and their children are going to be chewing up our education system and they're going to be using up our health system', to 'what will it mean when you get the large-scale investment?'.

16. What have been outlined most within the mainstream news media in terms of the Chinese representation?

There's not a lot of, it's interesting that the New Zealand media, and again I presume of language difficulties, don't draw a lot from coverage in China by indigenous Chinese media. They don't tend to go to that. They'll go to what they see as more independent sources of news and information. So they'll go to the BBC, or the Reuters correspondent or the Press Association interpretations of what's happening here.

That is slowly beginning to change with CCTV's English language 24-hour station. I notice that's now running on Stratos TV, channel 89 on SKY, and that's bringing information directly from the Chinese media to New Zealand without the filters of having to go through *The Economist* in London or *The Sunday Times* in London, or whatever. So, up until now we've had very little of the indigenous, the Chinese-based coverage and their angle on things. And the *Xinhua* news agency is occasionally quoted, but it's almost quoted as being an official government viewpoint on something and they would not take the whole article from *Xinhua* at face value. Again I think that's historical because the media in China is seen as being more government controlled, and so therefore more unreliable, that it might be giving a propaganda viewpoint. 20 years ago, maybe; less so today, but not entirely.

The coverage of stuff out of China, in New Zealand, tends to be disasters or major events like the Shanghai Expo or the Beijing Olympics, more disasters; I mean the melamine scandal was the classic one because it involved New Zealand dairy products. You'll see the most recent one that involved hormones in New Zealand dairy. If they can see a New Zealand angle or interest in it, they'll do it; they'll do it as a story. Otherwise it'll have to be a story like the flooding story, like the one at the moment with the tragedies over there, they'll cover those. But the New Zealand awareness of China is not great. When I was at Television New Zealand and was head of News and Current Affairs there, they opened a bureau in Hong Kong with the idea of covering China and the whole of Asia. And that lasted for about three years, the first time we had a budget cut, and the pressure got put on, we lost the thing. The London bureau, the United States bureau and the Australian bureau stayed because they were obviously perceived by the board and by the management as being more significant to New Zealand viewers, they had more interest. Which I thought was kind of a stink because in the long-term the

Hong Kong bureau made a lot of sense.

17. What do you think about the coverage of Asian Crime in the mainstream news media?

I've read stories where the precursors for methamphetamine are more freely available in China and are therefore brought into New Zealand in much greater volumes out of there. I don't see a great deal of paranoia over triads overwhelming New Zealand, but I think there's an acknowledgement of Asians in general and Chinese in particular are involved in criminal activity, and I'd be very naïve to say they're not. To what extent I don't know, but I see the media picks up on it. They tend to identify the ethnic origins of Asian criminals probably more quickly, and frankly, 20 years ago they had an emphasis on Polynesian crime until it was pointed out to them that constantly identifying the ethnicity of somebody might have a negative effect on the public. And they did that far less, but now they've gone back to doing that sort of thing again because I think they like to stereotype.

18. Has the portrayal of the Chinese diaspora changed in the mainstream news media over the past decade?

We were talking about that before, that in areas that there has been a lot of Asian immigration, a lot of Chinese immigration, and people have become part of the community and settled, it may be on the school committee. It has taken a relatively short amount of time for people to realize that they're not bad neighbors that they're quiet good neighbors and they're no problem. And you can see the difference in attitudes, and I know in some of the polling that's been out there, between the areas that have similar amount of immigration, have lower levels of suspicion and negativity than areas which haven't. It's the fear of the unknown. It's very hard to fear somebody whose child goes to school with yours, and they're on the school committee and are helping at the school fair to raise money for the new swimming pool, you know? The attitudes, if anything now, seem to be focused, and certainly in Auckland, on the wider issues of what wholesale Chinese investment in New Zealand would mean, and the negative thing which you raised too which I'd forgotten about, which is the organized crime aspects of it. I don't think that anyone sees that Chinese migration is a major threat to law and order in New Zealand, but there is nevertheless the perception out there that there is some significant involvement by Chinese in organized crime. I think that's a reasonable assumption to make.

There are, I'm sure, areas of conflict, but not as great as surprisingly as you might expect. You do see in New Zealand some areas of conflict in various migrant groups because there was conflict not that long ago out in the western side of Auckland, in some of the suburbs there where you've had recent immigrants from areas like Somalia. They came in conflict with some of the Pacific Island groups in the area. But I think that was more the fact that they were in a lower socio-economic category. It tended to be a contest over resources and turf, territory, you know. You don't find the same degree of conflict I think on the North Shore or some of the eastern suburbs. I think that's possibly because the Chinese migrants who move to New Zealand are more middle-class, I think

it's a demographic issue, a socio-economic one. The conflict, where else would you have seen conflict?

I mean there are cultural differences. May Wang, I can't understand why she gets negative press because she sees it as 'she tried a business venture in New Zealand, it failed, but she picked herself up, dusted herself off and got back into business again'. And she sees that as a positive. Whereas in New Zealand, they say 'you failed. It's very, very cheeky for you to come forward again because you failed'. Because she sees it as a positive because having failed once, she's determined to succeed again. It's just a complete difference in attitudes. So you get that kind of weird thing happening. I'm still thinking about that conflict thing and where there might be some areas of conflict. There's a fundamental difference.

I think there is a cultural difference in terms of values, some of the values are different and that leads to misunderstandings other than anything else. And the Maori were overwhelmed for a long while by the immigration coming over from England and I think that looms large in our history too, that Pakeha New Zealanders look and say as the Maori were overwhelmed and lost their land and lost their economic dominance, so we could be too. And that's somewhere way in the back of our mind, but that's just a product of our own history of what happened 150 years ago.

I'm trying to think of positive stories that they've run. It tends to focus on minor things, you know, like the Lantern Festival. I mean then there are things like that all Aucklanders get involved in and feel better about. Then New Zealanders are getting more involved in that, the average New Zealander is, and therefore getting experience of another culture.

But for pretty much a century, apart from Polynesian migration to New Zealand like Samoa and Tonga and places like that, we had a very small growth in migration and it tended to be very uniform, it tended to be very homogeneous because it was mainly out of the British Isles and Holland and that was pretty much it. So we had Dutch and British sort of population for probably about 140 and 150 years.

It really only since the 1980s that you had a rise in Asian migration in general and Chinese in the last 15 years. And I think you get that every time, you get a change in ethnic patterns of migration, you'll probably find that there is a period or more where adjustments have to take place in the 1970s in New Zealand, New Zealanders were very racist in outlook towards Samoan and Tongan and Nuiwaen and Cook Island migration to New Zealand, and they saw that as potentially a threat. They were seen as others, as coming in from outside. You know, they'll take our jobs, they'll take our homes and they'll bludge off our welfare system. There's less of that fear about Chinese migration now, it's not seen as quite as threatening or as risky as New Zealand's attitudes in the '70s towards Polynesians. But, it concentrates on silly things. Like the stereotype of Chinese drivers being bad drivers, you know? The more cross-cultural contact you get, the less tension follows. And it may be as simple as, you know, I have a favorite place to have Yum Cha on a Sunday and you're exposed to that culture and that just mellows you out a bit.

So those types of cross-cultural contacts are good and I think as people put their children into New Zealand schools and are employed alongside Pakeha New Zealanders then you find the tension levels reduced. It just drops the level of tension and it

promotes the level of understanding.

I think the more the Chinese community can do, in the cultural sense, probably the better it will be, so that people can share fun times together.

19. What is the impact of the mainstream media portrayal of Chinese on the audience?

The impact has changed. In the '90s it was a fear of just being overwhelmed by the force of numbers and that would impact on our own cultural values. It moved from there to 'are we now going to lose economic sovereignty?'. That it's not so much about the people coming to New Zealand anymore, they don't worry about the people and the immigration patterns, they worry more about the financial flow. It's not about the flow of migrants to New Zealand and the press have noticed, it's concentrating more and more on the economic effects of what- two things: what Chinese investment in New Zealand would mean and what, in terms of our own sovereignty, and also a heightened awareness of what's happening in the Chinese economy because we realize our exports markets depends so seriously on it. China is our second biggest economic market, I think. It's either third or is about to become our second. So if the Chinese economy should boom and bust and go into recession, New Zealand would be significantly affected. So I've noticed in business pages that more and more stories are coming on what's happening in China, what's happening to its economy, and that's been confined largely to the business pages, but if there is a significant downturn in China economically, then those stories will fairly quickly advance into the front part of the paper, the news part of the paper. It's predominantly about the flow of the Chinese Diaspora of money than the Diaspora of the people.

That's where the argument needs to be, it's still too simplistic at the moment. The argument- 'no, we shouldn't have it' or 'no, we don't need it'. It's obvious that we need it, but it's how much do we need it? It's like getting a mortgage on a house. Do you want to be mortgaged to 100 per cent or do you only want to be mortgaged to 20 per cent? And it's a matter of working out for New Zealand where that matter of national interest lies. The national interest lies in getting some cash into the country so you can expand your export flow, without actually selling up every stick of furniture and all the silverware.

20. Within the mainstream news media, what are the major issues regarding the Chinese representation?

New Zealand attitudes to China still tend to be historical based, that it's seen as a communist country. You go back to the Cold War era, when you go back to older New Zealanders; they still remember the Cold War, which again would add some suspicion. Younger New Zealanders are probably less liable to have that kind of suspicion because they would have gone to school with Chinese, and have associated with a lot of Chinese and so therefore, have probably got a broader and more positive attitude towards it. But, the initial understanding of what is going on in China, what is happening to it economically, what is happening to it politically and what is happening to it socially is quite small. There is not New Zealand news media organisation that has a correspondent

now in China. Not one. They'll take their news from American, Australian and British; no direct. And so therefore the stories about what happens in China are only delegated to the back pages, or the world pages of the paper and they tend to be quite short. So unless we get a better understanding of what is happening internally in China we will continue to drift along in ignorance which is going to have a pretty negative effect, I think, on Chinese- New Zealand relations. The government's been trying, as you've seen with the Fair Trade agreements, the visit of the vice-chairman and things like that to 'up it', to up the profile a bit more. And unfortunately, the argument over Natural Dairy and the overseas investment thing seems to have undercut a lot of that open-mind, open-door policy that it was trying to do, which is one of the reason why Natural Dairy run those ads. They needed to try get some more positive information out there. If they didn't then it's quite possible the government would overrule the Overseas Investment Office and say 'you can't have it because it'd be too politically unpopular to sell those 16 farms'.

21. So you think it needs to be journalists from New Zealand in China to get a good understanding of business and economy?

Yeah. I mean there are organizations in New Zealand that are dedicated to sending New Zealand journalists to China and places like that but they tend to go in and do one-off specific stories on New Zealand business there or some other aspect. But you don't get the constant flow of information, except from other sources from there, you know. New Zealand media is like New Zealand, cash-strapped, and it doesn't seem to be able to invest in having foreign operatives of its own in foreign bureaus; it doesn't have them. None of the newspapers do anymore, radio doesn't and television doesn't, except for Australia and the States. TVNZ has one in Australia and one in the United States and one in London; one guy, a reporter in London. And you would think 'how can you ignore the rest of the world?'. It's quite large.

And so when something happens in China, say with the big floods, they'll take news agency footage or a story done by the BBC or a story done by CBS in America or something like that. And that's not always reflecting the New Zealand perspective in some of these things.

It helps if you have the New Zealand eye on it rather than an Australian or an American.

22. What are solutions to these issues?

There are some solutions really, just trying to get more and more information out there so you promote more understanding. The one up-side of the argument, the political argument that's going on over overseas investment, is it may encourage the editors to put more in about what's going on over in China and what the overseas investment issue is all about and that will tend to feed greater understanding.

Interview 8

Participant: Arthur Loo

(Chairman of Auckland Chinese Community Centre Inc.)

Date: August 23, 2010

Location: New Market, Auckland

1. When was Auckland Chinese Community Centre (ACCC) first launched?

In 1960.

2. As an organization especially for Chinese, what kind of service does ACCC provide?

The Community Centre is essentially a community organization. So we basically provide a meeting place, for members of the community to meet. So, the property in Mangere is used for different sports. And there's also a smallish Chinese language school there. So, Sunday mornings they teach Cantonese and Mandarin there. And then sometimes it's also used for other community functions, you know parties, people want to have a dinner there they rent the hall, other kinds of meetings.

3. What do you think about the impact of 1987 Immigration Policy on New Zealand?

Well, I mean, as long as the immigration of Chinese people is concerned, it was a tidal wave. There was a lot of people who started coming from Taiwan, there was a lot of people from Hong Kong and then because the Act changed it to a point system, to an investment system. The previous policy of what was a white New Zealand policy got changed to, well, if it wasn't a white New Zealand policy, it was phrased as favoring immigrants from our traditional sources of migration. So those traditional sources were the United Kingdom, parts of Europe, like Holland, the Netherlands, maybe Hungary, places like that. Through changing to, you know, looking at accepting migrants from throughout the world.

But it certainly enabled a lot of people who wanted to come from Hong Kong and Taiwan, and to a less extent Malaysia, and then by about the early 1990s from mainland China because the points based, partly points based, partly investments funders based. They included a lot of people from Hong Kong, Taiwan and mainland China. By and large, the people who came from Hong Kong and Taiwan, they were motivated to leave their home countries for different reasons. Taiwan, I think for a better lifestyle, Hong Kong because people were apprehensive after China resumed its sovereignty over

Hong Kong in 1997. But the most marked difference is that these people were wealthy immigrants, as opposed to the bulk of the people who had come from China before then were basically blended peasants. You know, people that were not particularly well educated and didn't necessarily have a lot of money when they left China. Whereas, the people from Hong Kong and Taiwan, it was completely different. They had to be wealthy before they could get the right to live in New Zealand and the poor Chinese in Hong Kong couldn't come; I mean they had to be reasonably well educated to get into New Zealand.

Under the point scale, under the point policy, which is what happened with the people from China in the mid 1990s, there were a lot of people with university degrees from China. They were a better educated, but they didn't necessarily have a lot of money. So quite often you would have a husband and wife who would both have university degrees, who managed to bring themselves within the policy, to get the right sort of residence in New Zealand.

4. Have the roles of ACCC changed since the 1987 Immigration Policy change?

Not overly. I mean we're still in the role of providing a meeting place for Chinese people. I mean since the late 1990s, we bought another building at 1 New North Road, on the corner of Eden Terrace, and that provides another meeting place for local Chinese. So, I don't think that our purpose has changed markedly in the last 40 or 50 years.

5. What is your definition of the Chinese diaspora?

The old immigrants, the original immigrants from Guangdong, so from South China, so I mean, up until 1987, you know, over 90 per cent of the immigrants from China were, you know the Pearl River Delta area of Guangdong.

But the new immigrants from 1987, a lot of the Hong Kongers were Cantonese people, you know Cantonese speaking. The people from Taiwan, I guess a lot of them were from Fujian province and spoke Mandarin, and the ones from mainland China were from all over the country. Some of them were from Guangdong and were all Cantonese speaking, but a much larger number were from northern China and were Mandarin speaking.

5. Has the community held some activities and events on a regular basis?

On a regular basis, our most prominent activity is the Chinese New Year and Market Day held at the ASB Showgrounds in Epsom. You know, every year we've been doing that now for probably over 20 years. I mean, for the last eight or nine years at the show grounds, before that, at the Turners and Growers Markets in Mount Wellington, and before that, where it started, was the Turners and Growers Markets in Downtown, in the marketplace in downtown Auckland, roughly opposite where the Crystal Harbor and the Grand Harbor restaurants are, in that block, opposite that. And that would have started probably in 1970s I would say.

So we still have a dinner every year, or some sort of function to celebrate on October the 1st before New Zealand recognised the People's Republic of China as the official government of China, you know, we used to celebrate the nationalists government's, the Chinese National Day on October the 10th.

And then there are various functions, I mean we hold functions or dinners for various purposes, sometimes to host delegations from China on a small scale. We've had the

odd fundraising dinner. The last time we did that was to raise money for the victims of the Sichuan earthquake.

We were involved in starting the dragonboat festival in Auckland way back in the 1980s. We were approached by the organizers to assist in the organizing of the dragonboat festival, we did that for two or three years, until it became a business event and we sort of withdrew from being actively involved.

6. Who are the people getting involved in these events and activities?

A lot of our events are for anybody, I mean they may be focused on the Chinese community, but we welcome participation from anybody who's got an interest in anything that we're doing. So, while we're at the fore-front of organizing it, with something like the Chinese New Year festival, we welcome participation from anybody. And entry is free so anybody is free to come into the show-grounds.

7. Have you seen any evidence of attracting more and more New Zealanders to participate in the events?

A little bit, I mean you know, I think new Zealanders are getting to know more and more Chinese people. I mean there are cross-cultural relationships. I mean, this year our event coincided with a travel business having an expo, and so that drew a lot of people who, in turn, came to visit our event so we had a lot of non-Chinese coming though our festival this year.

8. Have there been any issues within the Chinese diaspora in New Zealand?

I don't know if there's issues. Certainly I think amongst some of the New Zealand-born Chinese, as they get older they seem to be a resurgence of interest in their background, and you may be aware, in the last few years, there's been a series of conferences held, which is colloquially referred to as 'The Bananas Conferences'. They have been organized by the Auckland branch of the Chinese Association. I mean I've been involved with the organizing committee for three of them. They are a different organization, they're a kindred organization, and a lot of the things that have been discussed at that conference, or that series of conferences, have involved Chinese identity and people who want to explore issues around being Chinese and living in New Zealand, their background, their heritage. So it's pleasing, I guess, that you know people, as they get into their middle age, their late middle age, and some of the younger people as well, are interested in exploring or connecting with their Chinese background.

By having the conferences like that, and talking about it, so that like-minded people can get together and discuss these issues. I mean, we have speakers from both within, and without, the community and also local and overseas participants. The last conference last year was held in connection with the International Society for the Study of Overseas Chinese, which has a more academic focus, but the two aims, or the two parts of the conference seems to get together very well.

9. Have there been any issues between the Chinese diaspora and mainstream society?

Well I mean we could talk all day about Chinese immigration laws that were enacted in

the late 1800s and the early 1900s to try and exclude, or restrict, Chinese immigration. I'm sure you're aware of the restricted laws, the Chinese immigration restriction acts, and the poll tax that was introduced to try to restrict the number of Chinese that tried to get into New Zealand. So from that point-of-view, there was, I guess, conflict or antagonism towards Chinese immigration from the dominant society. But there will always be some people who oppose immigration and maybe oppose it coming from China. When the number of Chinese immigrants was relatively small, I think assimilation into the community, into the dominant culture, was a little bit easier, and I would like to think that by the early 1800s, 20 to 25 years ago, the Chinese immigration was very well regarded. We were basically law abiding, we didn't cause trouble, we worked hard, we studied hard, we did by taking advantage of the education system, we were able to go to university to graduate and get into professional and corporate jobs. And so while I think a lot of the antagonism towards Chinese immigration had decreased hugely by the 1980s, but you know, it was always the case.

10. How has the community dealt with the issues?

Well there have been groups formed to try and put forward a positive view of immigration. There are writings, there are academics involved.

A prominent academic who's involved in this area is Professor Manying Yep, who I'm sure you've heard of. From time to time, spokespeople for the Chinese community have spoken out, I mean I have been involved in that to a certain degree, that and in the 1980s I was involved in commenting to the media quite a bit.

You may have come across in your research a series of articles by a journalist called Pat Booth, which was published in the local suburban newspapers, I think the Central Leader, called something about the Asian Invasion. Well, I was the one that he interviewed before he wrote those articles. And I've always tried to put a positive spin on, you know, the benefits of Asian Immigration and why Chinese behave the way they do and all that sort of thing. So I got involved. When these articles got published, it aroused a furor, and there was a small committee formed that was going to, you know, trying to rebut some of the more, I don't know, biased items or stuff that was being said. With people like Manying and myself, and a journalist and a few other people who were I guess reasonably prominent in the Chinese community and who also had some facility for expression in English, got together and said 'we should get together and whenever there is anything said in the press that we don't agree with that we want to have a comment of, we will put ourselves forward as commenting on this'. Then after that I was interviewed with Pat Booth on a current affairs programme on Television One, the programme was called *Counterpoint*. And the interviewee was Barry Soaper. So Pat and I flew down to Wellington and we sat around a table in a studio and we talked about these issues, and I was also interviewed on Television Three, I was interviewed over the radio to make comment about peoples' concerns about Chinese immigration because it was the local population suddenly saw these thousands and thousands and thousands of Chinese coming. Their young kids who couldn't speak English, flooding into schools in the central Auckland area, schools which were previously regarded as well-to-do areas where they didn't have to deal with kids who couldn't speak English.

11. What do you think about the attitude of mainstream society towards Chinese diaspora? Has the attitude changed over the past years?

Well some of it, I guess, pandas to the popular opinion about Chinese. Some of it is slightly red-neckish. I don't think that the dominant society looks upon it as the Chinese diaspora, I don't think they look at it in that context. I think all they see is a whole lot of Chinese suddenly living in their community. I mean it's really only those that have taken an interest in Chinese immigration out of China that have looked upon it as the Chinese diaspora. Maybe the people who have attended the Bananas conferences maybe have some idea of it, but if you're looking at the Chinese diaspora into South-East Asia and countries like Malaysia, Singapore, Vietnam and Thailand, Cambodia. The immigration out of China in relation to the Gold Rushes in British Columbia and then Columbia, Australia, and the Otago in New Zealand. But now, of course, there are Chinese in probably every country in the world. I went to a conference in Beijing in May for Overseas Chinese, and there would have been about 12, 13 hundred people from all sorts of diverse places. You know, nearly every country in Africa, Mozambique, Mongolia, Botswana, you know the Caribbean, South America with places like Brazil, Peru, Chile.

12. What do you think about the mainstream news media portrayal of Chinese diaspora in New Zealand?

Well you've got the mainstream news media, like the morning papers, or the morning paper, who love to print anything that may panda to some peoples' perception of the Chinese community. I think it's changing, up until the last two years, we used to have to put up with a lot of this stuff, and it's still happening. You know, the way this group of people wants to buy the Crafar Farms. Before that, you know, it's Asian drivers, and then they never hesitate to mention Asian crime. They love to talk about triads, they think that every Chinese person whose committed a crime here belongs to a triad. You know there maybe Chinese organized crime, there may be Chinese criminals, but you know I wouldn't go so far as to say that every Chinese criminal belongs to a triad, but sometimes I think the news media want to betray it that way because that pandas to a certain idea that people have.

There is a bit of stereotyping.

13. Has the portrayal changed over the past years?

Well I think it's easing a little bit, but you still get a lot of people going on about Asian drivers. I used to be Chinese and now all of a sudden I'm Asian because they can't be bothered distinguishing between the different Asian groups and that in itself goes to show that they don't give a hoot and they're not interested in trying to distinguish between Chinese or Korean or Japanese, they coined this, they use the word 'Asian' almost progoritively. It's like my calling a Scotsman an Irishman or just calling them British or something. You know, some Scottish or some Irish people might umbrage it, being called English. But that's the way they are. Every newspaper can't cipher Chinese names, they can't sort out what is that family name and what is the given name.

14. Is it culture differences, or misunderstanding?

Well they haven't taken the time to understand. If you put your Chinese name, for example, it's hard to pronounce anyway, but you would expect more from the mainstream news media. You would think that the mainstream media would want to take a bit more interest, just in the interests of accuracy if not anything else, want to get the names right. I mean I'm sure they would take the exception at their names not being pronounced right or not be spelled properly, I mean they just don't seem able to handle Spanish names, they assume that the last word that occurs is the family name and with Chinese names, they automatically assume that the words that a written last is the family name.

And it's not only newspapers in New Zealand, but some overseas newspapers do that as well. And I can tell at a glance, virtually, what is the family name what is the family name and what is the given name and you know if DENG XIAOPING wasn't so famous, he'd be called Mr XIAOPING. I mean I'm sure that if he wasn't famous and his name was mentioned in the news, they would refer to him as Mr XIAOPING, not Mr Ding. And all it is, is the slackness on the part of the reporters. Sometimes you know that they've even spoken to the person and why can't they say to the person 'look what's your family name?' so that they call Mr Liu, 'Mr Liu' and the call Mr Wong, 'Mr Wong'.

15. What do you think about the Chinese language news media in New Zealand?

Well I mean there are more Chinese publications, but the things is that they're more advertising sheets, there really isn't, at the risk of saying so, hardly a Chinese newspaper that is worthy of the name, right? I mean the news content is quite slight and you know there is a lot of advertising and other stuff.

Obviously that's where the revenue comes from so, it's a business, I mean everything, their survival rests on their advertising, so they're giving away newspaper right. There hasn't been a newspaper that you have to buy since *the Independence Daily* ceased being published about, I don't know, six or seven years ago. But I mean, that was a publication that was owned by Taiwanese people. I mean since then, every other newspaper, as you call it, is a giveaway, packed full with advertising, and there are some that do have a news content and try to make an attempt at putting in news and current affairs and magazine type articles, and there are some that, you know, that don't and they're just packed full of advertising.

Interview 9

Participant: Kai Luey

(Chairman of New Zealand Chinese Association, Auckland Inc.)

Date: August 24, 2010

Location: 1 New North Rd, Auckland

1. When was the New Zealand Chinese Association first launched?

The New Zealand Chinese Association was incorporated in 1935 and apparently there's 13 branches throughout New Zealand and the main reason why they got together was because it helped raise funds to assist mainland China fight the Japanese which were occupying in 1937 when it got very active. And they got money from each individual Chinese in New Zealand and there was only about 4 or 5,000 then. So it's been the longest national Chinese organization in New Zealand with the 13 branches, a lot of them call themselves New Zealand, but really a lot of them are Auckland-based, especially the later associations, mainly of Chinese people.

Well, in the early 1990s, to get permanent PR in New Zealand, there were extra points if you belonged to a local organization. So, people deposited money here, which was only deposited here, but it still belonged to them and had membership and a supporting letter from this organization. So a lot of people got permanent residence on this basis.

2. Have the roles of the community changed since the 1987 Immigration Policy?

Yes, demographics have changed because mainly, people who immigrated in the Western world were from the Canton area which is where I come from, which is south-east, towards Hong Kong. They're the main migrants into New Zealand, and there's a lot of tradition here.

But after the initial surge, in what's called the Asian Tigers, which was Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore and Malaysia since the late 1880s right through the late 1990s and 2000, but most of the migrants from China, come from Mainland China, because the ones who came from the Asian Tigers, the people who wanted to migrate had migrated basically by then. So you'll see in the statistics that the later migrants all come from mainland China.

How's it changed? Well I think there was resistance at a certain time. The main speaking head here would be Cantonese in our meetings, English and Cantonese. So what's tended to happen is that the mainland Chinese formed their own association and this is the United Chinese Association of New Zealand.

As I said, a lot of Chinese New Zealanders don't speak much Chinese now, including myself. So there was some kind of resistance, they didn't want to regard it as a kinsman, because there's a language barrier, and there's still a language barrier in the Chinese community, you've got your English speaking, your Cantonese speaking and mandarin speaking people. The ones who can integrate strongly are the ones who can get a better command of English language, because that means they integrate more quickly into the local mainstream community and because there's enough of them, they form what I call, 'enclaves', which means that they can live in their own little groups and only mix in their own little groups because there's quite a few of them so they give each other that purpose, and there's common background there and everything. So, that's why this United Chinese Association might have about 20 different associations as part of them, and these tend to be in various areas. Like there's Pakuranga Chinese Association, Panmure, North Shore, you know, various kind of suburbs around Auckland. Then you've got their own little Chinese organization, which are mainly Mandarin speaking people from China. So that's how they managed to have these social activities. So that caused what I call 'fragmentation', whereas in the old community we had exclusion from the Poll Tax Law and we were actively discouraged even though it was supposed to be non-racial immigration policies.

From the 1950s onwards, in reality it was white New Zealand policy. There was definitely preference, not just for Australians, but Anglo-Saxon people. And that hasn't changed that much. I'm of the opinion and attitude that we're all children of migrants, even the Maoris are migrants, the original people of New Zealand were what are called Moriori and they were called off. Just depends when we came here, so we're all children of migrants. And the thing about the Chinese community, by the time they've been through the New Zealand education system, next generation they won't know when they came here and when they were born because it'll all just be New Zealand Chinese, and that's what you've got to work towards. So there are people like us who realize this has got to make strong attempts to, what I call, build bridges between the new communities and the old communities. But there's always that difficulty of that language communications.

3. What do you think about the characters of new Chinese immigration?

China has built up so strongly as an economic force. If a guy's smart, and got the right connections, he can make a fortune in China because the market's so big with 1.3, 1.4 billion people. People who come to New Zealand, they do it because of lifestyle, for the sake of the education of their children, because it's so competitive in China, just like it's so competitive in places like Singapore and Hong Kong and other places, is that you can't even get to your true potential quite often because you don't get the opportunity for the education that you need to really have a good standard of living. So a lot of people come over here for the sake of their children, I've heard a lot of professional people; doctors, engineers and that who come over here and work menial tasks like taxi-driving or restaurants or shops just for the sake of their children, to give them that opportunity. As you know, Chinese people value education and heritage and culture very much, so they feel that education is the key to the door for very much family orientation,

so they want to keep those values there going strongly. And the whole problem is with China is, despite it's become an economic powerhouse, the factory of the world, but they've got the associated noise like pollution and noise so people who come to New Zealand and stay here, like the New Zealand lifestyle, the open air and the outdoors, with tramping and swimming and things like this, are the people who want to stay. We like to feel that theoretically our association is open to all people of Chinese origin, of ethnic origin, I feel we're building bridges and we are looking to the future of New Zealand and China. We feel it is our duty as the old community to help the new community integrate into New Zealand society quicker and that is the basic motivation and reasoning. Also, we want to teach our New Zealand Chinese, the 'Bananas', is that even though they feel like they're totally accepted into New Zealand mainstream society, all they have to do is look in mirror and know they're not.

When it comes down to the crunch, we're just all put in the same basket 'Oh, you're a Chinese' you know, and that makes it difficult, even for local born Chinese, to get equal treatment. As you might have heard, people have set it up so that they have a person of white background with exactly the same qualifications with that of a Chinese person, they didn't get an interview. And this all comes back to New Zealand as a nation full of small employers and they just want people of their own kind, and that doesn't help the overall population. And migrants come here, wanting to work hard to progress, but aren't given the opportunities. So, you know, the unemployment for Asians and Chinese is about 10 per cent, which is much higher than the general population. So, there's not equal opportunity, it's not a level playing field and that's even been stated as recently as earlier this week from the Human Rights Commission in their conference in Christchurch.

So things have these stages of immigration and attitudes of new migrants; there's 'exclusion', and they did that for years with the Chinese with Pole Tax and all that, and the anti-Chinese laws, especially anti-Chinese laws. And then there's what you call 'tolerance', all right, and there's 'acceptance', they all hope to get to acceptance very shortly because we're supposed to pride ourselves as being a multi-cultural nation, but we're not really. I think we're beyond just basic 'tolerance', but only just beyond that, they haven't reached 'acceptance' point by the mainstream New Zealand population, which is mainly Anglo-Saxon, whites, in terms of attitudes.

4. You have organized the 'Going Bananas conferences' and what is the reason for doing this?

Well I think as I mentioned earlier, we feel that it is our duty as the old community to help the recent migrants integrate into New Zealand society quicker. But we could only do this with people who, what we call, 1.5 generation.

Well, what 1.5 generation means, is a person who's not first generation or second generation, so they're 1.5 and they came here as a child, usually less than 10, but they didn't make the choice to come here. They came here because their parents decided to come. So then they're educated in the New Zealand system, and therefore they've got a reasonably good grasp of English, but they still have this cultural background and heritage from an early age because they weren't born here. They had some time living

in Asia or China. So that's what defines 1.5 because we can only practically hold these offices in English-only, so there's no point going to someone who wouldn't understand you and if you want to put translations in then it just makes the whole conference so cumbersome. Unless you do like United Nations and have interpreters galore who actively translate word-for-word what's said, so we couldn't afford that. And the other one is to really give some direction and some meaning to our local born news, which really are losing sight of the fact that they are Chinese and they are different. So we had to get them to look at their own identity and find out who they really are. So they were the two motivations, the major motivators, and it just kind of grew and grew and grew and people wanted more and wanted to have more discussions. And around this, to make it entertaining of course, we went into kind of personal experiences, and that created a lot of interest. And then people talked about themselves and how it affected their lives. And then we had people who did very well for their community and what sort of barriers they had to overcome to achieve those levels of excellence. We said the third one was the finish. To really hold a big conference and attract about 2 or 300 people, you've really got to have something that's different and we feel that we couldn't offer anything on them stem of kind of identity and that, anything that was truly different to make sure that it was successful. The reason I held the last one was that I was asked by the Organization for the Studies of Chinese Overseas to hold a conference. They are a body of mainly academics who talk about the Chinese Diaspora for the world and how they settle in and that sort of thing. And they asked me to jointly host a conference for them and they held one in Singapore earlier this year, but this was a regional one and it was quite reasonable because we had about 40 overseas people attending. Normally we might only get five or six from overseas. So it was very successful and it created a lot of publicity and profile for NZCA, and the fact of what we were trying to achieve.

5. Are there any other activities and events that the community has held? And what is the motive for holding them?

The other things that we do is that we have an Easter tournament every year, which the last one that we held had over 1000 competitors play a range of sports. It's a great meeting place for Chinese throughout New Zealand, and with a tiny bit of support the whole thing ends up having around 2-3,000 people every year. It's a huge event. And then we try and encourage academic excellence by having awards. We have a leadership development conference to try and get the young people.

The Future Dragon came out of Legend Development, that's a five and a half day residential course which we have role models, teaching culture, leadership projects, they learn about themselves, by a self-analysis processing. This Future Dragons is a grouping of 20-30 year olds who really got together at LDC and wanted to continue having this ongoing communications and presence. So it's run by the young people.

I started the first LDC, but the one since then has been headed by a person who has been through the conference. So in other words, we're developing new leaders all the time and that was the intent because a lot of people at NZCA are getting on in life, like I am.

It is a motivation of myself as a chairman. It might not necessarily be the motivation of

the Future Dragons in themselves, but the fact is they're communicating and getting together constantly, which means you're propagating the fact that you've got a different identity and culture and a different set of goals that are different from the different mainstream people. It's a point of differentiation. People have got to want it, of course, and people participating. It was certainly one of the goals that I had when I started doing this leadership.

It was first started in 2007 and there's been one every year since, alternating between Auckland and Wellington. We've started organizing for next year's one already, the 6-11th of February. Now I've been chaired by, like I said, a person who previously attended, but I'm on the committee to try and find speakers and other activities.

The first one I would said three quarters were local born, but now we're getting about the 60 per cent mark, maybe next year it might be 50 per cent and some of the people on the organizing committee are recent migrants. I think this is what we have to achieve. I think it's got to be better understanding.

Coming back to your other question, I know my daughter when she was studying, to me had a bad attitude towards the recent migrants because they tend to stick in, what we call, their own little groups. But myself, as an older person, like to think that we think wider than just the narrow friendship thing. You've got to think wider, especially with being the head of organization. We are here for the total Chinese population who want to participate with us.

6. Has the perceptions of New Zealanders towards immigration or Chinese Diaspora changed over the last decade?

Superficially, yes. It creates excitement for them, seeing these festivals and lantern festivals is a great event, and enjoy the different types of food because people travel more and are more cosmopolitan. But when it really comes down to the crunch they still prefer their own. Chinese do the same, of course, like we would prefer that our children marry fellow Chinese. But if you truly want to be a multi-cultural nation, they've got to be, what we call, a level playing field, and it's not. And this ingrained attitude is improving all the time, I mean I went o a briefing about ethnic viatory organization for the Supercity, and there was Indian and others, and people have known for years that various organizations, we say the same, it's improved, but there's a long way to go with their attitudes towards Chinese. And especially for Asian, you come from Eastern Europe you get more accepted, and I think it's even more difficult for black people and Middle Eastern.

7. Is dominant group here in New Zealand able to distinguish the Chinese people in terms of their places of origin?

Only when they talk and only when they know the attitude. But when you walk down the street, they don't know. Until they know you, then they assume. I mean how many times do I get it, 'Oh where do you come from?', so I say Westport, which is where I was born, that's South Island as well, then they realize. And, especially when I speak to them on the phone, they don't realize that I am Chinese, until you give your name, it tweaks. I suppose this is natural. People are more accepted until they came in a larger

force, and then there are fears of Asian Invasion and Asian crime. I used to get so many calls from the media, only when there's been sensation.

8. The Chinese immigrants would like to see more positive coverage from the news media, right?

We do, and this is why I'm very disappointed in Lincoln Tan, is that he tends to follow the rest of it and reports sensational things.

9. What do you think about the mainstream media's portrayal of the Chinese immigrants?

Well crime, and other things and scandals and whatever it is. Whereas a programme like *Asia Downunder* tries and puts the positive things, you know a feature about human interest stories and that sort of thing. But I don't know whether it's a policy of *the New Zealand Herald*, but you know Lincoln doesn't enjoy the reputation of a lot of Chinese because he's a scandal monger, they call him. I know Lincoln quite well, but I'm a bit disappointed by some of the things that he's done. But the only time I get calls all the time, it's always about some sensational aspect. And I've spoken a lot to *Radio New Zealand*, especially when I was National president. I was National chairman, or president for three years, that's the maximum term. And now they speak to the current one who's in Wellington, Stephen Young. But I get a few when it comes from Auckland. And we've made the policy to talk to the media whenever they ask questions, because whenever we need something we go and ask them, and you can't say 'no comment', it doesn't help anybody at all saying 'no comment' because they don't come and ask you your opinion, and if you've got something important to say, you don't get the opportunity. So we've adopted the attitude that we will talk to them, but you've got to be very careful what you say.

10. Are there any issues in terms of representing Chinese in the mainstream news media?

Well just look at the statistics, the facts, not just the euphoria in the papers. Is that Asians, or Chinese, are totally unrepresented in the crime statistics and in the jails. The highest ones are Polynesian, Maoris and Pacific Islanders. Now the reason for this is that the Chinese believe in education, so they try and move up in the world. Some of them through criminal means, but most of them through peaceful means or prove themselves better the general population; that's the way you progress. The only thing is that they're not given the opportunity to prove that adequately in New Zealand, that's my personal opinion. In other words, there's a ceiling. They don't mind you doing all the hack-work and dirty work, but if you want to try and get up here, there are very little chances because it's still controlled by the mainstream whites. But that's the situation to me. I think the Maori and the Polynesians are very much favored by the laws and the government and that sort of thing, and they're the ones who go for most of the criminal activities. Mainly because they can't get jobs and that so they turn to crime. The Chinese, they just work harder to get ahead, that's the ethos that they've been brought

up in. There are some which try and short-circuit things by criminal activities, but I think they're still very much a minority.

Well I've said the mainstream media is going for sensationalism. They talk about Asian crime all the time and they don't feature what I call 'good feeling' stories which talks about the character of the Chinese community and what we're trying to achieve. A girl called Judy Middleton at the New Zealand Herald, she's overseas now. But she tried to, in about 2006, she wrote a series of articles, that's the thing about Google is that you can always look back, she was working back at the New Zealand Herald then, she did a great job trying to highlight stories and in many ways. *Leng Thin's paper High Ball* a lot of people hated because it was full of scandal, but I thought it was quite interesting, because at least they tried to bring news articles in English, which I could read and understand, about the various problems the Chinese were having within New Zealand and settling down and other things. I thought it was very interesting. I used to read it every time.

But in terms of mainstream, it's very hard to get something on unless it's sensational. You know, we try to get some coverage of our LDC and some of the other events we put on *TV One* and *TV3* and I know we've got a few people trying to help us. But we just get knocked back by the management; not newsworthy enough. So I don't really know what they're looking for. But I honestly believe that there are many ways the media people are quite shallow, in terms of what they want to put on, especially for TV. Community newspapers will feature you and they look at more human interest stories, which I think is what's needed for the migrant community to make sure they're more readily accepted here. So the people, to me, who do the better articles, are the community newspapers in terms of helping.

11. What is the reason for these issues regarding the Chinese representation? is it because it's a lack of understanding?

No, it's not misunderstanding. I think journalists; most of them are quite smart. They go for the angle.

12. Has there been any change to the portrayal?

No. Well I haven't experienced it.

13. Are there any issues within the Chinese diaspora since the 1987 immigration Policy? If there are, how has the community dealt with them?

Some attitudinal ones. Well of course there is politics different for one thing, I mean between the Taiwanese and mainland Chinese. But business overcomes all politics. You know how many Taiwanese there are in Shanghai, they've got a special counter at the airport for Taiwanese. Well everybody's got their own set of interests. I don't think there's really a strong resentment. I think that it's disappointing that some of the newer migrants come here and give us, what is called, a 'bad name' by having some of this crime, like violent crime and drugs and that sort of thing, which is not good. But we understand that in any society there's the good and bad eggs sort of thing. And things

are even more difficult in China because it's such a large country and it's a dog-eat-dog situation and some of it can get very ruthless. Whereas we've been more laid back in New Zealand and accept things more. That is a problem, but you've got to overcome that.

14. Do you find any solutions to these issues?

Time, and the fact there's understanding, but you know, it think it's going to be better if we get given a real opportunity to gain meaningful employment because a lot of them, as I said, work in restaurants and all that and other places and they're shop keepers and all that, it must be very low wages.

15. What are the issues or conflict between the Chinese diaspora and dominant group?

So far, all you need to do is go to the universities and see the dominance of Asian, both Chinese and other Asians, like there's quite a few Indians now, in many ways it's jealousy.

Well the whites are jealous of the Asians because they are doing better than them academically. Universities are where it starts. I mean, go into the medical school and they've had this personality test which goes over and above academic marks and qualifications to try and ensure that whites get through into the medical profession; otherwise it'd be all dominated by Asians. It's always their aim, as you know; they want their children to be doctors, dentists, lawyers in that order. They're the prime professions and still are.

It really doesn't appeal to me much because we talk about being multi-cultural but we're really not. We're bicultural by law, and they've given the Maoris so much attention and compensation for the so-called grievances from the Treaty of Waitangi of 1840, and I feel like saying 'well get to the real world, all they're doing is wanting more and more hand outs'. But it all comes to mental attitude. The Chinese are always going to do better, and the Indians to a less extent, because they've got a better mental attitude than the Maoris and the Pacific Islanders because they're willing to progress and work hard to get ahead, whereas they don't have the same kind of ethos and attitude as Polynesians. It's something that's instilled to us from an early age. Having said that of course, with the younger generation there's not necessarily that much difference, but it's always there. As you know, you're Chinese. It's drummed into your mental attitude. Get yourself educated, do well, get a good job and progress, you've always got to think long-term. The determination is what I think gets a bit of resentment from the whites.

16. Do you think that the Bananas Conferences and other activities have made an impact on the mainstream society or white people are getting a better understanding of the Chinese diaspora?

Yeah well I think we can, but really it's a very slow process. I think the government could have done a better job with this Fair Trade Agreement. I asked at the Banana Conference, very early on, for the foreign affairs and trade 'how many Chinese are in

the negotiating team for the Fair Trade Agreement?’ That’s the answer, none. And they’re still not using Chinese, even on this narrow thing of the Fair Trade Agreement.

17. Is there any relationship between the community and the local Chinese news media?

Oh yeah, we have a good relationship. They’re all media supporters here, so they help us a lot.

The rest of the time we don’t have much, I don’t have much to do with them. I don’t understand it, because of language, we really don’t have much contact and all NZCA meetings are held in English. So it tends to be an organization for people who’ve been here a long time, not that we don’t welcome new ones, but they’ve got to be able to communicate in the main language, which is English, so whether you’re a student here or a 1.5, but don’t forget a lot of our older generation couldn’t speak much English too, so there’s that element too. So, but no I don’t really have much contact with Chinese media, except for *Asia Downunder*.

18. What do you think about the Chinese news media in New Zealand?

Well my sister-in-law reads all the Chinese newspapers and knows where all the markets are. But we can’t read it, so unless she tells us where all the specials are in the supermarkets, ducks for \$20 and that sort of thing. But the Chinese paper on a whole is just full of ads. There’s not much news articles, that’s my impression.

But if you write articles in Chinese they will publish it, but you have to arrange that. And a lot of people charge a lot of money for translation. But luckily there are people on the committee who do it for us, but it’s always slow. We try and arrange translations for some of our newsletters and it always seems to take ages, and we try and get them ready for publish and we don’t worry too much about translating into Chinese now. It’s an ancient procedure now. At the New Zealand Chinese Association we don’t worry about that.

Interview 10

Participant: Conney Zhang (Reporter for the Chinese Herald)

Date: August 27, 2010

Location: Greenlane, Auckland

1. When did you start doing journalism for the Chinese Herald newspaper?

From May 2009.

2. What are the main aspects of the stories that you have published?

It is not quite easy to classify them. Journalists normally choose topics and stories according to readers' interest. For me, one of the main aspects is to interview some politicians in New Zealand and key people from China, such as Auckland Mayor's election and Prime Minister John Key.

In addition, education is another important issue that the Chinese diaspora are most concerned. I have learnt this throughout the interviews with some excellent Chinese students, which met with a strong positive reaction from our readers and they asked for more reporting on these students. Therefore, we held the first outstanding New Zealand Chinese students Forum in August 2010 which was extremely successful.

3. What are the aspects that readers are most interested?

The aspects that they are concerned include financial issues, economy, tax, etc.

4. Have there any issues within the Chinese diaspora or between the Chinese diaspora and dominant group?

Issues and conflict exist no matter within the Chinese diaspora or between the Chinese group and dominant people, which remain common in the world. I think that cultural differences would be one main reason.

5. What do you think about the Lantern Festival, which is annually held by mainstream society?

Certainly, Chinese culture has made a considerable impact on many aspects in New Zealand. In a multicultural country, it is necessary to exchange different cultures and therefore may form a new culture. From my point of view, holding the Lantern Festival

is closely associated with the rapid development in China. On the one side, there have been a rising number of Chinese people coming to New Zealand; on the other, the booming economy of mainland China is becoming one of the factors that influence New Zealand's economy. As a result, the Lantern Festival occurs spontaneously. Moreover, various festivals are reflecting multicultural phenomenon and people have opportunities of experiencing a variety of cultures from different countries. Over the past years, the Lantern Festival has increased in size, which provided the evidence of gradual development of Chinese culture in New Zealand.

Meanwhile, the Chinese community has held varied cultural activities. For example, the Reading Party was held in August this year, attempting to generalize the Chinese language and culture.

In addition to reporting news, the Chinese news media has also taken its advantage to organize a variety of activities in an effort to extend the media's influence over the Chinese community.

6. How the Chinese diaspora is commonly defined within the Chinese language news media?

The Chinese diaspora should be a wider conception, which is inclusive of all the Chinese people no matter where they come from. For instance, our readers include people not only from mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, but also from other Asian countries such as Singapore, Malaysia and so on. The Chinese diaspora has one thing in common that they all understand Chinese language culture.

7. Is there any difference between the Chinese news media and mainstream news media in defining the Chinese diaspora?

Although I have never done such research before regarding the ways in which mainstream society defines the Chinese diaspora, I do not think there is much difference between them. However, the salient fact remains that most New Zealanders could not distinguish clearly the Chinese people in terms of their appearance and accent.

8. What do you think about the impact of new media on print media? Is new media going to replace traditional media in the future?

When the internet was springing up around ten years ago, some people expressed their pessimistic view that new media would most likely replace traditional media and therefore they worried about that the coming generation would be more willing to accept new media rather than traditional one. While new media has rapidly increased over the past decade, traditional media has also steadily developed because there has been a growing demand for culture. However, the young generation prefers the internet whereas the older generations still opt to get information through newspapers, radio, and television. Although new media might replace traditional media in the future, so far I have not seen any substantial impact of new media or the internet. Anyway, traditional media would not disappear completely as it holds particular and endless fascination for all audience.

9. In terms of reporting news, what is the difference between newspapers and new media?

In comparison with radio, television, and new media, the disadvantage of newspapers is obvious that its news reporting normally lags behind. However, we could turn it into advantage by providing more comprehensive coverage than other media. In the meantime, you can see many newspapers have set up their own websites to adapt the influence of new media.

10. How much does the Chinese diaspora rely on the Chinese news media in New Zealand? Explain why?

I would say largely. Owing to limited English language skill, it is less likely for most of the Chinese immigrants to understand precisely news and information from the mainstream news media. That is why they choose and heavily rely on the Chinese language news media for information and news they want to know. Besides, they do it from force of habit.

11. In representing the Chinese diaspora, are there any differences and similarities between the Chinese news media and mainstream news media?

Either the Chinese news media or mainstream news media should abide by the rules of authenticity and timeliness in terms of news reporting. To be specific, audience of the Chinese news media is different from that of the mainstream media. Accordingly, the coverage is different.

12. Regarding the roles of Chinese news media and the ways of reporting the Chinese diaspora, is there any consensus among the Chinese news media?

Beyond doubt, the consensus among the Chinese news media is to pursue authenticity, timeliness concerning news reporting. In fact, the Chinese news media employs diverse methods and may show varying degrees of implementation. For example, the way in which the Chinese Herald normally does is to report events related to the Chinese diaspora as well as issues they are concerned about, which is as same as other news media. What is different is that we would follow up the coverage by explaining more details of the stories as well as providing comprehensive analysis.

13. What are the major issues in the Chinese news media?

Just about 150,000 Chinese people in New Zealand means the market is quite small, which inhibits the development of Chinese news media. Another issue is that there is not much news to report as it is so peaceful here.

Interview 11

Participant: May, CEO of the *Chinese New Zealand Herald* Newspaper

Date: August 31, 2010

Location: CBD Auckland

1. When did you begin to take over *Chinese Herald*?

From November 2002.

2. What's *Chinese Herald*'s business model?

It's a private company run by a family that emigrated from Mainland China. *Chinese Herald* is distributed in all the parts of Auckland. Also, it is distributed free in Hamilton and we also mail the newspapers to other subscribers living out of Auckland.

3. What's *Chinese Herald*'s profit model? How do you think the so-called "commercial driven" model?

Initially, it was published two circulations per week. After taking it over, we raised it to four circulations. As for the profit model, it totally depends on advertisements. As for the commercial-driven model you mentioned, from my point of view, I have to say that it is a very normal way to publish Chinese newspapers in New Zealand. Advertising is the only ways to enable the Chinese newspapers survive in the market. The most important thing we should do and consider is to ensure a balanced proportion of the news and advertisement within our newspaper.

4. Can you introduce something about the journalists working in *Chinese Herald*?

Sure. Now we have 7 journalists, some of them work fulltime and others do part-time job. All of them came from Mainland China and most of them have working experience in the news media.

5. What are your motives to run *Chinese Herald*?

We began to consider doing some kind of business when we emigrated to NZ in 2002. Then, I got the chance of talking to the previous owner of *Chinese Herald* and got to know that he was planning to sell the newspaper. In spite of a challenging job, it is so interesting and passionate to run a newspaper in New Zealand as it would be different

from Mainland China where the news media is controlled by the state.

6. What are the roles of *Chinese Herald*?

First of all, I think it bridges the locals and Chinese immigrants; secondly, it is dedicated to public welfare; thirdly, it aims to spread over Chinese culture.

7. How do you see new media? And do you think it will replace traditional media in the future?

I think traditional media will survive for a very long time. However, I never ignore the strong power of new media, so promptly and widely. I would never stop thinking what we can do under the pressure of new media. Localization is our advantage. On the one side, new media is undoubtedly prompt to disseminate information; but on the other side, the information delivered is usually partial and lack of in-depth reporting. In contrast, traditional media has far more advantage to provide in-depth and comprehensive report.

8. Who is the readership of *Chinese Herald*?

The readership we targets includes all Chinese people who can speak and read Chinese language and no matter where they come from. Especially, the person who mainly supports the whole family in economy is our most important targeted reader.

9. What's the function of electronic version of *Chinese Herald*?

We run an electronic version in 2008. There are two considerations for it. The first one is that we hope the readers who cannot grab the newspaper or be out of Auckland can read online. Secondly, it is very convenient for our clients to check their advertisements.

Apart from publishing the newspaper, *Chinese Herald* has also held a wide range of activities. Can you tell me the reason for that?

Just like I told you one of our ideas to run newspaper is to bridge the Chinese immigrants and the locals. We not only translate some news from the mainstream media in NZ, but also hold these activities. For example, we ever organized the reporters from 7 mainstream media in NZ to visit China to observe and study. Also, we hold the road-safety contest with ACC every year in an attempt to help the Chinese in Auckland learn more stuff about traffic regulations.

10. Regarding the news reporting, what are the main aspects that *Chinese Herald* most focuses?

We focus on the news that the Chinese immigrants most concern about. Actually, the things they have concerned about are very broad, including political events, social breaking news, education issues, and daily life. Interestingly, these people pay more attention on their own communities than politicians in Parliament. For example, we ever invited the excellent students to hold a forum to talk about how to study and it was very

popular among the Chinese parents.

11. There are only 150,000 Chinese immigrants in Auckland and as we know it is not a big population. However, there are many Chinese newspapers and *Chinese Herald* is one of them. What's the *Chinese Herald*'s advantage?

Actually, these Chinese newspapers share many similarities. For example, they all promptly report very important and hot news. When it comes to the advantages of *Chinese Herald*, I have to say that we are an entirely independent newspaper, no any political or commercial background. That gives us the most possibility to report news objectively and neutrally.

12. Has *Chinese Herald* changed over the past years in terms of reporting news?

K: Obviously no. Just the circulation is changed from 2 to 4 and it means we got more pages and space to report news. The ideas we run the newspaper have never been changed.

13. Has there any relationship between *Chinese Herald* and the Chinese communities in New Zealand?

Actually we have no special connections with them. But these years we insist on publishing these Chinese communities' news for free.

14. How do you define the Chinese diaspora in New Zealand?

K: The people with yellow skin and ability to read Chinese. No matter what they speak, Mandarin or Cantonese, they all are our targeted readership.

15. As we know, the Chinese immigrants living in Auckland from different parts of China or of the whole world, they have different cultural background and political ideology. How do you handle these diversities?

Indeed, I always can feel and also can understand these diversities. Regarding this situation, our principle is to get communicate well among all the Chinese immigrants in any possible ways rather than causing conflict or attacking each other.

16. Do you think that new immigrants are influencing the development of local Chinese media?

Sure. More and more new immigrants have had a strong impact on the development of Chinese media. Before the new immigration wave, there were just a few Chinese media in Auckland. Now as the rising number of Chinese immigrants coming and running business here, that greatly increase the revenue of Chinese newspapers. In turn, the burgeoning Chinese media provides loads of daily-life news and information such as renting houses and trading cars among the new immigrants. To some extent, they depend on each other.

17. How do you think the differences and similarities between the Chinese media and local mainstream media when it comes to reporting news about the Chinese communities?

The similar thing is that both of them will, absolutely, report the negative accidents happening in Chinese communities. It is true that mainstream media are more prone to report negative things. In contrast, Chinese media is more willing to report positive sides. And we would really like to deliver positive coverage of the Chinese communities.

18. Have there any changed to the coverage of the Chinese diaspora and communities over the past years within the mainstream news media in New Zealand?

Some years ago there was more negative coverage. Clearly, they pay more attentions on Chinese communities, and I think it's because China's rapid development in economy. For example, these years the mainstream media would like to report some excellent China's overseas students to get achievements in academic area. Also, Vice-Chairman Jinping Xi visited NZ and then John Key visited China this year. Actually, there are more and more communications between the two countries and many foreigners are learning Chinese. In early 2009, we held a sustainable development forum and invited some influential guests like Wang Shi to come to New Zealand which the mainstream media reported much more than we imagined. I think the reason for this is that China is getting more powerful in the world.

19. In terms of Asian crimes, Wan Biao, Wang Jiang and Kiko would come to our mind. Whoever they are criminals or victims, do you think the attention paid by Chinese media and the mainstream media is different?

I don't think there are some intrinsic differences. They all want to report accidents promptly and exclusively. Of course someone questions that whether the local media more prefer to report negative news about Chinese community. In fact, we are so sensitive about this. Even if these accidents happened in other ethical communities, local media will also report it. However, sometimes they cannot give the readers all-sided reportage about other ethical communities. One of the reasons is that they report it so fast as to not get comprehensive information; the other one is due to different cultural background and language, they can't totally understand the situation.

20. Do you think there are more understandings between the locals and the Chinese immigrants now?

K: Not so much. Although it looks like we have much more communication with mainstream society than ever, what I need to say is that it has just been superficial. Actually, there has not been any strong intention for us to know them; in turn, we cannot ask them to have the strong desires to understand us.

21. Regarding the roles of Chinese news media as well as the ways in which reporting the Chinese diaspora, is there any consensus agreed by the Chinese news media?

Currently, there is no any person or organization to coordinate in the circle of Chinese media. I think it is necessary to set up some rules and regulations but it is so hard to do.

22. What's the main problem that the Chinese news media is confronting?

I think the main problem is that how to balance commercial profit and undertake social responsibility as the news media. It is a really long-term consideration for our runners and reporters.

Interview 12

Participant: Kylie Liu (Executive Director of *Skykiwi*)

Date: September 1, 2010

Location: CBD Auckland

1. When *Skykiwi* was launched?

Skykiwi was first registered as a domain name in February 2001, and began its business operation in 2004.

2. *Skykiwi*'s business model?

It belongs to the International Cultural Communication Center, which is a NZ company, but controlled by the shareholders from mainland China. *Skykiwi* is now becoming one of the largest portals for Chinese people in New Zealand and mainly making money from advertisement. Besides, we are trying to make money by organizing a wide range of activities, such as beauty contest, parties and tourism.

3. How many journalists working in *Skykiwi*?

There were only four or five staff members when *Skykiwi* was first set up. So far there are four full-time editors working in the newsroom. Most of them are from mainland China, and some are from Hong Kong and Taiwan. They all have professional journalism background.

4. What is the motive for running *Skykiwi*?

Skykiwi was established when overseas students and new immigrants reached a high tide in New Zealand. Therefore, the initial motive was to build an online forum for them to communicate towards each other. In 2004, some new investors who got involved in the business were really interested in new media because they had confidence in the Internet industry. Thus, *Skykiwi* has gradually transformed to a portal of news media by focusing on entertainment, local news and current affairs.

5. What is the main role of *Skykiwi* as a news media?

It is not easy to summarize as our work covers many aspects. Undoubtedly, news reporting is the most important part and we devote most money and energy to it. Also,

Skykiwi provides an online platform for trading, making friends as well as online yellow pages, and so on. Due to the demand of overseas students and new immigrants, we always focus on information on studying abroad plans and immigration policy. At the same time, we also pay attention to news from local, China and Chinese communities. We hope our readers can better integrate into mainstream society through our efforts.

6. Of which aspects that *Skykiwi* focuses on?

We focus on all aspects related to the local society, so localization is considered a key characteristic of the news reported.

7. What kind of readership that *Skykiwi* targets?

Over the last ten years, *Skykiwi* has changed its reporting guidelines according to the variations of our readers. There are four major changes in the following: firstly, their identity has been changed from overseas students to office workers; secondly, they are married or becoming parents instead of single; thirdly, they are becoming local citizens and have the right to vote; lastly, now they are no longer pure consumers but tax payers and value creators. Currently, we have 130,000 members in total and around 70,000 to 80,000 active users. There are over 60,000 individual visits every day. Based on this, it can be seen that most of immigrants and overseas students in NZ are our regular users. In addition, there are about 10% users from Mainland China, including some who went back to home after graduation and also some new students who are planning for overseas study in New Zealand.

As one of the most influential Chinese news media in NZ, *Skykiwi* has grabbed much more attention from mainstream society and media as they consider us an important channel to be acquainted with the local Chinese community. For example, we are the only Chinese media invited to local police station for regular meetings.

8. Is new media going to replace traditional news media in the future? What is *Skykiwi*'s plan?

I think it is more likely when science and technology get well- developed. Also, low-carbon life is encouraged in modern society. An increasing number of people prefer electronic readers to books now. What I mean is that people are still receiving same news and information but in more different ways. My point of view is that new media and print media are interpenetrating into each other but there is no objective criterion for distinguishing clearly these various news media.

As for our future plan, we have just established a video channel broadcasting more of our exclusive coverage. Also, we have published a free magazine called *HAKAZU* since July, 2010.

9. How does *Skykiwi* meet the readers' demands?

A wide range of products are designed to cater for different needs of our audience. For instance, the communities and blogs are established for youngsters; current affairs, commercial news, and real estate information are provided for old and new immigrants

who tend to seek business opportunities.

10. In which ways that *Skykiwi* constructs and maintains Chinese diasporic identity as well as connects the host society?

The news and topics related to overseas students and immigrants are chosen within *Skykiwi*. Newcomers from China cannot fully understand English when they just arrive in New Zealand so that they have to rely on the Chinese language news media for information they may need. Also, neither international students nor Chinese immigrants are interested in the front page stories from the mainstream news media.

In terms of collaboration with the mainstream media, we usually either sign contracts or share some news with them. Meanwhile, *Skykiwi* has professional journalists who are able to attend scenes as fast as local reporters. In addition, we always provide news of the Chinese community for the mainstream media. They sometimes ask us for ideas or suggestions on their topics regarding the Chinese community.

11. Has *Skykiwi* held some other activities?

We have held some big parties targeted at overseas students. Now we also concentrated on some entertainment and commercial activities. It also includes parade and Chinese cultural promotion, like reading festival.

12. What is the relationship between *Skykiwi* and the Chinese community?

Actually, we have maintained a close connection with over 200 Chinese communities in NZ. An online platform has been built up since 2009 to publish the news and activities for them for free. Our journalists also report activities held by the Chinese community.

13. Has there any change to the Chinese representation within *Skykiwi* over the past years?

At the beginning, we used to collaborate with the mainstream news media on translating news and information for overseas students. However, the proportion of news for those students has decreased to one third whereas commercial reporting has arisen. Besides, *Skykiwi* has more professional journalists and editors which enable more first-hand and exclusive news as well as our own editorials.

14. Has there any change to what the audiences have concerned about through *Skykiwi*?

Yes. Initially they were most concerned about information on overseas studying which has now changed to the coverage of finance and consumption as most of them have found jobs after graduation from university and chosen to stay in New Zealand.

15. In terms of reporting the Chinese diaspora, are there any differences and similarities between *Skykiwi* and other Chinese news media in New Zealand?

The most apparent feature is that we report the news pretty much faster than others. At the same time, we report more objective and neutral.

16. What is the definition of Chinese diaspora within the Chinese news media?

The new immigrants to New Zealand during the late 1990's are considered of highly-educated and rich. In addition, most of the previous international students are becoming immigrants when they have got jobs after graduation. In one word, we say that new immigrants are by and large highly-educated group. Meanwhile, all of them have Chinese background in common and speak Chinese language.

17. What do you think about the relationship between the Chinese diaspora and Chinese news media in New Zealand? How much does the Chinese diaspora rely on the Chinese news media?

I think that the relationship is becoming increasingly closer. Either international students or immigrants are normally getting to know New Zealand by visiting our website prior to their arrival. After their coming to the country, they still choose the Chinese news media first as the way of integrating in to the local society. Meanwhile, *Skykiwi* has drawn a greater audience along with the rapid development of new media.

18. In terms of the coverage of Chinese diaspora, are there any similarities and differences between the Chinese news media and mainstream news media?

There is a similarity that both of them report the news objectively. However, it is inevitable for both sides to come across cultural differences. In this regard, we are willing to report Chinese community news more comprehensively.

In 2007, for example, the Chinese community organized a parade against the Tibetan Independence movement, which was quite typical for the Chinese diaspora to express their Chinese identity and deep emotion to motherland whereas the mainstream news media and locals could neither understand nor concurred with the behavior.

19. Regarding the coverage of Asian Crime, are there any differences or similarities between the Chinese news media and mainstream media in New Zealand?

I think both of the Chinese news media and mainstream media comply with the basic principle of reporting the news objectively and neutrally.

However, there are some slight differences. Criminal cases related to Asian are certainly reported with more details in the Chinese news media than in the mainstream media. Additionally, it is taken for granted within the mainstream media that Chinese crime is the issue of Chinese people themselves, which is lacking in self-examining their education system.

Another criminal case which was an old Chinese elder murdered by a local guy, for instance, was reported as a tiny article in the mainstream media. To some extent, it can be seen that the mainstream media adopts different methods in reporting the Chinese community.

20. Are there any issues inside the Chinese diaspora? If there are, how has *Skykiwi* dealt with these issues?

Of course there are some issues existed in the Chinese diaspora. However, it is our basic tenet to provide users with the online platform where everyone can get the chance to speak out freely instead of releasing any articles as a guiding force.

21. Regarding the roles of Chinese news media as well as the ways in which reporting Chinese diaspora, is there any consensus agreed by the Chinese news media?

I think there is a consensus which all the Chinese news media is committed to delivering news and information from the mainstream media that the Chinese diaspora is most concerned about. Also, they report the Chinese community as well as offer news from mainland China.

22. Are there any issues lying in the Chinese news media?

As we know, overseas Chinese media is run as a business and hence making money to survive has always been the first priority for shareholders. In general, there is insufficient investment in capital for the Chinese news media which results in unprofessional reporting at times. And also, most of the Chinese news media in New Zealand is distributed freely.

Asian Cultural Wave Impacts on New Zealand

Interview with CEO of Asia NZ Foundation Dr Richard Grant

By Conney Zhang
26 Feb, 2010
The Chinese –Herald

The Auckland Lantern Festival will be held at Albert Park for three days from today to Sunday. With an increasing impact of Asia on New Zealand, the Chinese traditional festival is becoming a symbol of Asian culture, connecting with more and more Aucklanders.

When it comes to the Lantern Festival, it is necessary to specify the Asia NZ Foundation (Asia NZ), an organization annually sponsoring the Chinese cultural event together with the Auckland City Council for more than 11 years. The Lantern Festival has now become one of the cultural events in Auckland, drawing a rising number of people over the past years.

Prior to the 2010 Lantern Festival, Conney Zhang, who is reporter for the *Chinese-Herald* newspaper, had an exclusive interview with Dr Richard Grant - CEO of Asia NZ.

It is the 11th Lantern Festival this year. The success in holding the cultural event enables more and more New Zealanders understand the Chinese cultures. More importantly, New Zealanders are acquainted with China and even Asia area. A recent survey shows that in terms of Asia, China is the country that most of New Zealanders first mention about. When it comes to Asian cultures, many New Zealanders primarily refer to the Chinese traditional events, such as the Spring Festival and the Lantern Festival.

Dr Grant (Grant): the above information illustrates that Asian culture is increasingly recognized by New Zealanders.

Journalist (J): how many people do you estimate that will come to the event this year?

Grant: I hope that the figure would be much more than in 2009 when there were about

220,000 people attending the Lantern Festival.

J: how this idea was initially produced?

Grant: the idea of holding this event was coming up with many aspects, such as the Chinese community, our Asia NZ Foundation, and Auckland City Council. It is an irresistible trend as more Chinese immigrants are coming to the country and also Chinese culture has been widely acknowledged.

J: do you think that the Lantern Festival has made New Zealanders more interested in Chinese culture?

Grant: absolutely. We hold the event for two reasons. The first is to showcase Asian culture to all New Zealanders. The second purpose is to enhance the cohesion of our city. More cultural events are provided in a city, where the people more identify their city. Not only do Chinese people attend the Lantern Festival, but also other ethnic groups are interested, such as Indian, Korean, and local people. While going around the event, you could see a huge crowd with different skin colors and speak in different languages. There is about 20% Asian population in Auckland, which is a large proportion. The Lantern Festival is held not just in Auckland, but in Christchurch which is also very popular.

J: would be some new programs presented in the Lantern Festival this year? I am asking this question because the event has already been held for over 11 years so that audience may begin to have higher requirements.

Grant: we always bring people something new each year. This year, for example, the Moon Band from Mainland China has been invited together with another Mongolia team. Besides, the most crucial element of the event is lanterns which we keep ordering from China every year in order to maintain its traditional flavor.

J: what do you think if the Lantern Festival would be treated as a public holiday?

Grant: that is a really difficult question, which I think it should be decided by the Government or I might make a suggestion to the Government.

J: do you think that New Zealanders understand Asia?

Grant: We have just got a survey coming out which shows that an increasing number of New Zealanders understand Asia and also like Asia.

J: how do New Zealanders understand Asia?

Grant: the survey shows that many New Zealanders consider Asia a very important source of tourists as well as an exporting market. 63% of New Zealanders held a positive attitude towards importing products from Asia; around 59% felt positive with

Asian cultures and tradition; about 47% took a positive attitude about an increasing Asian population in New Zealand. Nevertheless, 81% of New Zealanders believe that Asia is going to have a significant impact on New Zealand in the future. For New Zealand, Asia has never been such an important region.

Joanne Wang Carpark Murder

By Portia Mao
26 Jun, 2008
The Chinese-Herald

The police arrested a 21-year-old man who is from South of Auckland, Otara, on 24th June. The police accused the man of main role in Mrs. Wang Jian's murder case, who drove the white Nissan SUV knocked Mrs. Wang down and it led to her death.

Mrs. Wang brought her 8-year-old son to the parking lot in the central city around 3 pm on 16th June. They were planning to leave while a gangster opened her car door and robbed her hand bag. Then, the gangster ran to another car assisting him to run. Mrs. Wang chased him immediately and tried to head off the car but she was knocked down to the earth. It led her death caused by brain injuries.

There was a news releasing press held on Wednesday morning, and the police announced the main suspects had been arrested. The man was accused of murdering and will appear in Manukau District Court on this Wednesday morning.

Since the investigation is still in progress, the police didn't publish the suspect's name. The suspect will be in custody until 7th July, and then he will be brought to court with another four arrested suspects.

A 21-year-old man from Otara, one of arrested suspects, was accused of destroying accident vehicle, white Nissan SUV, which was burned in Manukau Sports Bowl.

Another two suspects, which are both from Otara, 19 and 22, were accused of dealing with stolen cars. They were brought to Manukau District Court last Saturday with another 19-year-old man who was accused of robbing Mrs. Wang's hand bag.

The police believe there are still two suspects on the run.

The police didn't respond to whether these suspects are belonging to gang members but they indeed are friends.

The police still cannot make sure how many people involved in Mrs. Wang's case now.

Until now, the driver of a red car in the scene spot still didn't contact with the police.

The police said that the red car may be knocked by the white Nissan SUV and the driver of the red car got off and checked the car at that time. The police believe this Maori driver is the important witness and hope the driver can contact with the police as soon as possible.

The brief introduction to Mrs. Wang Jian

The police had already informed Mrs. Wang's family that the main suspects had been arrested. Mr. Wang Zhaokai, the father of Mrs. Wang Jian, said that his families are very satisfied with the police's efficiency.

Mrs. Wang Jian was born in Taiyuan, Shangxi Province in 1968. She got her Bachelor degree in English Literature at Guangzhou Jinan University.

Before coming to NZ, Mrs. Wang worked for HSBC. She arrived in NZ in 1996 and worked for PB Computer Company and some other companies. From 2003, she began to run the business of coffee chain with her families and did the job as the manager of Hollywood Cafe in Pukekohe branch.

Mrs. Wang was born in an educated family. Her grandfather was the professor of Zhongshan University, and most of families are engaged in the career of culture and education.

Mr. Wang, the father of Mrs. Wang Jian said, Wang Jian was a kind woman loving the life and always willing to help others. She headed off the running cars it was not only because she wanted to get her hand bag back but also she cannot endure the behavior of robbery.

Mrs. Wang ever did the financial job for PB Computer Company. For getting more about Mrs. Wang, the reporter interviewed the manager of PB Computer Company, Mr. Huo Guang.

Mr. Huo Guang said, Mrs. Wang took her work very seriously and enthusiastically. She got along very well with the colleagues and we still kept contact with Mrs. Wang after she left. We are really sad for her tragedy.

Interviewing with Mrs. Wang's father

Mr. Wang said, he and his wife are overwhelmed with sorrow. He knows that the whole society has paid more attention to Wang Jian's case. He hopes that Wang Jian's case will bring the positive social effects. He emphasized that the New Zealand Government has the responsibility to provide the citizens with safe environment. He also understands it

was just a criminal case rather than a racial problem.

Mrs. Wang's child is just eight years old now. Mrs. Wang's brother said, due to loss of mother love, he is very sad now. But it is believed that the love from other family members will get him out from the shadow of grief.

Mrs. Wang's brother just came to New Zealand for two days. He planned to have a trip in New Zealand with his sister and parents, but the murder case made the whole family distress.

Mrs. Wang's families appreciate the support and concern from the local community as well as from overseas.

Fake news in Mainstream Media again

By Wen Yang
21 Sep, 2010
UCP

Last Friday morning, all New Zealanders read a piece of news on the *New Zealand Herald* (the *Herald*), the most influential newspaper in NZ, which is the latest information of Hong Kong Natural Dairy Company purchasing dairy farms in NZ. The name of journalist is Karyn Scherer.

According to the news cover, Overseas Investment Office (OIO) has basically completed the review of Natural Dairy (New Zealand Holdings Limited) purchasing Crafar Family's 20 dairy farms, which locate in South central of North Island. It is possible that OIO rejects the application of Natural Dairy Company, or attaches additional restrictive conditions.

It is clear that the reporter told the readers two facts. One is that OIO has basically completed the review, and the other is OIO may reject the application or add additional restrictive conditions. These two points were taken as the main facts to report, and the followings are also related to and carried around the two points above.

Journalists write the newsletters according to the facts, and then readers know the basic facts based on journalists' reports. This is the procedure which is completed automatically between media and audiences for numerous times.

However, if every industry doesn't obey with the industry standards, it will lead to serious social disasters. What leads to such disasters is referred as fake products such as inferior planes and toxic food.

In fact, "Chinese dairy bid hits snag", published on last Friday morning by the *Herald*, was a piece of fake news.

Just a few hours after the piece of news reported, OIO immediately announced that it was inconsistent with the facts. Therefore, NZ Herald had to upload the statement of OIO at 1 pm of Friday to its website, just below the original news.

If power is not effectively bridled, it will lead to power abuse. As the largest newspaper of NZ, discourse power of the *Herald* is not constrained for long time and so sometimes discourse power is abused. The journalists or chief editors in the *Herald* always write

the news according to what they think rather than based on the facts, such as a high rate of violence in Chinese community. If there are not relevant facts to support their points, it can be said that they are producing fake news.

It has already been discussed above, writing untrue news is just like producing counterfeits. It is not related to free speech but lack of professional ethics.

As the fringe population in NZ, Chinese community is oppressed by the mainstream media all the time. It makes many Chinese confused who exactly governs them, NZ government or the mainstream media. From the recent news about Natural Dairy purchasing dairy farms, it is clearly that the mainstream media is willing to replace the government to regulate the minorities in NZ. However, it proves that the mainstream media is abusing discourse power and also afraid of responsibilities. The last Friday's fake news can prove it again.